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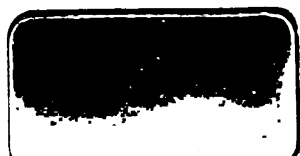
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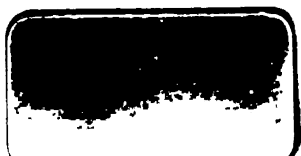




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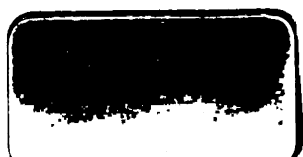


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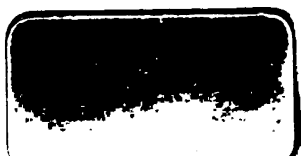
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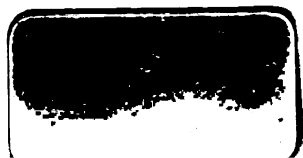


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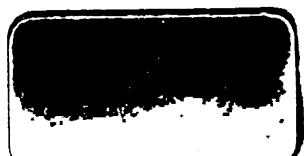


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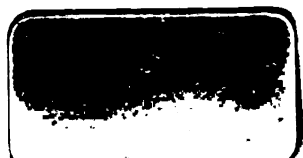


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PROGRESS OF EDUCATION, &c.

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VOL. XXXI.

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LONDON:  
**T. CLERC SMITH, 36, SOUTHAMPTON STREET.**  
1847.

# THE INDIAN HISTORY

OF THE

AMERICAN INDIANS

OF THE

UNITED STATES

AND THE INDIAN TRIBES

OF THE

WEST

AND

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OF THE

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THE  
BRITISH MAGAZINE.

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JANUARY 1, 1847.

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ORIGINAL PAPERS.

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THE AMERICAN PRAYER-BOOK.

WHEN, in 1783, the "American states became independent with respect to civil government, their ecclesiastical independence was necessarily included." (Preface to the Prayer-book.) Accordingly, on September the 25th, 1785, a general convention of episcopalians, consisting of an equal number of lay and clerical members, met together at Philadelphia, for the purpose of forming a plan for the government of their church. The result of this meeting was a revision of our Prayer-book; but one so conducted, that some persons, more liberally inclined than was convenient, for a time were enabled greatly to impair its excellency. The book thus produced, commonly known by the name of the "Proposed Prayer-book," corresponded in many respects with the plan laid down by our own ecclesiastical commissioners in 1689 (Cardwell's Hist. Conf., p. 429), and was received very generally by the southern states, though not by the northern. The same convention also made a formal application to the English prelates to consecrate bishops for them. This request, however, they expressed themselves unable to comply with, in consequence of the alterations introduced into the Prayer-book, particularly, by reason of the omission of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, and of the descent into hell from the Apostles' Creed. In 1786, the first and third objections were removed, and the Nicene was everywhere put immediately after the Apostles' Creed, with permission to use either: the second, indeed, still remained, nor was ever obviated, except by the notice taken of the Athanasian Creed in their Articles. Nevertheless, the wishes of the American church were at length fulfilled by the consecration of their bishops under the provisions of a special act of parliament.

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No doubt, by reason of the peculiar circumstances in which the inhabitants of America were then placed, as regarded England, an act did become absolutely necessary. It was passed in 1786, (26 Georgii III. c. 84,) and is entitled, "An Act to empower the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Archbishop of York, for the time being, to consecrate to the office of a bishop, persons being subjects or citizens of countries out of his Majesty's dominions." This act allows them, therefore, to consecrate such persons without the king's licence for the election, or requiring them to take the usual oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and due obedience to the archbishop; but not without the royal permission being first obtained. Nor could the bishops so consecrated exercise the functions of their office in his Majesty's dominions, any more than the clergymen ordained by them.

The triennial convention again met in October, 1789, when "the Prayer-book was arranged as it now stands, with the exception of a few minor alterations, and the addition of some occasional services." (Caswell's *America and the American Church*, p. 182.) Among these subsequent and *minor* alterations, however, is one of a singular nature. For, in 1792, permission was granted to any one either to omit from the Apostles' Creed the article about the descent into hell, or to substitute for it the words, "He went into the place of departed spirits, *which are considered as words of the same meaning.*" Selections from the Prayer-book version of the Psalms were also at the same time prefixed to the Psalter, with this rubric, "To be used instead of the Psalms for the Day [even of those for Christmas-day, &c.] at the discretion\* of the minister." Then, too, in manifest imitation, so far, of the Scotch Communion-office of 1765, the Prayer of Oblation and Invocation, copied therefrom, was placed directly after the Prayer of Consecration, which the American authorities took equally from the same Office; but, for the passage, "that they may become the body and blood of thy most dearly-beloved Son," the following occurs, "that we, receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his Death and Passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood. And we earnestly," &c. A form of words was likewise introduced into the

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\* "On days of Fasting and Thanksgiving, appointed either by the Civil, or by the Ecclesiastical, Authority, the Minister may appoint such Psalms as he shall think fit in his discretion, unless any shall have been appointed by the Ecclesiastical Authority, in a Service set out for the occasion; which, in that case, shall be used, and no other."

"On Days of Fasting and Thanksgiving, the same Rule [with regard to the Lessons,] is to obtain, as in reading the Psalms."

"And the same discretion of choice is allowed on occasions of Ecclesiastical Conventions, and those of Charitable Collections."

Ordinal for the accommodation of such bishops as might dislike the ancient and original expressions, those which "had been used in the ordination of priests at least since the tenth century." (Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*, vol. ii. p. 305.) Thus, then, for, "Receive the Holy Ghost . . . they are retained," they might say, "Take thou authority to execute the office of a priest in the Church of God now committed to thee by the interposition of our hands." In 1811, an express ordinance restrained all further changes in the Prayer-book, "except such as should be proposed at one convention, and ratified three years afterwards at the next." Since that period very few alterations or modifications have taken place, and those chiefly in things of inferior moment; whilst "at present [1839] there is an increasing disposition to keep as close as possible to the Liturgy of the Church of England." (Caswall, 241.)

The contents, as well as the arrangement, of the American Prayer-book are for the most part the same, as in the Church of England. In the preface the ecclesiastical authorities themselves describe their mode of proceeding to have been such, "as that the main body and essential parts of the same [the English Book], as well in the chiefest materials, as in the frame and order thereof, have still been continued firm and unshaken." As for the differences, the more prominent ones, in addition to those already mentioned, shall now be pointed out from a comparison of the two books:—Proper *second* Lessons appointed for Sundays: no names of Saints in the Calendar: the Vigils omitted; also the first two rubrics before Morning Prayer: the Absolution styled, "*The Declaration of Absolution*," and followed by the Absolution from the Communion Service, which may be substituted for it: the *Gloria Patri* may be said according to our practice, but must be said when *all* the Psalms are ended, unless the *Gloria in excelsis* is then preferred: parts of the *Venite* and *Benedicite* left out: "who alone worketh great marvels," altered to, "from whom cometh every good and perfect gift:" the 92nd and 103rd Psalms put for the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis*: the eighth petition of the Litany begins with, "From all inordinate and sinful affections:" at his discretion, the minister may omit all that intervenes between the second petition to the "Lamb of God" and the prayer, "We humbly beseech thee," &c.: several occasional "Prayers and Thanksgivings" added. In the Communion-service the first Lord's Prayer "*may be omitted, if Morning Prayer hath been said immediately before*," and so of the Creed: to the Commandments may be subjoined our Saviour's description of the two great Commandments of the Law: the second of the Collects put by us after the Blessing occupies the place of the two for the queen:



"Glory be to thee, O Lord," enjoined: a second\* Proper Preface for Trinity Sunday: the declaration respecting kneeling omitted. The Baptismal service positively allows parents to be sponsors: either of the first two Prayers may be passed over: the Apostles' Creed is only referred to, not repeated as a question to the sponsors: the sign of the cross, and the accompanying form of words, may be left out. The Office of Matrimony is shortened at the commencement; and ends like that in Calvin's Prayer-book, or Knox's Book of Common Order, with the blessing of the parties, comprising, in fact, only the ceremonial part of our service: the Lord's Prayer is introduced after the giving of the ring. In the Visitation of the Sick the special confession of sins, and the absolution consequent thereon, are omitted: the 130th Psalm is substituted for the 71st, and some additional prayers are appended. In the Burial service portions of the two Psalms are mixed up together as one: for "to take unto himself the soul," occurs, "to take out of this world the soul:" instead of, "in sure and certain hope," &c., there is, "looking for the general resurrection in the last day, and the life of the world to come:" for, "that it hath pleased thee to deliver," comes, "for the good example of all those thy servants, who having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours." Part of the first Psalm is given in the Office for the Churching of Women, but the second, and the lesser Litany, are left out. The Communion service is wholly omitted, the last three prayers, however, being arranged after the Collect for Ash-Wednesday, and a rubric prefixed, which directs them to be said *"immediately before the General Thanksgiving."*

The American Prayer-book has a few Forms which we are without; as, "For the Visitation of Prisoners," taken verbally from the Irish Prayer-book: "For the Fruits of the Earth, to be used yearly on *the first Thursday in November*" ("or, if any other day be appointed by the civil authority, then such day"): "Forms of Prayer to be used in Families" abridged from some by Bishop Gibson: "For the Consecration of a Church or Chapel:" "A Prayer to be used at the Meetings of Convention;" and "An Office of Institution of Ministers into Parishes or Churches."

Bound up with this Prayer-book are—"Psalms in Metre, selected from the Psalms of David; with Hymns suited to the Feasts and Fasts of the Church, and other Occasions of Public

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\* Or else this may be said, the words [Holy Father] being retained in the introductory address:—

"For the precious death and merits of thy Son Jesus Christ, and for the sending to us of the Holy Ghost the Comforter; who are one with thee in thy eternal Godhead: Therefore with angels," &c.

Worship." These were arranged and allowed in 1832 by the bishops, clergy, and laity, assembled in convention. Two rubrics prefixed to them are worth quoting:—"And it shall be the duty of every minister of any church, either by standing directions, or from time to time, to appoint the portions of Psalms which are to be sung. And further, it shall be the duty of every minister, with such assistance as he can obtain from persons skilled in music, to give order concerning the tunes to be sung at any time in his church; and, especially, it shall be his duty to suppress all light and unseemly music, and all indecency and irreverence in the performance, by which vain and ungodly persons profane the service of the Sanctuary."

*College, Ely.*

W. K. CLAY.

## ESSAYS ON SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

NO. XIII.

### THE RIBALDS, No. III.

IF it should have appeared to any reader of the preceding Essay, that the Act of Six Articles was almost inoperative, he may be inclined to inquire how that came to pass. The Act did not drop from the clouds, or spring out of the earth, but issued from a government composed of various, and even jarring elements, and in which every enactment relating to this class of subjects, indicated at least the temporary predominance of a certain party—that is, in fact, of a certain and very small number of individuals. Whatever degree of influence the Commons might have then attained, nobody supposes that the statute was extorted from the crown by the people. Neither does anybody think that it was the work of the Reformers; or, in other words, a trick of Cromwell and Cranmer. But many persons do suppose, and naturally enough if they adopt the statements and suggestions of Fox and his transcribers, that it was the work of the popish party, and that its object was to exterminate the Reformers, root and branch. Take, for instance, the flourish with which Fox begins his account of the martyrdom of Dr. Barnes and his companions, which, as has been already stated, took place immediately after the fall of Cromwell:—

"Like as in foreign battles the chief point of victory consisteth in the safety of the general or captain, even so, when the valiant standard-bearer and stay of the church of England, Thomas Cromwell I mean, was made away, pity it is to behold what miserable slaughter of good men and good women ensued thereupon, whereof we have

now (Christ willing) to entreat. For Winchester, having now gotten his full purpose, and free swing to exercise his cruelty, wonder it was to see that 'aper Calydonius', or, as the scripture speaketh, that 'ferus singularis', what troubles he raised in the Lord's vineyard. And lest, by delays, he might lose the occasion presently offered, he straightways made his first assaults upon Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret and William Jerome, whom in the very same month, within two days after Cromwell's death, he caused to be put to execution."—V. 414.

But if Gardiner and a party with him had such a purpose, and were strong enough to procure a statute which gave them their "full swing," how are we to account for their making so little use of it? If, despite their opponents, they had power to carry the measure, and keep it unrepealed for eight years, surely when the measure was carried they must have had power to make use of it. Surely, if things had really been such as would justify Fox's language, the popish party *must* have done much—very much—more than he has thought of charging them with.

But there was another—and in the popular view, a distinct—power, which had, I apprehend, the most to do with it. I speak of this power as distinct in the popular view, rather than in reality, because I believe that, if ever two men with as much difference of nature, knowledge, aims, and circumstances, could be said to concur in anything, then were Gardiner and his Royal master of one mind in the business of the Six Articles. At the same time, whatever Gardiner might suggest, or agree to, or do, in the matter, there seems to be no doubt that it was truly and properly the king's own act and deed, performed by his own lusty will, without much anxiety as to what either papist or protestant or parliament thought about the matter.

Few things have had a greater tendency to involve the history of the English Reformation in obscurity than the loose way in which the king's own personal feelings, and opinions, and his proceedings with regard to religion, have been estimated and represented. With reference to the present case, even Lord Herbert says, "But that it may seem lesse strange why the King, who before was much disposed to favour the Reformers, did on a sudden so much vary from them, I have thought fit to set down some of the motives as I conceive them."\* But it seems hardly worth while to follow him into his ideas respecting the jealousy of the foreign Reformers, and the emperor, and other remote reasons which he suggests, while it is so apparent that he is only troubling himself to solve a difficulty which has no existence. Undoubtedly Henry "was much disposed to favour the Reformers" who took his part in the divorce question

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\* Life of Hen. VIII., p. 448.

—he “was much disposed to favour the Reformers” who maintained that he was the supreme head of the church, and sided with him against the unjust usurpations of the Bishop of Rome —he “was much disposed to favour the Reformers” who carried through the suppression of the monasteries, and thereby not only humbled the pride of those who might be more strictly called the popish clergy, but filled his exchequer, or enabled him to be profuse with an empty one. For the same reason, and because the thing was somewhat scandalous, and sometimes supported by disgraceful trickery, he thought it right to stop the lavish offerings which were heaped on the shrines of some of the more popular saints, and to turn those treasures to more useful purposes—and we cannot wonder if, with these views and feelings, he did not altogether dislike or disrelish some things having a tendency to lower the papal power in his dominions, by rendering the pope and his adherents ridiculous. All this was certainly very antipapal; and if to be antipapal was to be protestant, this was very protestant, and the king was very protestant; and it might be very protestant to give his subjects the bible in the vulgar tongue—a circumstance very curious and much to be remarked in connexion with the matter now before us; because, that it was the work of Crumwell (or perhaps we may say of Crumwell and Cranmer) admits of no doubt. But how would Henry have stared if anybody had inferred that he had any heretical misgivings or doubts about transubstantiation, or purgatory, or the invocation of saints, or other doctrines which we justly consider as errors or heresies peculiarly characteristic of the Church of Rome, and which in the popular view of the Reformation in England are commonly mixed up with the notion of papal supremacy. This point is very well stated by Bishop Hooper in a letter which he wrote to Bullinger, several years after the Act of Six Articles had passed, and it is well worthy of our attention.

“Accept, my very dear master, in few words, the news from England. As far as true religion is concerned, *idolatry is nowhere in greater vigour*. Our king has destroyed the Pope, but not popery; he has expelled all the monks and nuns, and pulled down their monasteries; he has caused all their possessions to be transferred into his exchequer, and yet they are bound, even the frail female sex, by the king’s command, to perpetual chastity. England has at this time at least ten thousand nuns, not one of whom is allowed to marry. The impious mass, the most shameful celibacy of the clergy, the invocation of saints, *auricular confession*, superstitious abstinence from meats, and purgatory, *were never before held by the people in greater esteem than at the present moment.*”\*

\* Original Letters relative to the English Reformation, First portion, lately published by the Parker Society, p. 36, where the Editor gives the date as “probably 1546.”

Again, nearly a year afterwards he says;—

“The bearer will inform your excellence of the good news we received yesterday from Strasburgh. There will be a change of religion in England, and the King will take up the gospel of Christ, in case the Emperor should be defeated in this most destructive war: should the gospel sustain a loss, he will then retain his impious mass, for which he has this last summer committed four respectable and godly persons to the flames.”\*

Very pregnant was the exclamation of Latimer before Edward the VI., “the bloud of Hales, woe worth it; what a doe was it to bring it out of the King’s head! This great abomination of the bloud of Hales could not be taken for a great while out of his minde.”† But without multiplying illustrations where they are unnecessary, I will just add one, not only because it is curious and characteristic in itself, but because it may be well to refer to it on another account hereafter. It is from a work intitled, “The Lamentacyon of a Christen against the Citye of London, for some certaine greate vyces vsed therin.”‡ After speaking of the sums given to priests “to synge in a chauntrie to robbe the lyuyng God of hys honoure,” the author proceeds;—

“Ye wyll saye vnto me, what arte thou, that callest these thynges vncommaunded tradycyons and popyshe ceremonyes, seyinge the Kynges Grace forbyddeth them not, and vseth parte of them hym selfe? I answer that ye vse manye thynges contrary to the kyngs iniuncyons. And yf it be that God through the kyng hath caste out the deuell out of this realme, and yet both he and we suppe of the broth in which the deuell was soden, and that God hath yet not opened the eyes of the kyng to set all thynges in right frame, and vtterly to breake downe the serpent, as Ezechias the kyng dyd .iiii. Reg. ix. and as kyng Asa dyd .ii. Chro. xiiii take it thus, that euen your iniquytie wyth callynge vpon vayne Goddes, and sekynge saluacion by a wronge waye, is the veri cause that God closeth vp the eies of the kyng, as of one that heareth and vnderstandeth not, and seeth and perceyueth not.”—*Sig. b. iiii. b.*

It seems plain that though the king was persuaded to consent to the abolition of some things clearly superstitious, yet it was done with difficulty; and it evidently required all the power and address of those who wished him to go much farther, to get him to go as far as he did. But Crumwell might have tried in

\* Orig. Lett. ubi supra, p. 41. These persons the Editor states to have been Anne Askew, and those who suffered with her.

† Sermons, fol. 84. b. edit. 1584, quoted in Wordsworth’s *Eccles. Biog.*, 2nd edit., Vol. ii. p. 281.

‡ The copy from which I extract is said on the title page to have been printed in 1548. I do not see that Herbert mentions the edition; but he specifies two others, one said to be “printed at Jericho in the land of Promise,” 1542, the other at Nuremberg, 1545.—*Herbert’s Ames*, III., 1553, 1558. (xxx. 8, 14.)

vain to get him to join in railing at the mass, and Cranmer as vainly to get his approbation of a married clergy. I believe that he was roused by an idea that the church, of which he was resolved to be the supreme head, was likely to be overthrown by a torrent of what he considered infidelity and blasphemy, and that he devised, and insisted on, and would have, and carried, such a measure as he thought suited to check the frightful evil.

Such, I believe, to have been the origin of the Act. Subsequent events show that it was meant to frighten rather than to hurt, to intimidate and quiet the people rather than to destroy and slaughter them by wholesale. Nothing but the spirit of party and passion, the withering blight of all truth in history, can represent it as a statute seriously intended to be executed according to the letter. But it did much without proceeding to such extremities as it threatened. It was meant to frighten the people, and it did frighten them; and by that means it did two things which, whether right or wrong, good or bad, were undoubtedly of very great importance at that time, and in their consequences. In the first place, it caused many of the more violent partisans of the Reformation to quit the country; and, secondly, it made those who stayed at home more quiet and peaceable. Fox has given us "A brief table of the Troubles at London in the time of the Six Articles," which he prefaces by saying;—

"Although this inquisition above mentioned was meant properly and especially concerning the Six Articles, yet so it fell out, that in short space doubts began to arise, and to be moved by the quest: whether they might inquire as well of all other opinions, articles, and cases of Lollardy, or for speaking against holy bread, holy water, or for favouring the cause of Barnes, of friar Ward, Sir Thomas Rose, &c.: whereupon *great perturbation followed in all parishes almost through London* in the year aforesaid, which was 1541, as here ensueth in a brief summary table to be seen."—V. 443.

It is very principally on account of the curious light which this Table throws on the state of things at the time, that I have been induced to say so much of the Statute which gave rise to it. And therefore, as Fox says;—

"Having discoursed the order of the six articles, with other matter likewise following in the next parliament, concerning the condemnation of the lord Cromwell, of Dr. Barnes, and his fellows, let us now (proceeding further in this history) consider what *great disturbance and vexations* ensued after the setting forth of the said articles, *through the whole realm of England*, especially among the godly sort: wherein first were to be mentioned the straight and severe commissions sent forth by the king's authority, to the bishops, chancellors, officials, justices,

mayors, and bailiffs in every shire, and other commissioners by name in the same commissions expressed ; and, amongst others, especially to Edmund Bonner bishop of London, to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of the same, to inquire diligently after all heretical books, and to burn them. Also to inquire after all such persons whatsoever, culpable or suspected of such felonies, heresies, contempts, or transgressions, or speaking any words contrary to the aforesaid act, set forth, of the Six Articles.”—V. 440.

Strype, who generally follows Fox, and sometimes, without meaning to falsify, rather improves his statements, tells us—

“ Upon the Six Articles, commissions were granted out by the King to the Bishops, and their Chancellors and Officials, and to all Justices of Peace, Mayors, and Sheriffs in every shire, and others named in the same commissions ; to inquire diligently upon all heretical books, and to burn them, and upon all persons suspected of such felonies, contempts, or transgressions against the act of the Six Articles.

“ To London, and the diocese thereof, was a particular commission sent for this purpose. The Commissioners were the Bishop of London, Roche the Mayor, Allen, Warren, Richard Gresham, Knights and Aldermen, Roger Cholmley, Knight, Sergeant at Law, John Gresham, Michael Dormer, the Archdeacon of London, the Bishop’s Commissary, Chidley, Crayford, Edward Hall, Brook, Morgan. And that these might be sure to do their office, a letter was procured from the King to Boner the Bishop, or his Commissary, to give all these their oaths for the execution of the said act. The form of which oath was prescribed in that act. The Bishop accordingly, at Guildhall, administered the said oath to them. And then the jury were sworn ; when the Bishop admonished them to SPARE NONE. So in all parishes throughout London almost, some were summoned and accused, and brought into trouble, to the number of near two hundred. Several also of Calais, and of divers other quarters, were brought into trouble. So that all the prisons in London were too little to hold them.”—*Mem.* I. i. 565.

Perhaps, when it had been stated that “ commissions were granted out by the King to *the bishops*,” it was hardly necessary to specify that “ to London, and the diocese thereof, was a particular commission sent”—or, as Fox oddly expresses it in a passage already quoted, “ amongst others, especially to Edmund Bonner bishop of London.” But it must be remembered that this bishop of London was “ bloody Bonner,” who ought by all means to have the “ bloody” act saddled upon him in some peculiar manner, though he does not appear to have had more to do with it than the other official persons named in the act itself, and thereby appointed to carry it into execution. Still it is so natural, and so like the “ butcherly” bishop, that we should almost have taken it for granted, even if Strype had not told us, that when he had sworn the jury, he admonished them to

"SPARE NONE." Burn them all. Men, women, and children. The ignorant and those that are out of the way. The misled, the faint, the feeble, even the penitent—SPARE NONE.

It is really almost enough to put one out of conceit with all history, when one sees so good a man as Mr. Strype undoubtedly was writing in such a way as this; and who takes the trouble to go to Fox, the only writer whom he quotes, to see whether he has fairly represented his authority? Fox tells us that "When the two juries were sworn, Bonner taketh upon him to give the charge unto the juries, and began with a tale of Anacharsis, by which example he admonished the juries to spare no persons, *of what degree soever they were.*" Now it seems to me that this most materially alters the state of the case. One can hardly doubt that the "example," which the bishop quoted from Anacharsis, was his well-known saying, that laws were like cobwebs, which caught flies while they were easily broken through by stronger insects. Surely there was no presumption in the Bishop of London's taking upon him to charge the juries, and the tone of the charge, even on Fox's showing, was very different from that which a reader of Strype would suppose. If "bloody" Bonner had been a favourite, we should probably have been told, that he faithfully and conscientiously warned the jury against a pharisaical show of zeal in haling to the judgment-seat the defenceless poor, the weak, and the foolish, while they took bribes from their rich neighbours to connive at their heresy, or "spared" them because they had the means, not only of defence, but of retaliation.

But what if, instead of these miserable, and tiresome, and invidious explanations, one were fairly to take the bull by the horns, and ask Mr. Strype, and all the world, whether it was the duty of a sworn jury to exercise the prerogative of "sparing" persons, when they were simply sworn to find and present facts? What should we think of a jury who should come into court and say, "We have no doubt that A has robbed B; we are quite sure that he is a felon—but in our discretion we spare him—and our verdict is 'Not Guilty.'" Was Bonner requiring from the juries more than all the commissioners themselves were bound to? Their oath, as given by Fox, was;—

"Ye shall swear, that ye, to your cunning, wit, and power, shall truly and indifferently execute the authority to you given by the king's commission, made for correction of heretics and other offenders mentioned in the same commission, without any favour, affection, corruption, dread, or malice, to be borne to any person or persons, as God you help, and all saints."—V. 264.

But to come to the more immediate subject of inquiry—what did these juries do, what did they find, and what sort of crimes



did they present? for the object is to get some idea of the real state of things in the year 1541, and of what was actually passing in the houses and churches, in the taverns, and by the fire-sides, of London. One is tired of being told over and over again that the bishops destroyed all who favoured the gospel without mercy, and one would like to know the grounds, or even the alleged grounds and pretences on which they did it.

We must, however, always bear in mind, that we have this account from a friendly hand; and considering that Fox tells us that the good Lord Awdley assured the king that *all* the people were presented out of malice, I may (and truth absolutely requires that I should) add, one that was not very scrupulous. But we must take the matter as Fox gives it, and form our ideas of "the persons presented, with the causes of their presentation," as well as we can from the information which he has seen fit to give on the subject.

Of course a great many of these causes of presentation are given by Fox in such brief and general terms, and often in terms only descriptive of negative offences, that we gain but little light from them. But there are a good many which are more particular; and even from such as are couched in rather indefinite language, we may learn something. We do not, for instance, get very accurate knowledge from the word "*despising*," as it is used in this Table. When we read that Mrs. Cicely Marshall of St. Alban's parish, was accused of "*despising* holy bread and holy water;" and her fellow-parishioner, "Anne, Bedikes wife, of *despising* our Lady;" of three in St. Giles without Cripplegate, presented for "*despising* auricular confession," and five others in the same parish for "*despising* holy bread and holy water;" of ten in the parish of St. Martins at the Well with two buckets, for "*contemning* the ceremonies of the church;" of John Humfrey of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, for "*speaking against* the sacraments and ceremonies of the church," and also (unless it was some fellow-parishioner of the same name) with three others for "*depraving* of matins, mass and even-song; there is room for a charitable hope that in any particular case the offence was nothing more than that of withholding some of the external marks of devotion which the heresies and idolatries sanctioned by the church of Rome had rendered customary. We cannot tell how they manifested their despise; none, we may hope, so grossly as Richard Bigges of St. Magnus parish, who showed that he was guilty of "*despising* holy bread" by "putting it in the throat of a bitch."

Perhaps, too, we can hardly judge of such cases as Brisley's wife of St. Nicholas in the Flesh Shambles, who was presented "for *busy reasoning* on the new learning, and not keeping the

church;" but it gives occasion to remark (what will be obvious to any one who looks over the *Table*), that so great a proportion of the offenders were females. We have had one or two instances already; and one of the ten parishioners of St. Martin's (just mentioned by only that description) stands in the *Table* as "Mother Palmer." Whether she obtained this title of respect from her being in any way considered a "mother in Israel," I do not know; but Mrs. Elizabeth Statham of St. Mary Magdalene's in Milk-street, seems to have been something of the kind, for her offence was "maintaining in her house Latimer, Barnes, Garret, Jerome, and divers others." Perhaps she was content to sit as a learner in the prophet's chamber which she had made; but Margaret Ambsworth of St. Botolph's without Aldgate, was presented, not only "for having no reverence to the sacrament at sacring time," but also "for instructing of maids, and being a great doctress." One is inclined to suspect something of the same spirit in Martyn Bishop's wife of St. Benet Finch, who "did set light by the curate" when he spoke to her about her not confessing in Lent, and receiving at Easter. Mrs. Castle, too, of St. Andrew's, Holborn, was presented "for being a meddler," as well as for another species of conduct, very naturally concomitant, and of which I shall say more presently, but in the meantime, she was, as I have said, a "meddler," and so no doubt, in the estimation of the jurors, were her fellow-parishioners, Robert Plat and his wife, who "were great reasoners in scripture, saying that they had it of the Spirit;" and so the eight parishioners of St. Mary Woolchurch, who were "great reasoners and despisers of ceremonies;" and Thomas Aduet, John Palmer, and Robert Cooke of St. Michael, Queenhithe, for "the cause laid to these persons was for reasoning of the scripture, and of the sacraments;" and John Cockes of the same parish, for "this man was noted for a great searcher out of new preachers, and maintainers of Barnes's opinions." All these persons, and many others, were no doubt considered as "meddlers," though not described by that name; but we have no proof that they "meddled," as Mrs. Castle did, in a way that was then very common, and requires more particular notice.

Let us give—who, even of the thoughtless and the worthless, can help giving?—not merely pity, but honour and respect to the man who suffers for conscience' sake, even if he is ignorant, weak, or mistaken; but let us not be so far imposed on by the declamation of party, as to imagine that the protestantism with which Henry the Eighth had to deal, was simply a system of meek endurance and patient suffering—a pure spirit of heaven dragged from its hiding-place on earth by fiends infernal, whose only mission was to find and torment it. It cannot be denied

that there was something aggressive in its character; and one of its modes of displaying this quality was by disturbing the services of the church. I have already noticed cases in which this was done by some fanatics with great force and violence, by striking the priest, and overthrowing or trampling on the elements. But these were extraordinary cases. It is not fair to make any cause responsible for all the fanatics whom it may engender; for no cause which does not engender some is worth maintaining. But there were milder, and more common modes of aggression. Thus the four parishioners of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, who have been already noticed as "despising holy bread," were also presented for "letting divine service." How they did it we are not told; nor do we get more precise information respecting four parishioners of St. Mildred in Breadstreet, who "were presented for interrupting the divine service." Master Pates of David's Inn, and Master Galias of Bernard's Inn, both of the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, were presented "for vexing the curate in the body of the church, in declaring the King's Injunctions, and reading the bishop's book, so that he had much ado to make an end;" and beside being included in this joint accusation, Master Galias was individually presented "for withstanding the curate censuring the altars on Corpus Christi Even, and saying openly that he did naught." If the reader has not lost sight of Mrs. Castle the "meddler," he may remember that she belonged to the same parish, and it must now be added that she was presented, not only as a meddler, but as "a reader of Scripture in the church."

To a modern reader, that is, a reader acquainted with only modern feelings and usages, it may seem odd to find a woman charged with such an offence; and, indeed, the whole matter is so alien from that with which we are familiar in practice, that it requires a little illustration. The idea of taking any book to church, except a Bible or Prayer-book, would seem strange to us. Some readers may not at once think of the Companion to the Altar as a singular exception, and a relic of old times, and others may be surprised to learn that the statutes of Trinity College, Cambridge, given by Queen Elizabeth in the second year of her reign, distinctly recognised the right, and thereby imply the custom, of carrying into chapel at service time, not only the Scriptures and books containing devout prayers or meditations, but the sermons of any holy father or doctor.\* We must

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\* I do not know what may have been the law or custom at other colleges. The statute to which I refer, however, was in force at Trinity College till very lately; certainly till within these ten years. How long, and to what extent, it was acted on in this particular, I do not know. At the only period when I had much opportunity of observing, the taste of the young men generally did not lie that way; but I presume that a procession of undergraduates, with folios of Taylor, Barrow, Til-

not therefore think that the reformers did anything very strange when they took books with them to church; and, saying nothing of any little demonstration such as human nature when it is sectarianized cannot help, we must confine the offence to the taking in of unlawful books, or the using them to disturb the service. It may have been observed in a preceding essay, that when William Gardiner went to the church at Lisbon, he was occupied during the service with reading on his New Testament. This was probably an English Testament, and he might have pleaded (as we shall see that William Hastlen did) that he was employing his time more profitably than in listening to a service which he could not understand. There was not the same excuse for Thomas Benet of Exeter, who "wrote his mind in certain scrolls of paper, which, in secret manner, he set upon the doors of the cathedral church of the city; in which was written 'the Pope is Antichrist; and we ought to worship God only and no saints.'" Fox tells us, "there was no small ado," and "the bishop and all his doctors were as hot as coals, and enkindled as though they had been stung with a sort of wasps. Wherefore, to keep the people in their former blindness, order was taken that the doctors should in haste up to the pulpit every day and confute this heresy. Nevertheless, this Thomas Benet, keeping his own doings in secret, went the Sunday following to the cathedral church to the sermon, and by chance sat down by two men, who were the busiest in all the city in seeking and searching for this heretic; and they, beholding this Benet, said the one to the other, 'surely this fellow, by all likelihood, is the heretic that hath set up the bills, and it were good to examine him.' Nevertheless, when they had well beheld him, and saw the quiet and sober behaviour of the man, his attentiveness to the preacher, his godliness in the church, being always occupied in his book, which was a Testament in the Latin tongue, they were astonied, and had no power to speak unto him, but departed, and left him reading in his book."\*

It is not exactly to our precise point, perhaps, but it contributes somewhat to illustrate the manners and spirit of the times

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lotion, &c., under their arms, would have had little to fear from the dean. "*Nemo ad sacellum tempore rei divinæ faciendæ alios libros adferat quam psalterium, aut alios hujusmodi libros, qui pias preces meditationes contineant, aut Sacra Biblia, aut pias conciones alicujus sancti patris aut doctoris.*"—*Cap. XVI.*

\* Vol. V. p. 19. How a man who was "always occupied in his book," could be remarkable for "his attentiveness to the preacher," it is not easy to understand, unless we suppose the narrator to mean, that when he was not attending to the preacher, he was occupied in his book—or, in other words, that he showed himself remarkably attentive to the sermon, and remarkably occupied by his Testament during the prayers. This seems probable in itself, and there must of course have been some sort of demonstration to waken the suspicion and elicit the suggestion of his neighbours.

and persons with whose history we are engaged, to observe that Anne Askew tells us, that when she was brought before Bishop Bonner, "he commanded his archdeacon to commune" with her, and "then," she adds, that is, after a general inquiry as to the cause of her trouble, "took he my book out of my hand, and said, 'Such books as this have brought you to the trouble that you are in. Beware,' said he, 'beware, for he that made this book, and was the author thereof, was a heretic I warrant you, and burned in Smithfield.' And then I asked him if he were certain and sure that it was true that he had spoken. And he said, he knew well the book was of John Frith's making." She afterwards says, that she opened the book, and showed the archdeacon that it was not what he supposed, but she does not tell us what it was. I mention the circumstance chiefly as showing, that at such a time and place she had her book in her hand; for our business is at present with those who, like Mrs. Castle, were readers of the Scripture in the church; and the Table before us, beside the general statements already cited about letting and interrupting divine service, mentions several cases in which it was done in this particular manner. Andrew Kempe, William Pahen, and Richard Manerd of St. Alban's Parish, were presented "for disturbing the service of the church with brabbling of the New Testament;" and one of the offences charged against William Plaine was, that "when he came to the church, with loud reading the English Bible, he disturbed the divine service."

One of the most interesting and instructive accounts of such a case, however, is recorded in the Appendix to Fox's Martyrology, under the title of "A Note of a certain good man troubled in Boulogne the first year of King Edward the Sixth, for the Gospel." It begins thus:—

"The examination of me, William Hastlen, gunner in the castle of High Boulogne, in the year of our Lord 1547, and the first year of the reign of king Edward the sixth. As I was in the church of Boulogne, called the Stals, upon the 12th of April, being Easter Tuesday, reading of a godly book, called 'The Lamentation of a Christian against the citizens of London,' between the hours of three and four at afternoon, there came certain men to me as I stood at an altar in the church reading to myself, and asked me what good book I had; and I said, they should hear if they pleased. Then they desired me to read out that they might hear, and so did I very gladly; but I had not read long (the priests and clerks were at their Latin even-song, I reading mine English book) but there came a tipstaff for me, taking my two books from me, and commanded me to go with him; for he said I must go before the council of the town.

Then went I forth with him; and a little without the church door, sir John Bridges met us, and bade the tipstaff carry me to sir Leonard

Beckwith, knight, to be examined; and coming before his presence, he asked me what books they were that I had at the church; and was reading of one of them openly in the church to the people. And I said, so far as I had read them they were good godly books. And he said, they were heresy. And with that he asked me how I did believe of the sacrament of the altar, whether I did not believe that to be the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bones: and I asked him whether he meant that that was in the pix or no? and he said, Yea, even that in the pix. And I said, that since I had sure knowledge of Scriptures, I did not believe it to be the body of Christ, but a bare piece of bread; nor by God's help will I ever believe it otherwise to be. Then he said, I was a heretic, and asked me what I made of the Sacrament: and I said, if it were duly ministered according to Christ's institution, that then I did believe that the faithful communicants, in receiving that blessed sacrament, did receive into their inward man or soul, the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Then said he, 'Dost thou not believe it to remain the very body of Christ after the words of consecration pronounced by the priest?' And I said, No. Then said he, 'What dost thou make of the Church?' I said, 'As it is now used, it is a den of thieves, and the synagogue of Satan.' 'Thou heretic,' said he, 'there remaineth the very body of Christ.' But I said, that Christ being God and Man, dwelleth not in the temples made with men's hands. Much other communication had we at that time, but this was the effect that day. Then he asked me whether I would be forthcoming till to-morrow. And I said, 'Sir, if you think that I will not, you may lay me where I shall be so.' Then he let me go for that night, and said, 'We shall talk further with thee to-morrow; so I departed home.'

And about the space of two hours after, master Huntingdon the preacher (which did much good with his preaching in Boulogne at that time) came to me, and said, that he heard me spoken of at my lord Gray's, who was then lord deputy of the town and country of Boulogne; 'and I perceive,' said he, 'that you are in great danger of trouble, if you escape with your life: for there are some of the council marvellously bent against you.' I said, 'The Lord's will be done.' 'Well,' said he, 'without you feel in yourself a full purpose, by God's help, to stand earnestly to the thing that ye have spoken, you shall do more hurt than good. Wherefore,' said he, 'if you will go to Calais, I will send you where you shall be well used, and be out of this danger.' Then I thanked master Huntingdon, saying, 'I purpose by God's assistance to abide the uttermost that they can do unto me.' 'Well then,' said he, 'I can tell you you will be sent for to-morrow betimes before the whole council.' 'That is,' said I, 'the thing that I look for.'

Then rose I betimes in the morning and went into the marketplace, that I might spy which way the officer should come for me. I had not tarried there long, but I spied a tipstaff, and went toward him, and asked him whom he sought; and he said, 'a gunner of the great ordnance in the castle of Boulogne;' and I said, 'I am he:' then said he, 'You must go with me to my lord's:' and I said, 'Therefor I looked.'

When I came there, I saw my lord and the whole council were assembled together in a close parlour. Doing my duty to them, my lord said to me, 'It is informed me that thou hast seditiously congregated a company together in the church, and there in the time of service thou didst read unto them an heretical book, and hast not reverently used silence in the time of the divine service. What sayest thou to this?'

I said, 'If it please your honour, I was in the church a good while before any service began, and nobody with me, reading to myself alone, upon a book that is agreeable to God's word, and no heresy in it that I read; and when it drew towards service time, there came men to the church, and, some of them coming to me whom I knew not, asking me what good book I had, I said it was a new book that I had not yet read over. Then they prayed me that I should read so that they might hear some part with me; and so I did, not calling, pointing, nor assembling any company to me. And the service being in Latin, that for the strangeness of the tongue, besides much superstition joined with it, was not understood of the most part of them that said or sung it, much less of them that stood by and did hear it; whereas, by the word of God, all things in the church or congregation should be done to the edifying of the people, and seeing I could have no such thing by their service; I did endeavour to edify myself, and others that were desirous of reading godly books. And because the church is so abused contrary to the word of God, being beset round about with a sort of abominable idols, before whom no man ought to kneel, nor do any manner of reverence, because the scriptures do curse both the idol and the idol-maker, and all that do any worship or reverence unto them, or before them, for that cause I used no reverence there.'—VIII. 715.

I have already given the reader some account of this book which William Hastlen was reading aloud in the church at Boulogne, and one extract from it, which might perhaps suffice to show that it was not exactly what a Christian, guided by the pure and peaceable wisdom that is from above, would have chosen for his lecture at such a time and place; but it is quite worth while to give some further extracts, which will more fully illustrate its character, and show that the offence taken by the popish party was, to say the least, very natural. Imagine the "gunner of the great ordnance" opening such a fire as this, in the church, and during the service:—

"Thynke ye that God hath not as moche to laye to the charges of London for killinge hys seruantes, as he had agaynst Jerusalem for killinge hys Prophetes? Yes, yes: For Goddes sake ye that be elders repent and geue your selves to readinge the lawe of the Lord, that ye may be an example to the commons in godlye conversacion: And in the scriptur ye shall lerne what to do, ande what to leaue vndone, and howe to knowe false Prophetes, and how to cast them out of your

conscyens, where they haue sytten a longe time, euen in the stede of God: I meane not the Byshoppe of Rome alone, but he and all hys marke wyth hym, and specially his owne generacion, which are all in forked cappes.

What a plage is this, that in no mans tyme aliue was euer any Christen Bishope raininge ouer the Citty of London, but euery one worsse then other? I thynke theyr can now come no worsse, except the same Lucyfer that fell from heauen, come himselfe, whyche is the very father of all Popyshe Byshops."—*Sig. c.*

"O ye Babylonysh Bishoppes and generacion of Vipers, where haue ye your auctoryte? or how dar ye be so bold to kyll a man for his faith whych Christ neuer ded nor hys Apostelles? For it is a gyfte which no man can eyther geue an other or yet hym selfe. No no, it is the gyft of God onely. Ande that must be genen a man before he can eyther do or thynke goode. For all that is done without fayth is synne. Roma. in the xxiii. and Hebre. xi.

No, nor ye put no man to death for Christes sake, but for that that no man should either preache teache or wrytte Chryst aryght, which he can not do, but he shall by force be constrained of the holye Ghost to wryte agaynst your pompe, pryde, vyle lyuinge, and against your abhominable sedusing of the people, leadyng them in an endlesse mase of dyrtie tradicions and folyshe ceremonies.

And why can not a man set forthe Christ but he must write agaynst you? Euen bycause ye be the very Antichristes. No I saye it is not possible for anye man sent of God, either to preache or wryte, but he must open hys mouthe against that moost wycked abomynable, and detestable Antychryst, of ROME, as agaynste the enemy of Chryst, which be you false Byshops, false Prophetes, that beare the false signe of the newe lawe and the olde lawe, with stoute stronge and sturdie Archdeacons, Deanes, and Chanons of Cathedrall Churches and other your pytymembers prestes of Baal."—*Sig. d. vii. b.*

"O ye deuilles, ye blind guides and seducers of the people, howe of late bewitched you the Parliament house? Euen by your inuencions and deuellishe studie haue ye caused actes and decrees to be made, so cleane contrarye to the lawes of the lyuinge God, that I saye vnto you, the verie bearewolfe, that abhominable whore of Rome neuer made so cruell actes. He neuer made it dethe for a preste to marye a wife, &c."—*Sig. e. iiii.*

This is perhaps a sufficient specimen, and it brings us back to the Act of Six Articles; and therefore, very naturally, to a case of which I wish to take some notice, for several reasons. That is, not merely as furnishing an instance of reading the Bible in church, but as giving us a cautionary hint that it is necessary to read such stories with care and attention, lest we fall into misconceptions of their real nature. I mean "The Story of John Porter, cruelly martyred for reading the Bible in Paula,"



which I do the rather, because those who look cursorily at that part of Fox's work with which we are at present engaged, may read, "In the number of those before named,\* cometh the remembrance of John Porter, who, in the same year (A.D. 1541), for Reading the Bible in Pauls Church was cruelly handled, and that unto death, as you shall hear."

Of course there is something to surprise even those who are not very suspicious, in the statement that a man was put to death for reading the Bible in Pauls Church, when they have just been told that the Bible had been placed there by the bishop of the diocese, in order that anybody who chose might read it. Indeed, Fox continues his story by saying—

"It was declared in this history above, how Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, in the days of the Lord Cromwell, being then ambassador at Paris, was a great doer in setting forward the printing of the Bible in the great volume; promising moreover, that he would, for his part, have six of those Bibles set up in the church of St. Paul in London; which, also, at his coming home, he no less performed, according to the King's proclamation set forth for the same, whereof read before."—*Vol. V. p. 451.*

And he adds;—

"The Bibles thus standing in Paul's, by the commandment of the king, and the appointment of Bonner the bishop, many well-disposed people used much to resort to the hearing thereof, especially when they could get any that had an audible voice *to read unto them*, misdoubting therein no danger toward them; and no more there was, so long as the days of Cromwell lasted. After he was gone, it happened amongst divers and sundry godly-disposed persons, which frequented therein *the reading* of the aforesaid Bible, that one John Porter used sometimes to be occupied in *that godly exercise*, to the edifying as well of himself, as of other. This Porter was a fresh young man, and of a big stature; who, by diligent reading of the scripture, and by hearing of such sermons as then were preached by them that were the setters-forth of God's truth, became very expert. The Bible then being set up, by Bonner's commandment, upon divers pillars in Paul's church, fixed unto the same with chains for all men *to read in them* that would, great multitudes would resort thither to hear this Porter, *because he could read well*, and had an audible voice. Bonner and his chaplains, being grieved withal (and the world beginning then to frown upon the gospellers), sent for the said Porter, and rebuked him very sharply *for his reading*. But Porter answered him that he trusted he had done nothing contrary to the law, neither contrary to his advertisements, which he had fixed in print over every Bible."—*Ed. 1596, p. 1100.*

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\* That is, it would seem, in the Table so often mentioned of those who were persecuted for the Six Articles, though I do not observe his name.

The reader who has got thus far in the history of John Porter, probably thinks that he has made a considerable progress towards understanding his case. He may wonder to find him brought before Bishop Bonner for the simple act of reading the Bibles which Bishop Bonner himself had set up, and still (Cromwell or no Cromwell, it seems) kept up in his cathedral ; and to learn that the bishop put him to death for it. He may, however, consider that it would be mere folly to attempt to account for the cruel freaks of such a sanguinary monster ; and that the only way to meet the difficulty is to say, "Whether Bonner put the Bibles up, or put the Bibles down, his object was blood. No doubt his secret orders to the myrmidons whom he sent to spy out the proceedings of the Bible-readers in Pauls were to 'SPARE NONE.'"

But, whatever surmises may have arisen in the minds of those who have read the matter contained in the preceding pages of this essay, the unprepared and confiding reader of Fox will, by what has been hitherto said, learn absolutely nothing (one might almost say less than nothing) of the real case. It may be hard to say, particularly, and in detail, what was the charge against the prisoner ; for, so far, it has been studiously suppressed in the story ; and it only just crops out in the sequel sufficiently to show us, that to represent John Porter as "cruelly martyred for reading the Bible in Pauls" is historically (and yet more verbally) as untrue as to say that John Thurtell was put to death for firing a pistol. Whatever were John Porter's offences, we may safely join issue with Fox, and deny that it was "for reading the Bible ;" and that, too, on his own showing, for he immediately goes on to say, "Bonner then laid unto his charge that he had made *expositions* upon the text, and gathered *great multitudes* about him to *make tumults*."

These were the very things particularly forbidden in the "Admonition" set over the Bibles, to regulate the behaviour of those who should see fit to use them. It directed "that no number of people be specially congregate therefore to *make a multitude*, and that no *exposition* be made thereupon ;" and these were the very things which the bishop laid to the charge of John Porter. And he charged him, not only with these things, forbidden in themselves, but with a much more serious offence—namely, with doing these things in order to *make tumults*. We have only the *ex parte* statement given us by Fox ; but does he venture to say that the charge was false ? Not at all. Does he represent John Porter himself as denying it ? Not at all. When Bonner made the charge, "he answered, he trusted that should not be proved by him." A most prudent and characteristic reply. But, having recorded this discreet answer, not a

word more does Fox say of the charge, or the examination, or the defence. He seems as if he suddenly felt that he had said quite enough, or too much; and he huddles up the story, leaving his readers in a state of great ignorance, but surely not without a strong suspicion that there was a good deal more in the matter than he chose to tell. His very next words to those which I have just quoted are, "But, in fine, Bonner sent him to Newgate, where he was miserably fettered in irons." His jumping to such a point, when the reader naturally supposed that he was at the beginning of a story, is very suspicious; and this instance, among many others, may very usefully instruct us not to receive the stories of party writers without some care and examination.

But as to the matter which has led to its being brought forward on this occasion—namely, the reading in churches to which the Reformers were addicted—perhaps enough has been said for our present purpose; and I hope to proceed to the notice of some whose offences still more urgently called for the interposition of authority.

I am, &c.

S. R. MAITLAND.

## ANTIQUITIES, ETC.

### THE CONSUETUDINARY OF ST. OSMUND,

FROM A MANUSCRIPT FORMERLY BELONGING TO ST. PATRICK'S  
CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN.

(Continued from vol. xxx. p. 659.)

#### *Ad matutinas eiusdem dominice.\**

**E**adem die ad mat. primam antiphonam super psalmos incipiat primus de prima forma. Secunda uero a. a suo pari ex opposito incipiatur. Tertia uero a tertio sibi opposito; quarta a subdiacono uel ab aliquo alio inferiore in secunda forma. Quinta a diacono in ii<sup>a</sup> forma. Sexta in superiore gradu a quouis pro uoluntate ipsius rectoris. Eodem modo octaua et nona per ordinem. Singuli versiculi ad mat. a singulis pueris hinc inde dicantur. Post inchoationem tercię antiphonę, puer quidam ad locum librum legendi in habitu legendum deferat. Qui et ipse primam lectionem legat habitu non mutato. Secunda et tertia similiter a duobus pueris hinc inde legantur. Quarta a subdiacono de secunda forma uel inferiori clerico. Quinta a diacono de ij<sup>a</sup> forma. Sexta a quouis in superiore gradu. Septima

\* *Eiusdem dominice*, scil. primę dominicę in adventu. See above, vol. xxx. p. 658.

a diacono superioris gradus, et viii et ix<sup>a</sup> a diacono uel presbitero de superiore gradu. Primum responsorium tres pueri in superpelliciis ad gradum incipiant. Solus ebdomadarius primum ver. secundus secundum, tercius tercium, singuli per se cantent. Deinde tres simul *Gloria patri* cantent, et similiter Responsorium reincipiant. Cetera Responsoria a singulis clericis iuxta ordinem lectorum cantentur, nec loco nec habitu mutato. Ita ut eadem parte chori in eodem gradu singule lectiones cum suis responsoriis dicantur. In laudibus prima a. incipiat ab aliquo in ij<sup>a</sup> forma, iuxta uoluntatem ipsius regentis chorum. Secunda a suo pari et opposito, in eadem forma. Cetera eodem modo per ordinem in eadem forma. Versiculum ante lect. ipse sacerdos dicat. Cetera omnia ut ad primas vespas prenotatum est sunt exequenda. Eadem die dominica ad primam, a. super psalmos incipiat a primo clerico in secunda forma. Antiphona super *Quicumque uult* ab aliquo in superiori gradu incipiat, sicut fit in omni festo per annum quando chorus regitur; hac die et omni die preterquam in festis dupplicibus Responsorium *Jhū xpe* dicatur a quodam puero ex parte chori pro uoluntate ipsius rectoris loco nec habitu mutato. In festis uero dupplicibus Responsorium dicatur a quouis in secunda forma, et ab eodem dicatur ver. et versiculus. Deinde in choro dicantur preces cum oratione dominica. *Preciosa est* post ver. *Qui replet in bonis*.

*Que persona dicit confiteor in choro.*

**E**piscopus si assit, uel excellentior canonicus sacerdos, dicat *Confiteor*, tam ad primam quam ad completorium per totum annum, quando dicitur *Confiteor*. Finita oratione in choro cum *dominus uobiscum* et *benedicamus domino*, eant clerici processionaliter in capitulum.

*De ordinatione clericorum in capitulo.*

**S**edent autem clerici in capitulo hoc ordine. Primus episcopo a dextris sedet decanus. Dehinc cancellarius. Deinde archidiaconus dorset. Dehinc archidiaconus Wiltesir. Deinde subdecanus. A sinistris autem cantor. Thesaurarius. Archidiaconus Berkesire, alius archidiaconus Wiltesir. Succentor. Proximi autem ipsius\* personis sedent canonici presbiteri. Deinde canonici diaconi, subdiaconi hinc. Inde vicarij presbiteri, postea vicarij ceteri de superiori gradu, deinde canonici de ij<sup>a</sup> forma. Deinde diaconi, subdiaconi, et minorum ordinum clerici de ij<sup>a</sup> forma. Pueri uero siue sint canonici siue non, stent ante alios in area ex utraque parte pulpiti, suo ordine dispositi. In primis puer quidam legat martilogio,† sine *iube domine benedicere*, et

\* *Ipsius*, read *ipsis*.

† *Martilogio*. Mr. Maskell, who has transcribed the whole of this chapter from another MS. of the Consuetudinary, prints this word *martirlegio* (Mon. Rit. vol. i. Diss. on Service Books, p. cxlvii.); and, in another place (Ib. p. cl.), he quotes the Consuetudinary as his authority for the use of the word *martilegium*, to designate a Necrologium, or Book of Obits. In the passage before us, *martilogium*, or *martirlegium*, (if it be so in other copies,) must denote, not the obituary, but the martyrology properly so called, for the reading of it in chapter is expressly distinguished from the reading of the obits. The word *martilogium* is applied in the same sense

sine *tu autem domine*, in superpellicio. Finita lectione, obitus qui fuerint prenuncie [t]. Sacerdos uero stans post lectorem, si qui pronuncientur obitus, respondeat, *Anime eorum, et anime omnium fidelium d[efunctorum] p[er] m[isericordiam] dei requiescant in pace. Amen.* Deinde dicat, *Preciosa est in conspectu domini et cetera* que ad aliam\* horam pertinent. Quibus finitis puer lector aliam lectionem cum *Jube domine* incipiat, et eandem cum *tu autem domine* finiat. Sacerdos autem facta benedictione ad lectionem in suo loco se recipiat; puer uero finita lectione a pulpito descendat et tabulam legat.

*De tabule dominicalis dispositione.*

**T**abula ita disponi debet. In primis scribi debent rectores chori. Canonici. s. secundum ordinem quo scripti sunt in matricula ecclesie. Bini et bini per xv. dies ad lectiones legendas et Responsoria cantanda scribantur clerici in tabula pro dispositione ipsius cantoris. Deinde scribatur ipse lecturus in capitulo per ebdomadam. Deinde qui candelabra. Qvis turribulum, quis aquam. Quis acolitus ad missam: qui duo pueri gradale, qui duo de superiori Alleluia. Ita tamen quod pueri minores scribantur ad candelabra et ad aquam. Majores ad legendum in capitulo et ad turribulum et acolitum. Ad missam uero cantandum et ad epistolam et ad euangelium legendum scribi debent canonici cum eo ordine quo scribuntur in matricula ad illa officia exequenda. Et hec tabule dispositio locum habeat in omnibus dominicis diebus simplicibus per totum annum.

*De tabula in dominica palmarum.*

**I**n dominica palmarum quedam predictis adiciuntur. sc. quod duo de ij<sup>a</sup> forma deferant reliquias ad processionem. Qui† tres de eadem forma ad *en rex uenit*. Quod septem pueri ad *gloria laus*. Quod tres sacerdotes ad *unus autem* scribantur.

*De tabulu feriali.*

**S**ecunda feria, hoc modo tabula disponitur. In primis scribitur puer ebdomadarius ad primam lectionem legendam: hic idem tenetur

at the end of the Martyrology of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, (published for the Irish Archaeological Society, 1844,) where we find the following colophon, p. 193, "Explicit martilogium per anni circulum;" the obituary, it is true, is now bound up in the same volume, but is of later date, (Ibid. Introd. p. xli.) and consequently cannot have been intended by the term *martilogium*, or even included under it. I do not know that the Obituary, or Necrology, was ever called by this name, except in a loose way, as being, as was very generally the case, bound up with the Martyrology, or written into a calendar prefixed to it, and prepared with blanks for the purpose. Du Cange gives some instances of this under the words *Matrilogium* and *Martilogium*, or *—logium*. The Necrology, or Book of Obits, was, however, called *mortilegium*, or *—logium* (see Du Cange in v.); and the Book of Obits of Christ Church, Dublin, is so termed by Archbishop Ussher, in a note prefixed to it in his own handwriting (Introd. p. xxvi.): it is also called "the mortiledge" in a chapter act of that cathedral passed soon after 1543. I learn from Mr. Maskell (ubi supr. p. cl.), that the Martyrology and Necrology of Canterbury, now preserved in Lambeth Library, is also termed *Mortilogium* in an autograph note of Archbishop Sancroft. Du Cange quotes older authorities.

\* *Aliam*, read *illam*.

† *Qui*, read *quod*.

subministrare sacerdoti librum deferendum : ad mat. et ad vespervas et ad collectas dicendas ad secundam lectionem aliquis in prima parte secunde forme ex opposito ad tertiam aliquis de superiori gradu : in primo capite. Ad primum Resp. cantand. scribatur puer ebdomadarius. Dicuntur autem pueri ebdomadarii ad legendum et ad cantandum per ebdomadam illi qui ad primam lectionem et ad primum Resp. scribuntur in tabula dominicali. Ad secundum Resp. et ad tertium cantandum scribuntur clerici iuxta ordinem lectorum. Et hoc observatur qualibet feria per annum, et quolibet festo .iii. lect. sine regimine chori, nisi in propriis vig. et in .iiii<sup>r</sup> temporibus et in rogationibus, quando ad mat. legitur euangelium ex expositione, tunc enim duo clerici de secunda forma scribantur ad primam lectionem et ad primum Resp.

*Adiectio ad tabulam ferialem de collatione.*

**I**n xl<sup>o</sup> quoque singulis feriis scribuntur clerici ad legendam collationem. Ita quod fiat inceptio ab excellentiore ex parte chori, et legatur in superiori gradu per quatuor ebdomadas. Deinceps in secunda forma, ita tamen quod in .iiii<sup>r</sup> feriis ante pascha in prima forma legatur. In annunciatione tamen dominica, quando infra passionem celebratur, in superiori gradu legatur. Sciendum autem quod pueri ebdomadarii semper debent esse ex parte principalis chori. Eorum uero qui ad candelabra sunt, unus ex parte chori, alter ex opposito : reliqui uero tres in dispositione sunt tabulam componentis.

*De tabula natalis domini.*

**I**n die natalis domini tabule erit talis dispositio. In primis scribantur rectores chori. Deinde lectores et cantores ad lectiones legendas, et ad Responsoria cantanda pro dispositione tabulam componentis. Ita ut lectiones pro dignitate personarum ita gradatum [*sic*] ascendant, ut semper excellentior extremam legat. Simili quoque modo cantores Responsoriorum ordinentur, ut eorum quoque fiat ascensus, ut tres excellentiores qui non legerint ultimum Resp. cantet [*sic*], ita etiam ut primam et secundam lectionem duo canonici de ij<sup>a</sup> forma legant, terciam canonicus de superiori gradu, primum et secundum Resp. a duobus de ij<sup>a</sup> forma, tertium a tribus de secunda forma cantetur. Sextum a tribus de superiori gradu. Ad primam missam scribantur rectores chori, duo de superiori gradu, et duo de ij<sup>a</sup> forma. Ad *kyrie el.* tres ; ad l. super *gloria in excelsis* duo ; ad grad. tres de ij<sup>a</sup> forma : ad all. duo de superiori gradu. Deinde quis puer in capitulo cuius officium est deferre librum ad legendas lectiones ad mat. et ad dicendas collectas. Pueri uero notati in tabula dominicali ad candelabra et ad turribulum et ad aquam et ad colitum per totam ebdomadam iuxta illam tabulam sua exequantur officia. Ad grad. tres de ij<sup>a</sup> forma. Ad All. tres de excellentioribus gradu de superiori. Ad euangelium canonicus secundum ordinem matricule, et numerum dierum communis tabule, et ad epistolam alius canonicus eodem modo et ordine.

*De tabula communi.*

Sciendum autem quod quandiu tabula communiter discurrit singulis diebus immutantur rectores. Ab inceptioe enim communis tabule in omni simplici festo scribuntur rectores de ij.\* forma per ordinem, facta inceptioe a principali capite formarum. In omni uero duplici festo duo principales rectores scribantur pro uoluntate ipsius cantoria. Secundarij uero secundum predictum ordinem. Singulis etiam diebus dum tabula communis discurrit, mutatur puer in capitulo, missa, euangelium [*sic*] epistola, ita sc. et\* lector in capitulo mutetur a die natalis quando in dominica euenerit usque ad circumsionem, uel usque ad proximam subsequenter dominicam. Deinde sequatur tabula dominicalem ad missam in festis duplicibus nullus scribatur. In ceteris uero diebus pro ordine matricule scribantur presbyteri, ad euangelium uero et epistolam scribantur canonici tam in festis quam in profestis singulis diebus eo ordine quo scribuntur in matricula. Sciendum autem quod si ordo presbiterorum, diaconorum, subdiaconorum, quo scribuntur in matricula, possit extendi usque ad secundam uel terciam feriam, tunc proxima dominica precedente fiat tabula ebdomadaria. Eadem regula seruetur de ordine singulorum officiorum. Ita ut mediis feriis uacantibus ad predicta officia exequenda scribantur clerici pro uoluntate componentis tabulam. Incipienda autem est hec tabula communis de missa et euangelio et epistola de dominica proxima ante diem natalis; nisi quando dies natalis die dominica contigerit; tunc enim die natali sumit initium. Secunda uero tabula communis de eisdem incipit die dominica palmarum, duras [*leg. durans*] per ordine[m] presbiterorum usque ad ultimum: per ordinem uero reliquorum non nisi usque ad octau. pasche siue interminetur, siue non. Tercia tabula de eisdem communi incipit proxima dominica ante ascensionem durans per illam ebdomadam tantum, qua iterum die pentecost. incipietur sumpto inicio ab illo in quem proximo terminata est, durans usque ad festum sancte trinitatis uel ulterius, quantum ad presbyteros: sicut predictum est in tabula pasche. Transcussa uero tabula communi reuertitur ad solitum cursum tabule ebdomadarie, sumpto ipsius initio ubi ante natale terminata est. Huius tabule communis dispositio locum habet in communi tabula per annum.

*Adaptatio tabule natalis domini in aliis festis duplicibus.*

Sciendum autem quod tabule natalis dispositio locum habet in omni duplici festo per annum. ix. lect. exceptis hiis: Festo sancti Michaelis, omnium sanctorum, et sancti andre. In festo enim sancti michaelis et sancti andree, prima lectio solet esse in prima forma, secunda et tertia in secunda forma. Deinde omnes lectiones in superiore gradu. Seruatur ordine ascensus supra notato primum et secundum Responsorium in prima forma, tertium in secunda, Quartum in superiore gradu, et ita deinceps, hoc obseruato quod omnia Responsoria dupliciter cantentur, preter nonum, quod a tribus de superiori gradu cantetur.

\* Et, read ut.

*De tabula in die omnium sanctorum.*

**I**n festo uero omnium sanctorum hoc modo tabula disponitur; ut excellentior persona primam lectionem legat. Et ita fiat dissensus\* sicut ascensus, sicut [*ley.* sive] in aliis festis dupplicibus, ita quod quidam puer viij. lectionem [*sic*] legat. Nonam sacerdos; primum Respons. a duobus excellentioribus cantetur, et sic fiat descensus modo lectorum ordine ipsorum cantorum non numero mutato, ita ut quinque pueri octauum Responsorium cantent.

*De tabula diei pasce.*

**D**ie pasche tabula talis erit; primo scribantur rectores chori omnes de superiori gradu. Ad primam lectionem scribatur aliquis de excellentioribus personis diaconus, et ita fiat ascensus ut excellentior persona tertiam legat. Ad primum Respon. cantandum scribantur duo canonici et ita fiat ascensus ut tertium Respon. a tribus excellentioribus qui non legerint cantetur. Cetera omnia natale domini imitentur. Preterea scribatur in tabula qui duo diaconi de ii.\* forma deferant ad processionem ad vespervas oleum et crisma. Secunda iii.\* et iiiii.\* feria pasche duo canonici de superiori gradu primam et secundam lectionem legant. Terciam autem excellens persona ita ut ipsa tertia lectione legenda fiat descensus personarum iuxta numerum feriarum. Similis quoque ordo seruetur in Responsoris cantandis per easdem ferias.

*De adaptatione eiusdem tabule.*

**H**ec itaque tabula diei pasce locum habet in omnibus festis dupplicibus trium lectionum, preter processionem ad vespervas, excepto quod in tabula diei ascensionis scribuntur duo ad ferendas reliquias ad processionem. Excepto octavo die pasce et inuentione sancte crucis. Octauo enim die pasce primam lectionem legat simplex canonicus diaconus ex parte chori. Et ita fiat accensus ut ultimam legat excellentior persona ex parte chori. Cetera ut supra in tabula diei pasche. Ita tamen quod hac die pasce fit tabula ebdomadaria de lectore in capitulo. De principalibus rectoribus chori. De euangelio et epistola.

*De tabula dominicali a pascha usque ad pentecosten.*

**I**n ceteris autem diebus dominicis usque ad pentecosten hoc modo fiat tabula. Ad primam lectionem legendam, et ad primum Responsorium scribantur duo diaconi de ii.\* forma, ad secundam et terciam lectionem, et ad secundum et tertium Responsorium scribantur de superiori gradu clerici pro uoluntate componentis tabulam, ita tamen quod tertium Respon. a duobus cantetur. Cetera fiant sicut in tabula octauarum pasce nisi quod in hiis dominicis ad cantandum *alleluia* scribuntur pueri ebdomadarij.

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\* *Dissensus*, read *Descensus*.



*De tabule dispositione Inuentione sancte crucis.*

**I**n inuentione sancte crucis eadem erit tabule dispositio que in octaua die pasce.

*De tabula per singulas ferias ebdomade pasce et pentecostes.*

**S**ecunda et iii<sup>a</sup> et iii<sup>a</sup> feria pentecostes secuntur tabulam feriarum ebdomade pasche: v<sup>a</sup> et vi<sup>a</sup> et vii<sup>a</sup> feria pasce et pentecostes scribuntur rectores chori duo de ii<sup>a</sup> forma, lectiones sint in superiori gradu pro dispositione componentis tabulam. Ad primum Respon. scribantur duo de ii<sup>a</sup> forma similiter ad secundum et ad tertium: duo de superiori gradu ad grad. in predictis feriis pasche et ad primum *alleluia* in eadem feria pentecostes scribantur duo pueri ad secundum *alleluia*; duo de superiore gradu.

**I**n<sup>\*</sup> omni secunda feria ab oct. pasce usque ad dominicam rogationum, natiui scribantur ebdomadarii primi [*sic*] lect. et primi respons. quando de feria agitur. In ii<sup>a</sup> etiam feria post oct. pasce scribantur duo pueri ad cantandum *alleluia* per ebdomadam. In aliis omnibus obseruatur dispositio tabule ferialis alterius temporis. Post dominicam uero rogationum, si secunda feria lecta fuerit expositio et iii<sup>a</sup> feria uacauerit, ibi scribantur duo pueri ebdomadarii ad legendum et cantandum in eadem feria vi<sup>a</sup> et sabbato. Si uero iii<sup>a</sup> feria non uacauerit, uel in ea expositio lecta fuit, tunc ante vi<sup>a</sup> feriam non scribantur. Tabula uero secunde ferie post ascensionem similis est per omnia tabule secunde ferie ante dominicam rogationum. In feriis autem quando expositio legenda fuerit, ad primam et ad secundam lectionem, et ad primum et ad secundum Respon. scribantur diaconi de ii<sup>a</sup> forma ad iii<sup>a</sup> lect et ad tertium Resp. duo de superiore gradu.

*De tabula sancti thome apostoli et aliorum festorum in quibus inuitatorium a tribus canitur.*

**I**n die sancti thome apostoli tabula hoc modo componitur, Rectores ebdomadarii non mittantur, sed tertius de superiore gradu ex parte chori pro uoluntate cantoris, ad inuitatorium eis ut in tabula associatur. Ad duas primas lectiones et ad dua [*sic*] prima Respon. scribuntur pueri, ut in tabula dominicali. Tercia lectio a subdiacone secunde forme, et tertium Respon. a duobus eiusdem ordinis et forme dicantur. Ad iij<sup>a</sup> lectionem et ad iii<sup>a</sup> Respon. duo diaconi de eadem forma scribuntur. Ad quintam lectionem et deinceps, et ad quintum Resp. et deinceps, scribantur clerici de superiori gradu, ita tamen quod vi<sup>a</sup> et ix<sup>a</sup> Resp. a duobus cantetur. Ad *alleluia* duo de superiori gradu. Hec tabule dispositio locum habet in omni festo ix lectionum quando inuitatorium a tribus cantatur. Cantatur autem a tribus in omni simplici festo alicuius apostolorum et euangelistarum, et in oct. epiphanie et ascensionis et in oct. petri et pauli, et in festo beate marie magdalene, et sancti laurencij, et in oct. assumptionis beate marie, et

\* A space is left in the MS. for the rubrical heading of this chapter, which, however, was never inserted. The title would probably have been, *De tabula ab oct. pasche usque ad dominicum rogationum*.

in exaltatione sancte crucis, et in festo sancti michaelis in monte tumba,\* et sancti martini, et sancti nicholai. In die apostolorum philippi et iacobi seruetur cursus tabule quinte ferie ebdomade posce.

*De tabula sancti marci et parium festorum in paschali tempore.*

**I**n sancti marci et sancti Johannis ante portam latinam uel sancti barnabe quando ante pentecosten contigit, ita fiat tabula. Ad primam lectionem et ad primum Respons. scribantur duo canonici de secunda forma, et ad secundam et ad terciam lectionem et ad secundum et tercium Respons. scribantur clerici de superiori gradu pro uoluntate componentis tabulam, ita quod tercium Respons. a duobus cantetur. Ad *alleluia* duo de superiore gradu. In aliis uero simplicibus festis cum regimine chori a pascha usque ad pentec. prima et secunda lectio, et primum et secundum Respons. a clericis secunde forme dicantur. Tercia lectio et tercium Respons. a clericis de superiore gradu. Si infra oct. ascensionis Resp. duppliciter. Si extra simpliciter. *Alleluia* a duobus de superiore gradu.

*De tabula infra oct. et in dominicis et in ipsis octabis.*

**I**nfra autem octab. qualibet sequendus est cursus tabule ferialis. Dominica infra oct. sequatur tabulas aliarum dominicarum nisi indominicis infra oct. natalis domini et epiphanie et assumptionis et ant. beate uirginis, in quibus nonum Respons. a duobus cantatur. Ipse oct. apostolorum sequantur sui temporis tabulam.

*De tabula in tribus noctibus ante pasca.*

**I**n tribus noctibus ante pasca in lectionibus legendis et Responsoriis cantandis fiat tabula sicut in festis simplicibus ix. lect. ad *Kyrie el.* cantand. eisdem noctibus subdiaconi de ii<sup>a</sup> forma, ad *domine misere* duo diaconi de eadem forma, ad ver. cantandos duo presbyteri scribantur.

*De tabula simplicium festorum ix. lectionum.*

**T**abula uero simplicium festorum ix. lectionum sequitur tabula[s] dominicarum simplicium in lectionibus legendis et Responsoriis cantandis. In festo tamen sancti siluestri, pro reuerencia temporis, ix. Resp. a duobus canta[n]tur.

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\* *Sancti Michaelis in monte tumba.* This festival, celebrated Oct. 16, is appointed as a lesser holiday "minoribus operibus servilibus interdictis," by the Council of Oxford, A.D. 1222, (Hardouin, tom. vii. 117,) but the whole chapter relating to Festivals is omitted in the Acts of this Council published by Wilkins, (I. 585.) The name *Tumba*, tomb or sepulchre, was given to the celebrated Mont St. Michel by the natives, from its similarity to the ancient sepulchral mounds, or tumuli: and the festival in question was instituted to commemorate an apparition of the archangel St. Michael on that mount, said to have taken place in the year 708; the angel commanded a church to be built and dedicated to him on the top of the mountain, and the festival was fixed for the 16th of October, being the day upon which this church was consecrated. See Mabillon. Annal. Bened. tom. ii. p. 19.

*De modo exequendi horas dici in prima dominica in aduentu domini.*

**P**redicta die dominica ad iii<sup>te</sup> principalis rector chori ebdomadarij ymnus incipiat, uel incipi faciat ab aliquo de superiori gradu; a. super psalmos incipiatur a secundo choro de secunda forma ex parte. Et ita ceterae antiphonae ad ceteras horas per ordinem discurrant, psalmum intonet uel intonari faciat ab aliquo de superiori gradu predictus rector chori. Nulla enim ymni uel psalmi inceptio uel intonatio fieri debet ullo per annum nisi in superiori gradu quando chorus non regitur. Resp. in ii<sup>te</sup> forma a proximo clerico illi qui a. incepit; capitulum et collecta dicat sacerdos, loco nec habitu mutato. Similis modus et ordo seruetur in ceteris horis dicendis. Eadem die ad secundas uesperas [a.] super psalmos incipiatur a primo clerico subdiacono. Secunda a. a suo pari ex opposito incipiatur. Ceteri autem simili modo per ordinem discurrant. Hic ordo obseruetur in omnibus dominicis diebus per annum super hiis antiphonis incipiendis. Resp. ab aliquo de ii<sup>te</sup> forma cantetur iuxta uoluntatem regentis chor. nec loco nec habitu mutato. Hoc eodem modo Resp. cantetur omni die dominica quando de temporali agitur et Resp. habetur, excepta dominica palmarum, tunc enim cantatur Resp. ab aliquo de superiori gradu. Sciendum autem quod solummodo in aduentu et in xl<sup>te</sup> dicitur Respons. diebus dominicis ad secundas uesperas. Completorium non mutatur.

*De aptatione seruitii dici dominice prime in aduentu et in aliis per annum.*

**S**icut hac die dominica ita singulis diebus dominicis expletur seruitium per annum quando de temporali agitur, excepto quod non qualibet die dominica dicitur Resp. ad uesperas, et excepto quod in xl<sup>te</sup> in dominicis diebus dicitur Resp. ad utrumque completorium ab aliquo de ii<sup>te</sup> forma pro arbitrio rectoris ebdomadarij, et excepto quod per iii<sup>te</sup> extremas dominicas xl<sup>te</sup> dicuntur tres ver. post a. super *nunc dimittis* ad utrumque completorium. In sabbatis in superiore gradu, in dominicis in ii<sup>te</sup> forma. In dominica tamen palmarum in superiore gradu dicuntur; similiter in quolibet festo ix. lectionum orationes, versus psal. a. super *Nunc dimittis* per quatuor extremas ebdomadas in xl<sup>te</sup> ad utrumque completorium, dicuntur modo predicto, excepta annunciatione dominica, tunc enim ad utrumque completorium dicantur versus, excepto quod in dominicis passionis domini una sola a. dicitur super psalmos in singulis nocturnis; quarum prima incipitur in ii<sup>te</sup> forma. Secunda in secunda forma. Tertia in superiore gradu. Similiter ad mat. una sola a. dicitur super psalmos, et illa incipitur in superiore gradu, et vna sola in laudibus. In oct. tamen pasce quinque antiphonae in laudibus dicuntur in superiori gradu, et in prima dominica ante ascensionem eadem quinque in ij<sup>te</sup> forma, et exceptis quibusdam que ad tabulam dominicalem illius temporis pertinent. Et exceptis mediis dominicis post inceptionem hystoriarum, tunc enim una sola a. dicitur in laudibus. Et excepto tempore paschali, tunc enim in sabbati non dicitur nisi una sola a. super psalmos.

*De modo exequendū seruitium feriale in secunda feria aduentus.*

**S**ecunda feria in aduentu, Invitatorium a cantore quesitum est, can-  
tet aliquis de ii<sup>a</sup> forma uice Rectoris ebdomadarii; versus in  
superiori gradu incipiat ad dispositionem rectoris. Cetera etiam  
omnia que ad generale officium rectoris pertinent idem rector per se  
uel per alium exequatur. Prima ant. a primo prime forme incipia-  
tur. Secunda autem a sibi opposito prime uel secunde forme. Et  
cetera per ordinem discurrunt, ita quod quinta incipiat a primo  
clerico ij<sup>a</sup> forme ex parte chori. In laudibus proxima et iii<sup>a</sup> a. a pre-  
dictis duobus pueris incipiantur. Cetera in ii<sup>a</sup> forma incipiantur;  
ordine clericorum prius incepto continuato, cetera omnia que ad mat.  
pertinent ut in dominica expleantur, excepto quod in feria omnes ymni  
in superiori gradu incipiantur. Et preterea sacerdos in collectis  
dicendis locum nec habitum mutat, ad uesperas et ad mat. Preterea  
non incensatur altare in feriis ad mat. uel ad uesperas ad *Benedictus*  
et ad *magnificat*. Ad primam a. super psalmos a primo prime forme  
incipiat ex parte chori; a. super *Quicumque uult* primus de ii<sup>a</sup> forma  
incipiat.\* Resp. ab aliquo prime forme dicatur, cetera omnia ut in  
precedenti dominica, nisi quod in hac feria ad omnes horas preces cum  
prostrationibus fiunt. Ad iii<sup>a</sup> a. super psalmos incipiat puer ebdoma-  
darius Responsorii et Resp. cantet. Cetera fiant ut in precedente  
dominica. Ad vi<sup>a</sup> eodem modo fiant omnia sicut ad iii<sup>a</sup> et ad ix<sup>a</sup>; a.  
super psalmos incipiat a primo clerico secunde forme, Resp. a sibi  
proximo cantetur. Cetera in aliis hodie. Ad uesperas primam a.  
incipiat primus prime forme, secundam sibi oppositus de eadem forma.  
Cetera omnes in eadem forma per ordinem discurrant. Resp. cantet  
puer ebdomadarius responsorii; cetera fiunt ut superius ad mat. Ad  
complet. a. super psalmos incipiat quidam de prima forma pro uolun-  
tate rectoris ebdomadarii. Cetera ut in dominica, nisi quod hic fiunt  
preces.

*Adaptatio eiusdem in aliis feriis per annum.*

**M**odus et ordo seruitii huius ferie singulis feriis per annum seruetur  
quando de temporale agitur. Excepto quod extra aduentum  
et xl<sup>a</sup> puer ebdomadarius responsorii, non tenetur interesse tercię nec  
ceteris horis diei sequentibus et preterquam in xl<sup>a</sup> quia tunc ad ix<sup>a</sup> a.  
super psalmos a puero ebdomadario incipitur et Resp. ab eodem can-  
tatur. Ad uesperas etiam in alio tempore quam in aduentu et in xl<sup>a</sup> in  
feriis non dicitur Resp. Preterea in paschali tempore ad uesperas et  
ad mat. non dicitur nisi una sola a. super psalmos, nec etiam in laud.  
neque preces fiunt cum prostrationibus. Preterea in xl<sup>a</sup> omnes hore  
diei ante missam dicuntur; post missam uero sine interuallo *placebo*  
et *vespere* diei. Deinde *vespere* de sancta maria. Post prandium  
autem *pulsata* collatione dicuntur *virgilie* mortuorum. Deinde  
legitur in collatione habitu non mutato, postea sequatur *completo-*  
*rium*.

\* Incipiat, read incipiat.

*Modus exequendi officium in die nat. domini.*

**I**n die nat. domini ad primas vespervas primam a. super psalmos incipiat excellentior persona post illum qui exequitur officium illius diei. Secunda ab excellentiore alterius partis chori incipiat, et ita discurrant singule personarum dignitate. Capitulum episcopus in capa serica dicat loco non mutato. Resp. cantor et alie persone due cantent, pro dispositione ipsius cantoris, in cappis sericis, dum canitur versus, duo pueri qui seruiunt de turribus duas capas de serico deferant principali sacerdoti, quarum alteram alteri sacerdoti pro uoluntate sua transmittat ad turificandum; versiculum dicant duo pueri in superpelliciis; a. super *magnificat* excellentior persona ex parte chori incipiat. Et si episcopus fuerit presens cantor ipsam a. ei iniungat.

*De modo thurificandi altare.*

**P**ost inchoationem a. procedat officij executor cum alio sacerdote post illum excellentiore ad thurificandum altare cum duobus thurribus: de quorum uno ministrabit puer ebdomadarius, de reliquo uero alius pro dispositione sacristarum. Si episcopus fuerit presens secundarius sacerdos cum capitulo episcopi procedant [*sic*] ad turificand. cetera altera. Excellentior uero in partem orientalem. Secundarius eat in partem occidentalem. Quibus thurificatis ambo conueniant ad ostium presbiteri, ex parte australi, et sic intrent et thurificent episcopum in sede sua. Deinde inferior turificet superiorem, ante gradum chori. Si episcopus non fuerit presens secundarius incenset superiorem in sede sacerdoti ebdomadarii [*sic*] constituta. Verum pueri chorum utrinque incensent. Ad collectam dicendam solus episcopus non locum mutet. *Benedicamus* a duobus de ii<sup>is</sup> forma, in superpelliciis dicatur. Ad complet. a. super psalmos unus de superiore gradu incipiat; versiculum dicat quidam puer loco nec habitu mutato. A. super *Nunc dimittis* incipiat vnus de excellentioribus pro dispositione rectoris. Ad mat. a. super psalmos eodem modo hinc inde discurrant sicut ad primas vespervas. Singuli versiculi a duobus pueris in superpelliciis dicantur ad gradum. Sex lect. in superpelliciis legantur. Septima octaua et ix<sup>ta</sup> in cappis sericis. Singula Responsoria ad gradum dicantur. Lectores et cantores ad vespervas et ad mat. et ad missam postquam legerint et cantauerint coram episcopo ad benedictionem se humilient. Sciendum autem quod in singulis nocturnis ad secundam et quintam et octauam lect. incensatur altare ab aliquo sacerdote in capa serica ex utraque parte chori uicissim assumpto. Chorus quoque ab uno puero incensatur. Finito ultimo responsorio, et cantato euangelio *Liber generationis*, principalis sacerdos in capa serica, loco non mutato, incipiat *Te Deum l.*; postea cum suo secundario thure in ipsis thurribus ab ipso principali sacerdote ante gradum chori in postico altare incenset modo predicto. Cetera tamen altaria non incensentur. Sciendum tamen quod quandocunque presens fuerit episcopus ab eo super thus a sacerdote uel diacono turribus imponendum. Fiat benedictio loco non mutato; finito *Te Deum l.* statim cantetur prima missa. Missa finita principalis sacerdos versiculum dicat ante laudes; a. super laudes in superiore gradu; discurrant per

ordinem in ceteris antiphonis; prius inceptum et non completum capitulum, et cetera omnia que ad mat. pertinent, eo modo et ordine expleantur quo ad vespervas, excepto quod ad mat. non incensatur nisi principale altare, et preterea ultimum *Benedicamus* a duobus pueris in superpelliciis dicatur. Ad primam a. super psalmos in superiore gradu; a. super psalmum *Quicumque uult* a secundo excellentiore a parte chori incipiat. Responsorium *Ihu xpe* ab aliquo in secunda forma pro uoluntate secundarij rectoris dicatur, loco nec habitu mutato. Cetera que ad primam pertinent non mutantur. Ad iij<sup>a</sup> a. super psalmos in superiore gradu, Resp. in secunda forma, pro uoluntate rectoris. Idem modus in ceteris horis seruetur. Ad secundas vespervas prima a. super psalmos pro uoluntate cantoris ab aliquo canonico in superiore gradu incipiat. Secunda simili modo ex opposito, et ita de ceteris. Resp. a tribus excellentioribus pro dispositione cantoris cantetur. Cetera omnia ut supra ad mat. et ad primas uesperas, finito primo *Benedicamus*, omnes diaconi ab altari sancti nicholai processionaliter in cappis sericis accensos cereos deferentes per medium chorum ad altare sancti stephani accedant; et ibi cantato responsorio, et finita memoria de sancto stephano iterum processionaliter aliquod resp. de sancta maria cantantes in chorum redeant, et ibi ita expectent quousque illius memorie oratio finiatur. *Benedicamus* a duobus diaconis dicatur. Ad completorium a. super psalmos a canonico de superiore gradu incipiat. Cetera non mutantur.

*Adaptatio eiusdem festi in aliis festis duplicibus per annum.*

**S**imili modo expletur seruicium in aliis festis maioribus ix. lect. In hiis, sc. epiphania, purificatione; In festo sancte trinitatis. In assumptione et natiuitate beate marie. In festo reliquiarum. Et in festo omnium sanctorum. Seruatur ordo preposterus in lectionibus legendis et responsoriis cantandis, quantum ad dignitatem lectorum et cantorum; et octauum responsum a quinque pueris in superpelliciis et amicibus capita uelatis, ceterosque accensos singulis deferentibus cantatur. Et excepto quod in hiis festis duplicibus non cantatur euangelium ad mat. nisi in epiphania. Preterea in nullo alio predicatorum festorum aliqua lectio legatur nisi in superpelliciis.

(*To be continued.*)

ARCHBISHOP WARHAM'S VISITATION IN THE YEAR 1511.

(*Continued from vol. xxx. p. 666.*)

ECCLESIA DE BETRISDEN.

657. *Compertum est.* That the vicarage and the chapel of our Lady, within the said parish, is sore decayed.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and stated that both had been properly repaired.]

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658. *Item.* That Vincent Mundy withdraweth *x.s.* at the bequest of John Bisshepp, the which the said Vincent, executor, will not pay.

[Vincent Mundy executor of John Byssshop appeared and acknowledged the legacy and paid it to the Churchwardens.]

659. *Item.* That the Priors of Saint Gregory's of Canterbury are by a laudable and long custom bound to find a vestment, called a Dominical vestment, to the said church, the which this prior will not perform.

[The Prior of St. Gregory's appeared and denied that he was so bound, but said that if it could be proved that he was, he would submit. The Commissary assigned to the Churchwardens to prove, and afterwards they stated that they were in treaty with the Prior.]

#### ECCLESIA DE FRITENDEN *vel* FRYTHENDEN.

660. *Compertum est.* That the parson is not resident as he should be.

[The rector resides on his other benefice.]

661. *Item.* The Churchyard is not closed from cattle.

[The Churchwardens were enjoined to repair the fence before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.]

#### ECCLESIA DE HAWKERST *vel* HAWKEHERST.

662. *Compertum est.* That Henry Allard oweth unto the church of Hawkerst *x.l.*, bequeathed by William Irege.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and stated that Henry Alarde had been with them and settled the business.]

663. *Item.* That the parsonage is in decay, and the parson is not resident, and the houses be pull down.

[The Churchwardens stated that the Rector had begun some repairs, and hired workmen to do all his work there, and that they believed it was his intention to keep constant residence.]

664. *Item.* That Thomas Donok oweth certain money to the church by the bequest of Thomas Acroch.

[Thomas Donok executor of Thomas a Croche appeared and said that the legacy was *iiij.l.*, of which he had paid *xl.s.* He added that the lands of the testator had been sold to fulfil the purposes of his will and that the proceeds of the sale had not yet come to his hands; but that he would undertake to pay the re-

mainder by two equal portions at Easter and Michaelmas. The Commissary enjoined him to do so, under pain of excommunication.]

665. *Item.* George Congherst and Robert Badcock owe unto the church for the sexton's wages, and will pay nothing to the maintaining of the church.

[George Congherst appeared and said that all the time that he had been in the rectory of Hawkeherst, he had paid nothing to the sexton because he was not bound; but acknowledged that he was indebted for two years and a half before he became fermour of the rectory amounting to the sum of xv.s., at the rate of vj.s. by the year. The Commissary enjoined him to pay that sum to the Churchwardens before Easter under pain of excommunication. Robert Badcock appeared and acknowledged that he owed ij.s., and the Commissary enjoined him to pay it by the same time, under the same penalty.]

666. *Item.* The sexton keepeth company daily, nightly, and hourly in jeopardy of the church.

[The Churchwardens appeared and stated that ever since the Archbishops visitation the sexton had done his duty properly, and they believed he would continue to do so.]

667. *Item.* That William Mercer draweth suspiciously daily and nightly to one Walter Crothold's wife; and it is a common fame that Crothold's wife should give to Mercer's wife a poison to drink it. And another time William Mercer would have put quicksilver in his wife's ear when she was asleep.

[William Mercer appeared and the Commissary objected to him all the articles in which he was concerned which he publicly denied; and prayed that he might be allow to clear himself of the same before the Lord Archbishop, which was granted.]

668. *Item.* One William Gray hath forsaken his wife.

[The Churchwardens stated that William Gray had quitted the parish, and gone to another diocese.]

669. *Item.* That one of the Churchwardens, called John Mercer the elder, hath given no account of his receipts of the church this xxx. years.

[The Churchwardens stated that John Mercer the elder late Churchwarden, had given an account of all the years during which he had held the office.]

670. *Item.* That William Mercer hath a child by one of his father's servants and is departed with child.

[See before, No. 667.]



671. *Item.* That Robert Badcoke is a common brawler and a slanderer of his neighbours and a jangler in the church.

[Robert Badcok appeared and denied the charge and the Commissary enjoined him to appear on the Wednesday after the Sunday *in albis* with two of his neighbours of that parish, to clear himself according to law ; on which day he appeared with George Congherst and Thomas Pynde and having lawfully cleared himself was dismissed.]

672. *Item.* That there [*sic*] a child born and laid in the back-side of a garden the which was one Erly's daughters and she is unpurified.

[The Churchwardens stated that Agnes Erlys had left the parish, and they were informed, had quitted the diocese.]

673. *Item.* That the said William Mercer hath begotten v. or vi. children unlawfully of single women.

[See before, No. 667.]

674. *Item.* That George Congherst of Hawkerst hath received into his house ii. suspected women which have had children and no husbands and maintaineth them to his slander and evil example of other persons.

[George Congherst appeared and denied the charge ; and the Commissary enjoined him to clear himself *quinta manu*, on the Wednesday next after the Sunday *in albis*. He claimed to be allowed to clear himself before the Archbishop ; which claim the Commissary granted.]

675. *Item.* That William Grey hath put his wife from him and cannot tell where she is.

[This seems to be merely a repetition of No. 668, and is not noticed in the *acta*.]

#### ECCLESIA DE SMERDEN *vel* SMARDEN.

676. *Compertum est.* That there is a fawte between the church and the chancel.

[On the 10th of March the Churchwardens appeared, and the Commissary enjoined them to repair the nave of the church and that if the Rector was bound to do any part of the repairs they should give him notice when they began. And that the repairs should be completed before St. John the Baptist's day, under pain of excommunication.]

677. *Item.* That they lack two processioners in the said church.

[The said Churchwardens were enjoined to provide two processioners for the church, before Easter, under pain of excommunication.]

678. *Item.* That the cattle destroyeth the churchyard.

[The Churchwardens stated that the churchyard was kept clean and that cattle did not feed there.]

679. *Item.* That the church pale is fawty.

[The Churchwardens were ordered to repair it before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.]

680. *Item.* That Thomas Ponet keepeth not his church every holiday.

[Thomas Poynett appeared and confessed that he did sometimes absent himself from the church at the time of divine service. The Commissary enjoined him to keep the said church on Sundays and holidays so long as he continued a parishioner, unless he had some reasonable excuse for absence, under pain of excommunication.]

ECCLESIA DE SANDHIRST *vel* SANDHERST.

681. *Compertum est.* That the chancel is not sufficiently repaired, nor the parsonage also.

[Sir William Galsey chaplain proctor of Master William Knyght the rector, and the Commissary enjoined him to repair the chancel and rectory before the Feast of the Assumption (unless he should obtain a longer term from the Archbishop) under pain of excommunication.]

682. *Item.* That the churchyard is not well kept.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and were enjoined to repair and cleanse the churchyard before St. John the Baptist's day, under pain of excommunication.]

ECCLESIA DE BIDDENDEN *vel* BYDENDEN.

683. *Compertum est.* That Margaret Goldwell, widow, bequeathed to highways in the said parish *vi.s. viii.d.*

[The Churchwardens and executors appeared. The latter acknowledged the legacy and paid it.]

684. *Item.* The same executors towards the buying of a white sutte xx.s.

[The executors also acknowledged this, and the Commissary enjoined them to pay before St. John the Baptist's day under pain of excommunication.]

685. *Item.* The executors of William Harryes for a chalice to be bought vi.l. xiii.s. iiiii.d.

[The Churchwardens stated that the executor of William Harryes was so poor that he could not pay; and that they considered the debt desperate.]

686. *Item.* That one William Patenden willed xiii.l. vi.s. viii.d. to be delivered to the church aforesaid towards a sutte of copes, and to help to paint the rood-loft for the which certain lands should be sold; the executors have sold it and have desired the feoffees to make an estate according to the said will to the buyer of the said lands, but William Watts and Stephen Philpott of Benyngden have denied to make a state and so the foresaid money shall be lost except more remedy.

[William Watts and Stephen Fylpote, feoffees of William Patynden appeared; and, in the presence of the Churchwardens, said that they were ready to deliver an estate in those lands to the purchasers thereof, if for their exoneration the Churchwardens would bind themselves by a written obligation before the Archbishop in Chancery. The Commissary for certain causes remitted them to the common law.]

687. *Item.* That Thomas Wilcok cometh seldom to divine service and his son disturbeth many in the church and otherwhere by facyng, bracyng, and chidyng.

[The Churchwardens stated that Thomas Wylcok was dead.]

#### ECCLESIA DE PLUKELEY *vel* PLUKLEY.

688. *Comptertum est.* That the parson is not resident as he should be.

[“Rector de Plukley licentiatur.” This is all that is said in the *acta*.]

689. *Item.* That the executors of Richard Mundy withhold the residue of his so [*sic*] bequeathed in his testament and will not pay it.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and stated that the matter had been settled.]

690. *Item.* That Stephen Pirfeld chargeth his executors with certain lands of vi.s. viii.d. by year to find a lamp and keep yearly an obit of iii.s. iv.d. the which they do not.

[The executors of Stephen Pirfeld appeared and acknowledged the legacy, and the Commissary enjoined them to maintain the lamp, and to keep the obit annually for the soul of the said Stephen on the anniversary day of his death, under pain of excommunication.]

#### ECCLESIA DE HEDCRON vel HEDCROUN.

691. *Compertum est.* That the chancel is not covered sufficiently.

[Master William Ketillesden the vicar appeared and stated that the chancel had been sufficiently repaired.]

692. *Item.* That where M. Official gave a commandment that the churchyard should be enclosed, William Ongle [or Ongle] of the parish aforesaid hath indicted Thomas Newenden and John a Briggs for amending of the same.

[He appeared, and denied that he had indicted Thomas Newenden and John a Bregge on account of the enclosure of the churchyard and this he offered to swear &c. And the Commissary enjoined him to obey the injunctions of the official or else to appear on the Tuesday after Corpus Christi day, to show cause to the contrary.]

693. *Item.* There is a chantry in the same church which the founder mortified certain lands for the maintaining of the same to the value of xxv.l. by yere, of the which chaunterys priest there by the founder's will thereto sworn should be contented with xi. marks, and his mansion and the residue to the church aforesaid; and the said chauntery priest receiveth it, and keepeth it to his own use, and will deliver no money to the use of the church as the founder willeth.

[Sir Thomas Haynes the chantry priest appeared; and also Master William Ketillesden the vicar to whom the Commissary granted a commission for the sequestration of the chantry, and appointed him to pay annually to the said Thomas, for his salary, viii.l. and no more. The rest of the proceeds of the chantry to be disposed of according to its foundation; and that he should every year deliver an account of receipts and expenditure.]

#### ECCLESIA DE WESTWELL.

694. *Compertum est.* That the Abbess of Mallyng hath withholden by the space of xxviii. years certain Rome-pennies;

that is to say, of Lechynden *i.d.*, of Brekynden *i.d.*, and of Lecton *i.d.*

[The Churchwardens appeared, and the Commissary gave them notice to prosecute this compert before the Archbishop, because it was out of the diocese.]

695. *Item.* That Richard Bukler keepeth not his church as he ought to do.

[He appeared, and the Commissary enjoined him to keep his parish church on Sundays and holidays under pain of excommunication.]

(*To be continued.*)

## CORRESPONDENCE.

The Editor begs to remind his readers that he is not responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

### PROFESSOR LEE TO THE EDITOR OF THE BRITISH MAGAZINE ON THE SYRIAC VERSION OF THE EPISTLES OF ST. IGNATIUS.

(*Continued from vol. xxx. p. 685.*)

LEAVING however these considerations, I shall now, with your permission, proceed to lay before you a few considerations on the state of the Greek and other texts of the Ignatian Epistles now in use, and then on the Syriac version of these, as found in the work of Mr. Cureton.

I am inclined to believe, then, that the longer edition of the Greek text is neither more nor less than a sort of commentary, or scholion, on the shorter; and that the excesses of the shorter above the Syriac, are generally to be viewed in the same light.\* Not that I believe the Syriac text to be immaculate, there being visible in it but too many proofs to the contrary. Still, I hold that the Syriac text gives us a much truer transcript of the mind of Ignatius, than any other that has hitherto come before the public.

It has been remarked above, that the style of Ignatius is generally unpolished, abrupt, and bald: we shall see, as we proceed, that his interpolator has, in both the longer and shorter texts, laboured to remedy this. In other cases he has endeavoured to develope the mind of his author,—as scholiasts and commentators often do,—on questions and persons never perhaps dreamt of by him. And here we shall oc-

\* Le Clerc.—“Qui sententiam suam iis, ampliore paraphrasi, intulit.” *Dissert. Altera*, § viii. And again, (§ x.) “Sunt tamen loca in hisce clariora, et minus intricata; quod mirum videri non potest in paraphrasi, quæ clarior esse solet quam ipsum *ἑδαφος*, ad cujus dilucidationem facta est.”

sionally find indubitable marks of Arianism,\* as also mention made of names which were perhaps unknown in the days of Ignatius. In some cases the sentiments of the holy martyr are written in entirely new language, intended perhaps as a paraphrase, and to facilitate the labour of the reader.† At first, all might have been harmless, and kept separate from the text; but in later times the desire to enhance the value of the copies, and to further the views of corrupt ecclesiastics, would not hesitate to carry out the whole to the length, and number, in which the dark ages possessed and put forth the forgeries bearing the name of this holy man.

Let us now proceed to give some examples of all this. I shall not class them: this may be done at some future time, and the whole carried out much more at length than I shall now attempt, should it be thought worth while to do so. To begin, then, with the epistle to Polycarp, which stands first in the Syriac text. The Greek shorter text commences thus:—'Αποδεχόμενός σου τὴν ἐν θεῷ γνῶμην ἡδρασμένην ὡς ἐπὶ πύραν ἀκίνητον ὑπερδόξαζω, καταξιώθεις τοῦ προσώπου σου τοῦ ἀμώμου. κ. τ. λ. It will perhaps strike every reader of Greek, that the article τὴν is here placed rather inelegantly, and that the verb ὑπερδόξαζω is without an accusative, which seems to involve the text in some obscurity. Both these things are provided against in the longer text, thus: 'Αποδεχόμενος τὴν ἐν θεῷ σου γνῶμην, ἡδρασμένην ὡς ἐπὶ πύραν ἀκίνητον, ὑπερδόξαζω, κ. τ. λ., where ὑπερδόξαζω may have ἡδρασμένην for its complement; which however would hardly have been done, in either case, except by some vile criticaster. The Syriac translator has read the article as it stands in the shorter text; and, supposing that some objective case ought to be assigned to ὑπερδόξαζω, has supplied τὸν θεὸν by ܡܠܟܐ. Not that it is necessary to suppose he found this in his Greek text,—for he does not slavishly follow the Greek generally,—but because he supposed this to be what Ignatius intended.

In the next place, both the Greek texts have τοῦ προσώπου σου τοῦ ἀμώμου, which is not found in the Syriac. And here, I think, the Syriac is right: *thy spotless face*‡ being a combination we could hardly have expected from Ignatius, and to which no parallel can perhaps be found in his genuine writings.

The commencement of the Epistle to the Romans supplies us with some similar instances. The shorter Greek stands thus: 'Ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος θεῷ. § The baldness of which must strike every one. The

\* Le Clerc has no doubt that the interpolator was an Arian, from the alteration he makes in the inscription of this epistle; viz., giving ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, for ἐν θελήματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν: which has, perhaps, too much probability on its side to admit of doubt. The Syriac here follows the shorter text. Le Clerc, Dissert. Alt. § xx. See his other instances, ib. Both Usher and Pearson are here with Le Clerc.

† To the same effect Le Clerc: "Sunt tamen nonnulla additamenta, quæ sunt elegantiora, aut certè minus dura, in longioribus epistolis," Ib. § v., which goes to prove to some extent the remark offered above, p. 677, nota.

‡ We find once in Clem. Rom. τὴν ἀμωμον...δύσιν, as Mr. Jacobson has shown in his Index verborum, but there the use is metaphorical, (p. 124.)

§ "Procul dubio malè," (Smith, apud Jacobson, p. 346,) which I greatly doubt, The Syriac must have had ἐπεὶ, or some such word.



his text, but to give what he deemed to be its real force in the Syriac, and occupying the place which *σεν* does in the shorter Greek. Usher's Latin version, moreover, is here in accordance with the shorter Greek in each of these particulars; the Vulgate, with the longer. I am induced to believe, therefore, that the shorter Greek text gives, notwithstanding its irregularities, the genuine text of Ignatius.

The place, *φύσει δικαία*, here, has certainly received a gloss from the Syrian thus: "in nature *by*" or *in*, "a will pure and just." Where, not understanding what was meant by this rather singular diction, he has added *ܕܝܚܝܐ* *by the will*, as an interpretation of *ܕܝܚܝܐ* *by nature*; and *ܕܝܚܝܐ* *and just*, of *ܕܝܚܝܐ*, which means *just* also. The "pure" of Mr. Cureton here, does not exactly render that term. It may be remarked by the way, that the use of the participles, suspending the sense to an unusual extent, and, after all, leaving it unfinished, may be taken as no doubtful mark of the obscure, and not very greatly polished, style of Ignatius. One would hardly expect, after this, to find him sweetly rounding and sloping his periods in any case.\*

Let us now return to the Epistle to Polycarp. In chap. i. we have, *παρακαλῶ σε ἐν [Θεοῦ] χάριτι, ἣ ἐνδίδουσαι, &c.* The word *Θεοῦ* seems to have been inserted on the authority of "uterque vetus interpres, *in gratia Dei*." (Ed. Le Clerc, p. 94.†) Neither of the Greek texts, however, has it, nor has the Syriac. It is, besides, unnecessary to the place, and the style of Ignatius is better preserved without it. It is therefore a mere gloss in the old Latin translators. Again, for the Greek *πάντας παρακαλεῖν ἵνα σώζωνται*, the Syriac has, "pray for all men that they may be saved." I make no account of the word *men* here: the translator might have thought it necessary. The Latin of Usher (ib. p. 136) has, "*deprecari ut salventur*;" the Vulgate, "*rogare omnes ut salventur*;" each, no doubt, from the present Greek. But how are we to account for the Syriac "*pray for*"? My opinion is, that this is owing to the carelessness of some copyist, who wrote *ܕܝܚܝܐ* *for*, here, instead of *ܕܝܚܝܐ*, a sort of mistake very easily and very often made by copyists. The Syriac is therefore faulty.

We have, in the next place, *κατὰ βοήθειαν Θεοῦ λέλει*, with which the Latin Vulgate agrees; and in the longer text, *κατὰ ἐμψύχθειαν*, and to this the Latin of Usher gives its support, in "*secundum consuetudinem Dei*:" while the Syriac has, "according to the will (*ܕܝܚܝܐ*) of God." I think there can be little doubt here, that *ἐμψύχθειαν* is a mere various reading for *βοήθειαν*, and that it originated with some careless copyist. It is both unusual with Ignatius, and unsuitable to his

\* "Totam hanc Sectionem mutilam et hiulcam esse bene animadverterunt Vossius, Smithus, et Marklandus." Jacobson, p. 260. Tastes may differ on such questions certainly. I am disposed to believe that this text is genuine; and for the very reasons, that these great men believed it was not.

† 'Εν χάριτι ἣ "Smithus, contra auctoritatem MS*ti*, Θεοῦ." Jacobson, p. 428, which is not very clear.



subject.\* Nor can it be said to be a gloss upon βοήθειαν, as it leaves the text more obscure than it found it, and less consistent with the usage of our martyr. The shorter text has here, therefore, the better reading, and probably the genuine one. The Syrian, however, reads "will" (ܠܝܫܐ, Gr. θέλημα), where he appears to have been anxious to give nothing beyond a good theological sense, as indeed it is his general practice.

We have in the next place (ib.), πάντων τὰς νόσους βάσταζε, ὡς τέλειος ἀθλητής: to which the longer adds, ὡς καὶ ὁ κύριος πάντων. αὐτὸς γὰρ, φησί, τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβε, καὶ τὰς νόσους ἡμῶν ἰκέσταςεν. Usher's note here is, "Desunt in Græco Medicæo codice, Latino nostro interprete et in Damasceno." The same is true of the Syriac. Indeed the very face of the passage is sufficient to show, that it is a scholion and nothing else. Leaving this out, moreover, the text assumes the true Ignatian character of shortness and force: "Bear the infirmities of all men like a perfect combatant: for, where there is much labour, much also is the gain."

The next chapter (ii.) presents us with additions of a similar character. I think it unnecessary to offer any remark on προύτητι in the shorter, for προϊότητι, in the longer text. The first variety we have then worth noticing, is in καὶ ἀκέραιος εἶσαι, ὡς ἡ περιστερά. The additions to the longer text are, εἶσαι, and the article ἡ. Usher's note has, "Codex Medicæus: φρόνιμος γίνου ὡς ὄφεις (the shorter text, ὡς ὁ ὄφεις) ἐν ἁπασιν, καὶ ἀκέραιος ὡσεὶ περιστερά," &c. The Latin versions omit εἶσαι; of the article they can say nothing. Antiochus too, as quoted by Usher, omits εἶσαι. In other respects, his testimony is worthless. It must be evident, I think, then, that εἶσαι is a mere gloss, and that the article has been added, in order to answer to the article in ὁ ὄφεις, preceding: where however it was necessary, but is not so in the latter case. The Syriac has the reading of the shorter text, with this addition: "as to those things which are requisite," which is evidently a gloss: it being opposed by every authority, and unnecessary to the place. Our Syriac has here, therefore, been tampered with.

In the same chapter we have the addition given here in the bracket: διὰ τοῦτο [ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος εἰ] σαρκικός εἰ καὶ πνευματικός: where the addition is a mere scholion; the text out of the bracket exhibits the shorter edition, with the verb εἰ, which the scholiast has transposed. Neither the Latin of Usher, nor the Syriac version, has this addition, but it is found in the Vulgate. Again, ib., we have ἵνα τὰ φαινόμενά σου εἰς πρόσωπον κολακεύης: which, it must be confessed, is not without its obscurity. This no doubt the interpolator felt, and so endeavoured to elucidate, by giving ἐπανορθώσης for the last word. It may be doubted, however, whether he supplied the sense of Ignatius by this. I think he failed. All that Ignatius intended apparently was, that Polycarp should exhibit a *bland* disposition in his daily conver-

\* It occurs once in the Epistle to the Magnesians (ch. vi.), where, in all probability, the whole chapter is an interpolation; as, indeed, the rule laid down by Usher, and quoted above, requires.

sation: and so the Syriac translator has understood him. "Sicut noster," says Usher, "ut manifesta in tuam faciem blandiaris: Quomodo apparet legisse et Antiochum. Sed priorem lectionem Damas-cenus et vetus vulgatus interpret est secutus." It must be evident, therefore, that this reading (*ἱκανοθώσως*) is a mere gloss, given for the purpose of overcoming a slight obscurity in the text of Ignatius.

The same chapter presents us with another similar emendation, in *ὁ καιρὸς ἀπαιτεῖ σε εὐχέσθαι*. ὡσπερ γὰρ κυβερνήτῃ ἀνέμος συμβάλλεται, καὶ ὡς νηὶ χιμαζομένη λιμίνις εὐθετοῖ εἰς σωτηρίαν· οὕτω καὶ σοι ἡ εὐχή πρὸς τὸ περιτυχεῖν Θεοῦ: while the shorter text has, *ὁ καιρὸς ἀπαιτεῖ σε, ὡς κυβερνῆται ἀνέμους, καὶ ὡς χιμαζόμενος λιμένα, εἰς τὸ Θεοῦ ἱπτυχεῖν*." Where it must be evident, that the first cannot be a various reading of the second. That is impossible. It is a re-wording of the whole passage; not giving exactly the same sense, but another in some respects like it. If, then, we suppose this longer text formed upon the shorter as a scholion, we shall, perhaps, suppose what was the fact. The Syriac agrees well with the shorter text, and was, no doubt, translated from it, before the longer had become current.

It will be unnecessary, perhaps, now to follow out this minute sort of inquiry any further. I shall, therefore, notice a few instances in which the discrepancies between all our texts (i. e., Greek and Syriac) are still larger; and, if I can show that these are nothing more than what might have been expected under the supposition made above, I shall perhaps have done enough on this head. I will first touch upon a place noticed by Mr. Cureton, occurring in the Epistle to the Ephesians, (ch. x.) Mr. Cureton gives it thus (p. 90):—

*Shorter Edition.*

πρὸς τὰς ὁράδας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς πρᾶεῖς, πρὸς τὰς μεγαλορρημοσύνας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ταπεινόφρονες, πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς τὰς προσευχάς, πρὸς τὴν πλάνην αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ἰδραῖοι τῇ πίστει, πρὸς τὸ ἄγριον αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ἡμεροί.

*Longer Edition.*

γίνεσθε πρὸς τὰς ὁράδας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ταπεινόφρονες· ἀντιτάξατε πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς τὰς ἱκετεῖς εὐχάς. αὐτῶν πλανωμένων, στήκετε ὑμεῖς ἐν τῇ πίστει ἰδραῖοι· νικήσατε τὸ ἄγριον ἦθος ἐν ἡμερότητι· τὸ ὀργίλον ἐν πρᾶότητι.

It will be seen in a moment, that the longer edition here does not exhibit various readings generally of the shorter one. This is quite out of the question: but, if we take the longer as a paraphrase on the shorter, all will appear natural and easy. It should be observed, too, that there is an omission in the longer text; and, to make it correspond with the shorter, we must write it thus: *γίνεσθε πρὸς τὰς ὁράδας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς πρᾶεῖς, πρὸς τὰς μεγαλορρημοσύνας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ταπεινόφρονες, &c.* This will make them equal in matter. The omission might easily have originated in the carelessness of the copyist. So far the variety is not great: when, however, we come to, *ἀντιτάξατε πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς τὰς ἱκετεῖς εὐχάς*, put for *πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς τὰς προσευχάς*,—an unfinished sentence, a thing by no means uncommon with Ignatius,—we clearly have a paraphrase, or comment, on his words. The same is true of the rest of these extracts.

Come we now to the Syriac version of this place, which gives, in Mr. Cureton's work (p. 14, 15), "Against their harsh words be ye conciliatory in gentleness of mind and meekness. Against their blas-

phemies do ye pray, and against their error do ye arm yourselves with faith, and against their ferocity be ye peaceful and quiet; and be ye not astonished at them." It is observable, that the omission just noticed in the Greek text is also made here in the Syriac, as it likewise is in the Vulgate Latin, (Le Clerc, p. 130.) Mr. Cureton thinks that "their harsh words" answers to the Greek *μεγαλοφροσύνας αὐτῶν*. I rather think, that they are the translation of *πρὸς τὰς ὁργὰς αὐτῶν*, *hard*, or *harsh words*, applying rather to anger than to boasting or pompous profession. If this may be relied on, the omission just noticed must be a very ancient one. That it is an omission, the apparently superfluous terms in the Syriac seem to intimate: viz., "and (in) meekness," which strike me as originally belonging to the omitted sentences noticed above; and which may, perhaps, be restored thus: ܠܡܥܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܬܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ, i. e., supposing ܠܚܝܬܐ, left out by the ellipsis. The whole place would then be as follows: "Against their harsh words be ye conciliatory in mind; in meekness against their magniloquence." This will account for the presence of ܕ prefixed to ܠܡܥܬܝܬܐ, and to which Mr. Cureton could not, in his view of the place, assign its full power. It is true, it might be considered as in apposition with the preceding ܕܡܠܬܝܬܐ; but then, this would be to introduce a refinement of style unknown apparently to this translator, and I think to his times: the construction would, moreover, now be rather Arabic than Syriac. The terms, "and quiet," (Syr. ܕܡܠܬܝܬܐ) are evidently adscititious, and are the work of some copyist. In the next sentence, "and be ye not astonished at them," we have evidently a false reading in the Syriac: viz., ܕܡܠܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܬܝܬܐ for ܕܡܠܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܬܝܬܐ, and be not likened, &c., answering to the Greek, *μη σπουδάζοντες ἀντιμimήσασθαι αὐτούς*. Considering then the Syriac thus emended, we shall have it as literally following the shorter Greek text here, as it does generally elsewhere. And, I think, no inconsiderable number of cases can be cited, in which it has also taken as its original the larger Greek edition.

It will be seen moreover from this place, that the short, abrupt, and unfinished, style of Ignatius has been remedied as far as practical by his interpolator; and further, that the Syriac translator has exhibited Ignatius as nearly, both in sentiment and manner, as it is usual with translators of his very early day to do. But more on this presently.

A few more remarks on this chapter (x.) shall suffice on this point. The Syriac commences with, "Pray for all men." The shorter Greek with, *καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων δι' ἀνθρώπων ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχασθε*: which both the larger text, and the old Latin versions, follow verbatim, except that Usher's adds "Deum." I cannot help thinking, nevertheless, that the *καὶ, δι,* and *ἀδιαλείπτως,\** of these texts are adscititious, and

\* Our reviewer laments the loss of this, which I cannot help thinking a gain, to the Syriac.

foreign to the manner, and unnecessary to the meaning, of Ignatius.\* In ἀδελφίστως we have an attempt at emphasis; a thing quite foreign to Ignatius, and adding nothing to his meaning: while the particles καὶ and δέ, have been added perhaps for the mere purpose of polishing his style. The "all men" of the Syriac I conceive to be as literal a translation of the Greek τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, as we could have reasonably expected from its author.

We have immediately following μὴ σπουδάζοντες, as noticed above, ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν ἐρηθόμεν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ: which strikes me as savouring of a gloss, and as intended to render a reason; a thing which could hardly have been expected from Ignatius in his circumstances, or in his short, pithy, and sententious style. The longer edition has it—among other irrelevant matter—thus: ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοὺς ποιῶμεν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ, which the Latin Vulgate follows literally. Neither the Syriac nor Usher's Latin has it. The Syriac then gives, "Let us then be imitators of the Lord," for the Greek, μιμηταὶ δὲ τοῦ κυρίου σπουδάζομεν εἶναι: which comes most naturally after, "Be not likened to them," as restored above. The Syriac adds, "in gentleness;" which is no doubt a gloss, as it unnecessarily loads the context, and has no parallel in any of the other texts.

We have seen, then, that our shorter text favours us now and then with a gloss; I say, a gloss, because the character of these additions determines them to be such. When we come to the longer, we have not only these same glosses,—occasionally improved indeed in their diction,—but we have also a comment upon the text of Ignatius of greater or less length. Let us see how this appears in the place before us, (ch. x. Ep. ad Eph.) Immediately, then, after the first member, ending with "worthy of God," (ὡς θεοῦ ἰσχύει,) we have, "*Num enim qui cadit, non resurgit? aut qui avertit se, non convertitur?*" (Jer. viii. 4;) which every one must see is a gloss. We then have a passage of Ignatius, "Permittite igitur eis, & vobis erudire." Then comes another gloss, "*Estote ergo ministri Dei, et os Christi. Dicit enim Dominus; Si eduxeritis preciosum a vili, quasi os meum eritis,*" (Jer. xv. 19.) These passages appear to have been added, both to give a reason for the sentiment delivered in the words of the scholiast, and then to confirm the whole by a citation from Scripture. We then have the place just noticed, Γίνεσθε πρὸς τὰς ἐργάς, &c. τ. λ., given at length, without any break. Then comes a long explanatory and confirmatory comment: "*Beati enim mites* (Matt. v. 5): *et Moses mitis super omnes homines* (Num. xii. 3); *et David admodum mansuetus,*" (1 Sam. xxiv.) "*Quare admonet Paulus inquit: Servum Domini non oportet litigare: sed mansuetum esse ad omnes, et docibilem, patientem, cum modestia corripientem eos qui resistunt* (1 Tim. ii. 24, 25.) *Non enitentes ut ulciscamini vos de iis qui vos lædunt. Si reddidi enim, inquit, retribuētibus mihi mala,*" (Ps. vii. 5.) "*Efficiamus eos nobis fratres*" (as noticed above); "*per benignitatem. Dicite autem odio persequentibus vos, Fratres nostri estis; ut nomen Domini glori-*

\* So Le Clerc, (on the shorter and longer texts of the Ep. ad Ephes. § 20. Disser. Alt. § 20.) "Qui non vidit esse Paraphrasim pauciorum verborum, vereor ut multum possit in ejusmodi rebus videre."

ficetur." Then comes another passage of Ignatius, which is followed again, in like manner, by a running comment, and so on to the end of the chapter; which, of course, terminates as before with a comment, a considerable part of which appears also in the shorter text—viz., "Ut non herba aliqua diaboli in vobis inveniatur; sed in omni puritate et temperantia maneatis, in Jesus Christo, carnaliter et spiritualiter." The longer text has, "Si quis defraudetur, si quis spernatur propter nomen Domini, hic verè est Christi, Videte ne Diaboli herba in vobis inveniatur: est enim amara et salsæ. *Vigilate et estote prudentes,*" (1 Pet. iv. 7.), "in Christo Jesu." And here again it is obvious, that the longer text gives no various reading of the shorter one. It must also be obvious, that this reasoning and confirmatory mode of writing, is both unsuitable to the circumstances of Ignatius, and unlike his genuine style. The consideration, too, that the text of Ignatius is thus given in parcels, and is then followed by continuous comments, either more or less lengthy, seems to me sufficiently to prove, that the difference, between the longer and shorter texts, consists solely in the quantity of gloss or comment so added. In some instances, indeed, whole chapters are added, which I conceive evinces nothing beyond a following out of the system of commenting, which might have been set on foot at a very early day.

It would be curious, in this respect, to run through the various texts of the Epistle to Polycarp, where the shorter Greek is found now and then to insert a short gloss; the longer, to do this more frequently and amply; while both add to it very nearly two whole chapters (vii. viii.), the contents generally of which are sufficient to condemn them, as already remarked. The same is the case with the Epistle to the Romans; and, indeed, with all the others, as may be very easily shown.

It will, perhaps, now be worth while to examine more particularly the citations made by Theodoret, especially as he is the only writer of antiquity, if we except Eusebius, who has quoted Ignatius at any length. One place has been noted above (p. 681, Note, Ep. ad Eph. c. xviii.), in which the varieties are too great to be mere errors of the copyists. It is evident enough I think there that Theodoret did not cite the shorter Greek as we now have it. In other cases, the passage cited has suffered interpolation: and if so, Theodoret must have had before him an interpolated text.

We have again a passage from the Epistle to the Smyrneans, (ch. i. Theodoret says, to the Romans, by a lapse of memory perhaps,) where there is the following variety. In Theodoret: *ὕδιν Θεοῦ κατὰ θεότητα καὶ δύναμιν, γεγεννημένον ἀληθῶς ἐκ παθόνου.* The shorter Greek has, however, (omitting the previous transposition of ἀληθῶς,) *ὕδιν Θεοῦ κατὰ θέλημα καὶ δύναμιν Θεοῦ γεγεννημένον ἀληθῶς ἐκ παθόνου.* Now, the argument of Theodoret requires the reading *κατὰ θεότητα.* The shorter Greek has, therefore, an Arian corruption here. The text of Theodoret was, in all probability, genuine in this place.

The varieties in the next quotation from this Epistle (ch. v.) are but small; from which it is evident, nevertheless, that Theodoret possessed the better copy. The next quotation (iv., I follow the order

of Pearson) shows, that a large interpolation exists in the shorter Greek text, viz., *μεταξὺ θηρίων, μεταξύ Θεοῦ*, which is evidently a gloss. I omit the smaller varieties as unimportant. Then follows in Pearson the passage noted above, (p. 37, Ed. Le Clerc,) without so much as one remark from him!

The next place we have is this: (Eph. xx.) *Ἐν οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα κοινῇ πάντες ἐν τῇ χάριτι ἐξ ὀνόματος συνέρχεσθε ἐν μιᾷ πίστει, καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, κατὰ σάρκα ἐκ γένους Δαβὶδ, τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ*. We have here a large addition even to the shorter Greek text, viz., from *μιᾷ* to *ἐνὶ* following. I pass over the smaller varieties. What are we to think of this? Pearson has not so much as noticed it! Then, again, if we compare this with the longer Greek, and Usher's Latin text, our difficulties become still greater. The Syriac epistle has not a word of it. If, then, we hold that the shorter Greek is genuine, we are compelled to allow, that Theodoret's copy was an interpolated one. My own impression is, that this whole chapter is an interpolation, and nothing else.

Pearson's next quotation is: *Εἰς ἱατρός ἐστι σαρκικός καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητός ἐξ ἀγεννήτου, ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ Θεός, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ, πρῶτον παθὴρ, καὶ τότε ἀπαθής, Ἰησοῦς Χρ. στὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν*. The first varieties occurring in the shorter Greek text, which are not small, are, *γεννητός καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος Θεός, ἐν ἀθανάτῳ ζωῇ ἀληθινῇ*. A few trifling varieties then follow, and the whole closes with the addition of *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν*: which no one will say is inconsiderable. All that Pearson has said here is, "Et hæ tres sententiæ in eadem ad Ephesios Epistola adhuc reperiuntur." Was this, I ask, all that could have been expected from a good critic?—None of this is found in the Syriac epistle, as noticed by Mr. Cureton. But in the extracts (pp. 50, 51) it is thus given from Timotheus of Alexandria: "For there is one Physician, carnal and spiritual, made and not made (*γενητός καὶ ἀγέννητος*), God in man, true life in death, from Mary and from God, first passible and then impassible, Jesus Christ our Lord." See Mr. Cureton's Notes, p. 105. The longer Greek text is evidently a comment on all this, and nothing else. There can be no doubt, here as before, that if we allow the shorter Greek to be correct, Theodoret's copy must have been an interpolated one. I say also, as before, I believe the whole to be an interpolation. Pearson's next four quotations contain no variety worth remarking.

(To be concluded.)

#### LETTERS OF SAINT BERNARD.

SIR,—The accompanying translation of some letters of St. Bernard, which I send to you for publication, should you think fit, in the British Magazine, was executed in the following circumstances.

You will remember that about two years ago a design was made known to the world of publishing a Life and a complete Translation of the writings of Saint Bernard. The editors of the work were to be Mr. Frederick Oakeley, and Mr. Brewer of King's College. The trans-

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lation was to be performed by various persons; among whom I was requested to undertake that portion of the letters of St. Bernard which I now send you done into English.

I consented to take this part in the work, thereby implying approval of the whole undertaking, on the following grounds:—

Although unacquainted with the writings of St. Bernard, and having but a very imperfect knowledge of ecclesiastical history and theology, I could not of course be ignorant that there must be many things in those writings contrary to the sense of the church of England, and much of doubtful authenticity in, at least, the Romish biographies of the Saint. But it appeared to me that whatever weight should be allowed to these considerations on the one side, there was more than enough on the other to justify and to recommend such a publication.

1. St. Bernard is by universal consent reckoned among the great Saints of the Christian Church; and although I cannot think it right to infer, from the recognition of such a character in any man, that therefore all his actions are beyond human criticism and censure, and are in fact the direct expression of the will of the Almighty, as appears to be held by some recent writers—(see, for instance, the manner in which the question of St. Bernard's conduct in the disputed election to the Papal throne in his time is dealt with in the life of St. Stephen Harding, among the Lives of the English Saints)—still it appears obviously to follow from it that a complete exhibition of his life and writings must be beneficial upon the whole to the cause of religion.

2. Though I was not myself acquainted with those writings, it appeared that some of them—as, for example, the Sermons on the Canticles—were on all hands admitted to possess, as devotional works, a very high degree of excellence.

3. Even setting aside directly religious questions, I considered that, simply as an historical contribution to English literature, the proposed work would be useful and important. St. Bernard is a very great historical character. A most unexceptionable authority, (the present Dean of Durham, in the article "Athanasius" in the Biographical Dictionary published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,) has said that St. Bernard exercised a more powerful influence over the Christian church than any man who ever lived—not even excepting the illustrious subject of the article referred to.

4. Whatever opinions might be entertained about the extreme views of one of the editors—opinions which subsequent events have certainly justified—it appeared to me that such a circumstance, if it had any weight, was sufficiently counterbalanced by the unquestioned orthodoxy of the views of his colleague.

On these grounds, I felt little hesitation in contributing to the intended work. The acquaintance, however, which I formed in consequence with the works of St. Bernard, has not extended beyond a certain number of the letters, besides those of which I now offer you a translation. If the reasons in support of the undertaking which I have above given were of sufficient weight, it seemed that they were of so general a nature that they could not be affected by any considerations drawn from particular parts or passages of St. Bernard's works; and

that, therefore, an examination of those works for such a purpose (for which, indeed, I had not leisure) was not requisite.

Of the letters which I read, those here translated seem to present a tolerably sufficient specimen, though it is probable that from the whole collection many more interesting ones might be gathered. I do not think it would be suitable for me to attempt any general examination or criticism of the merits of those which I now present to you. Many of their excellences are obvious. No one could fail to remark in them a degree of spiritual fervour, and a realization of the Divine presence in the habitual thoughts, and the daily life, such as very few men can have attained unto. I would also point out the overflowing love and benevolence towards man which is displayed in them, of which one of the less essential features is a degree of courteousness in every one of the writer's expressions, which, as far as I can judge, has never been surpassed. As regards questions of doctrine, on which I am unable to pronounce with any confidence, it does not seem to me that, with a few exceptions, these letters contain anything to remind us of the corruptions of the age of St. Bernard, or which would be held objectionable by English churchmen. There are one or two incidental allusions to the worship of the Virgin. The view taken in the 98th letter of the state of the souls of righteous men departed under the Mosaic dispensation, is, if I am not mistaken, erroneous only so far as it pronounces positively on a point which we have no authority so to decide in one way or another. And there is one passage, the sixth section of the 87th letter, which may appear to furnish a remarkable testimony against that relentless opinion which is insinuated, though not explicitly taught, in some modern writings,—that no forgiveness is promised to grievous sins after baptism.

With respect to questions of practice, it does not seem to me that, *assuming* the rules and principles of the monastic discipline, there is anything here that is not deserving of great commendation.

But this brings me to the further remarks which I have to offer. Although I do not feel able or entitled to pass any general judgment on the works, or on the character of St. Bernard, it is necessary that I should advert to those points suggested in these letters, on which I do not wish to be understood as concurring with the writer.

Of these by far the most obvious is that which is the subject of nearly the whole of the letters—viz., the purely ascetic or monastic life. Now, I do not feel able to deny, looking entirely to the text of Scripture, that a life of celibacy, religious retirement,\* and asceticism, is, *abstractedly speaking*, one of higher sanctity than any other. But besides that it seems to me that it must ever be a question of the greatest difficulty and delicacy to determine what individuals are in themselves fitted for such a life, while to all others it is not only inexpedient but wrong—besides that even among those few individuals the majority, probably the great majority, must be so situated that the

\* Rather, however, in the monastic than in the eremitic sense. See Mr. Newman's *Sermon on the Good Part of Mary*, vol. iii. p. 350, 4th edition, with the note near the end. I quote this sermon as setting forth the opinion generally, not as wishing to be understood to concur in every sentiment expressed in it.



adoption of such a life would be a clear violation of their social duties towards man, and therefore of their duty to God—I cannot omit to make a special protest against the opinion so prominently indicated in these letters, as I imagine it is, more or less, in all the writings of the thorough supporters of monasticism—viz., that not only the ascetic life is in itself the holier one, but that it alone is, properly speaking, a religious life, and more than that, that it is one *meritorious* in the sight of God, in that sense of merit which is heterodox according to our Church. Such, at least, appears to be the meaning of Mr. Newman at the end of his impressive sermon, “The Apostolical Christian,” (Sermons on Subjects of the Day, p. 330,) in which, if I may venture on the office of critic, the flaw seems to be that he deduces from texts which fairly establish the superiority *in degree* of the life which he vindicates and recommends, the notion that it is in that life *alone* that the whole commands of Scripture can be *really* obeyed by any man. It is presumed, however, that this view of the *merit* of asceticism is so directly contrary to the doctrines of our Church that no argument is needed to refute it. Nor do I wish to be understood as asserting that any such formal heterodoxy is distinctly or consciously taught in any writings of members of the church of England; but that it is, at least, suggested by the tone and drift of many recent publications, can hardly, I think, be denied. And with regard to the use of the term “a religious life,” I am aware that it seems often to be used in a sort of technical sense, in which it is, in fact, synonymous with ascetic, (see, for instance, the use of the expression in the leading article, headed “From a Correspondent,” about field sports, in the English Churchman of October 10, 1844,) yet, besides that this is of itself a dangerous and misleading use of the word, the remarks which I have ventured to make are grounded, as I have said, more on the general spirit and tendency of writings, than on particular expressions in them.

I must repeat that the opinion I have stated on the ascetic life refers entirely to the *abstract* view of it, and is therefore, I think, not to be met by allegations of individual cases, such as Hooker, who may very reasonably be considered to have attained as high a degree of saintliness as any more strict follower of that life: (albeit some persons seem to hold that to speak of a *married saint* is to use a contradiction in terms; see a passage in an article on Rites and Ceremonies, in the British Critic, about three years ago, which I cannot refer to more precisely, as I am obliged to quote from memory, as in some other passages in this letter.) It is evident that such cases do not touch the general and theoretical view, which seems to me to be easily proved from Scripture. I do not wish to trespass on your pages by any long discussion on this subject, but I may just refer to the following texts, which have frequently been brought forward already in these controversies: Matt. xix. 12; Luke x. 42; 1 Cor. vii. 1, 7, 8, 32—35, 37, 38; Rev. xiv. 4—besides, what is surely undeniable, that the highest degree of holiness attainable by man, must be found in the closest imitation of the life of our Blessed Lord, as shown to us in the New Testament; a life which, upon the whole, if I may so speak reverently, must be said to have been an ascetic one, though one text (Matt. xi. 19)

may seem to have been graciously spoken as an encouragement to those who live the more ordinary life, (see Archdeacon Manning's sermon on that text, vol. ii. p. 258.) On the other hand, besides that the scope of by far the greatest part of the New Testament, in particular that of whole Epistles, such as those to Timothy and Titus—(see an article on the Relation of the Clergy to the People, in the Quarterly Review, No. CLII. p. 328)\*—has evident reference to the domestic life, some more especially anti-ascetic texts, if I may so speak without being misunderstood, besides the one I have already referred to, may be pointed out: Rom. xiv. 6, 17; 1 Cor. vii. 2, 3, 5, 27; 1 Tim. iv. 3, 4, 8; v. 14. It does certainly appear strange that Mr. Newman, with these Epistles and passages before him, should say, (in the Sermon quoted, p. 320,) that monks and nuns are the only persons who really exemplify the Christianity of the Bible. Still more strange is it that he should allege St. Peter, "who was himself a married man," as one of the models of the life to which he refers.

I am well aware of the numberless controversies which have been, and may be raised on both sides, on the above texts. But I do not desire to enter further into them, as I have only wished to indicate the main grounds of the opinion which I am called upon to express in forwarding these letters.

On particular points of the question, as raised in these letters, I would only notice, first, that they seem to me to illustrate strongly the trite observation that the very essence and sum of the objections to the monastic system, is in the compulsory and perpetual vow; secondly, that against which I cannot refrain from an expression of the strongest reprobation, that which seems as directly and palpably against the precepts of Holy Scripture as any perversion of the truth that could be named—namely, the recommendation, and, indeed, positive enforcement, of the separation of *married persons*, as a righteous, and in some cases an obligatory course. It is, indeed, singular to observe, that one of the clearest of the passages of Scripture on this subject, "Art thou bound to a wife? seek not to be loosed," is twice quoted in the Letters (82, 2, and 86, 3) in a metaphorical sense, which it might be supposed the writer thought the only material one.

In a literary point of view, these Letters seem to me to justify the epithet "mellifluous," by which St. Bernard has been designated. I should rather, however, characterize them as, occasionally, specimens of a most abundant exuberance of thought and expression, sometimes, indeed, beyond what might seem to us naturally prompted by the occasion, even if we attempt to look at it with the feelings of the age of the writer; of which the 85th and the conclusion of the 87th Letter may appear to be singular instances.

The undertaking of Messrs. Oakeley and Brewer having, from obvious reasons, been abandoned, I have thought that the same reasons which seemed to recommend the whole design, might make it expedient to publish these letters as a specimen of it; and I forward them for your consideration with that view.

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\* I cannot, however, agree with all the opinions expressed in that very able essay.

I have only to add, that the edition which I have used is that of Mabillon, 4 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1839.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your very obedient servant,  
 ONE OF THE LAY CONTRIBUTORS TO THE INTENDED  
 TRANSLATION OF ST. BERNARD'S WORKS.

November, 1846.

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EPIST. LXXVI.

TO THE ABBOT OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF ST. PETER-OF-THE-MOUNTAIN.

What should be done with a man, who, after a long abode in a religious house according to monastic habits, had returned to the world and had married a second time.

To the most reverend Father of the brotherhood of St. Peter-of-the-Mountain, brother Bernard sends his bounden love and service.

Concerning the subject whereon thou hast thought thy humble brother worthy to be consulted, through the messenger whom thou hast sent, he offers the advice which seems to him the best, but without prejudice to the opinions of wiser men. Of which, not to weary thee with the mention of what thou already knowest, the sum is this. It is indeed perilous, and perhaps unlawful, for a man to return to the world who has long had his conversation in the dwellings and in the habits of religion; and for one who, his first wife yet living and consenting, bravely persevered in continence, to entangle himself foolishly and disgracefully in a second marriage. Yet inasmuch as this marriage, whatever it was, was celebrated publicly, solemnly, according to custom, and without complaint or reproach, I think it not safe that he should dismiss his wife without her consent, unless he have the counsel or the command of the bishop, or at least some ecclesiastical and canonical authority. But since we believe that thou thyself art in no small degree answerable for this his great danger, (as having too long delayed to check him while importuning thee to sanction his purpose, whereby Satan took occasion to plunge him into these evils;) in all charity we counsel and exhort thee that thou strive with thy whole power, and at whatever cost, to set free this unhappy man: namely, by persuading either the woman to release him of her own will, and to promise continence; or the bishop to summon, and, as we believe may rightly be done, to separate them.

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EPIST. LXXVIII.\*

TO SUGER, ABBOT OF ST. DENYS.

He praises Suger for having unexpectedly given up outward luxury and splendour, and betaken himself to the care of sober and religious discipline. He inveighs severely against an ecclesiastic who was devoted more to the Court than to the ministry of God.

1. Glad tidings have been spread in our land, such as doubtless will

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\* The 77th letter was omitted with the consent of the Editors in this translation, being in fact not so much a letter as a treatise: as which it is placed by Mabillon among the treatises in the second volume of his edition.

much help the good endeavours of all good men whom they may reach. For truly all who fear God, hearing what great things he hath done for thy soul,<sup>1</sup> rejoice with amazement at the mighty and sudden change wrought by the right hand of the Most High. Everywhere thy soul is praised in the Lord; the meek hear and are glad; and even they wonder who know thee not, but hear only what thou wert, and what thou art; and glorify God in thee.<sup>2</sup> And hereby are increased both the joy and the wonder, that on receiving the heavenly counsel of salvation, immediately it was thy care to pour it forth again for thy brethren, thus fulfilling what is written, *Let him that heareth say, Come;*<sup>3</sup> and again, *What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light; and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the housetops.*<sup>4</sup> So a soldier strenuous in war—nay, rather, so a brave and pious general—if by chance his men are put to flight, and already falling under the enemy's sword,—though he should see that he alone could escape, chooses rather to die with those, without whom it were a shame to live. So stands he in the battle, bravely fighting; and rushing hither and thither through the ranks among the bloody swords, to the utmost with voice and arm he terrifies the foe, and animates his own men. He anticipates the stroke, he assists the stricken; he despairs of the whole, but for each he is ready to die. But often, while he is striving to check gradually and retard the pursuers, while as he can he raises his fallen and recalls his fugitives, his valour will bring joyful and unexpected success to him, and to his enemies confusion. At length they rout those who had routed them, they conquer those who had well nigh crushed them: the peril of death is changed for the glad shouts of victory.

2. But why do we compare so pious, so brave an act with worldly things, as if religion herself had no such examples? Was not Moses well assured upon God's word, that if the people whom he led were to perish, not only he himself would not likewise perish, but he would become a mighty nation? And yet with what love, what zeal, what bowels of compassion does he check them when they anger the Lord, and turn away his wrath? At length he offers up himself for the sinners, and says: *If thou wilt forgive their sin—and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written.*<sup>5</sup> Faithful advocate, who, because he seeks not his own, obtains that easily which he does seek; truly loving, who clings with firm affection to his people, as the head to the members, and if he cannot save them with himself, will brave the same danger with them. Thus Jeremiah, bound inseparably in love and pity to his nation, though not to their rebellious spirit, left his own home and liberty to share their exile and their bondage. When the rest were banished, he might have remained in his country free; but he preferred being led away captive with his people, by whom, even in captivity, he knew that he should be needed. In a like spirit, surely, Paul wished to be accused even from Christ for his brethren;<sup>6</sup> feeling in himself the truth of that saying, *Love is strong as death: jealousy is cruel as the grave.*<sup>7</sup> Seest thou who it is whom thou

<sup>1</sup> Ps. lxvi. 16.<sup>2</sup> Rev. xxii. 17.<sup>3</sup> Exod. xxxii. 31.<sup>4</sup> Gal. i. 24.<sup>5</sup> Matt. x. 27.<sup>6</sup> Rom. ix. 3.<sup>7</sup> Cant. viii. 6.

followest? I add yet another, (whom I had almost omitted,) holy David, who, seeing and mourning over the destruction of the people, hastened between them and the angel, and prayed that the Lord's hand might be rather against him and against his father's house.

3. Who, then, called thee to this perfection? For me, I confess that, though I longed for it, I had no hope of hearing so great things of thee. For who could believe that by a sudden leap, as it were, thou wouldest rise to this lofty merit, these heights of virtue? But God forbid that we should measure his boundless mercies by our narrow faith and hope! He worketh what he will, in whom he will; he hasteneth our deeds, and easeth our burdens. For assuredly they were thy errors, not those of thy people, at which the zeal of the saints was offended; at thy excesses, not theirs, were they indignant: the secret complaints of the brethren were against thy person, not thy house. *Thou*, in short, wert arraigned. Wert thou changed and reformed, slander would have no occasion left, the tumult would subside, clamours would cease. And what moved us was simply and wholly this: that appearance and pomp of thine in public, which was not customary. In a word, that luxury and splendour once laid aside, the indignation of all was easily to be appeased. But thou hast not only removed the blame: thou hast earned praise. For what human action shall be praiseworthy, if this deserves not the highest admiration? But truly this is no human, but a divine work: this change, in a moment and suddenly, of such men. If in heaven there is great joy over one sinner that repenteth, how is it over a whole brotherhood? how is it over *this* brotherhood?

4. For the place was one of ancient nobility and royal dignity; used for kingly audiences and the state of Courts. There, without delay and fraud, were rendered unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; not so duly unto God the things that are God's.<sup>1</sup> We speak what we have heard, not seen: it is said that often the very cloister of the monastery was crowded with soldiers, busy with affairs, discordant with strife; open sometimes to women. Among such things what room for heavenly, for divine, for spiritual thoughts? In that same place now, men give the time to God, observe continence, watch over discipline, cultivate holy studies: for unbroken silence and repose from the din of the world compels to heavenly meditation. Moreover, the effort of continence, and rigour of discipline, are relieved by the sweetness of psalms and hymns; the austerity of the new life is tempered by shame for the past. And the fruit of a good conscience, which is now gathered by patient perseverance, creates for future good also a desire, which shall not fail; and a hope, which maketh not ashamed.<sup>2</sup> The fear of a judgment to come yields to the pious exercise of brotherly love; for love casteth out fear.<sup>3</sup> Weariness and listlessness are dispelled by the variety of holy observances. Thus have we retraced these things to the praise and glory of God the author of all; yet not without praise to thee also, who in all hast been His minister. He could indeed have done them

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxii. 20.

<sup>2</sup> 1 John, iv. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. v. 5.

without thee; but He willed rather that thou shouldest share the work, in order also to share the glory. The Saviour rebuked those who made the house of prayer a den of thieves.<sup>1</sup> Doubtless, then, shall he receive praise, who, on the contrary, has laboured to rescue that which is holy from the dogs, the pearls from the swine;<sup>2</sup> by whose toil the workshop of Vulcan has been dedicated to heavenly studies; yea, God's house has been restored to him, has been restored to what it once was, from being a synagogue of Satan.

5. We repeat these bygone evils, not to the shame or reproach of any, but that the beauty of the new may appear the more strongly, by comparison with the old; for a recent good shines brightest when compared with the former evil. Like sets forth like; but join contraries with contraries, and each will please or displease the more. Join black with white, and each will shine the more distinctly in its own colour; as foul mixed with fair will make that still fairer, itself becoming more foul. But, lest any occasion of offence or mistake should creep in, we say to you, with the Apostle, *Such were some of you; but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified.*<sup>3</sup> Now is the world excluded from the house of God, the curious from the sight of holy things; no intercourse now with the dissolute; the noise of boys and of girls has ceased. To Christ's children alone, of whom it is said, *Behold, I and the children whom the Lord hath given me,*<sup>4</sup> the holy place is pervious and exposed, kept with due care and reverence for the offering of the divine praises, and the performance of sacred vows. How joyfully do the spirits of martyrs, who crowd this very place, hear the loud voices of these children! and answer them with equal warmth of love, *Praise the Lord, ye children; praise the name of the Lord:*<sup>5</sup> and again, *Sing praises to God, sing praises; sing praises unto our King, sing praises.*<sup>6</sup>

6. The breasts worn with smiting, the garments with kneeling, altars loaded with devout prayers and vows, cheeks wan with tears, chambers echoing to groans and sighs, holy roofs resounding with spiritual songs instead of legal pleadings—what more welcome sight than these to the hosts of heaven and the most High King? For what is it but what he saith, *Whoso offereth praise glorifieth me?*<sup>7</sup> O that our eyes were opened, as the young man's were by the prayer of the prophet! Surely we should see the *princes going before, the players on instruments following after; in the middle the damsels playing on the timbrels.*<sup>8</sup> We should see how carefully, how joyfully they join them in their songs, are present to their prayers, inspire their

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxi. 13.<sup>2</sup> Matt. vii. 6.<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. vi. 11.<sup>4</sup> Is. viii. 18.<sup>5</sup> Ps. cxiii. 1.

\* This quotation is according to the Vulgate, and different from our version. It will probably be enough to observe here, once for all, that while of the passages quoted from Scripture in these letters the greater number are according to the Vulgate, there are several that are not so. I hardly know how this is to be explained. In the translation my own rule has been to make the quotations according to the English version, except only in such cases when the passage as given in the original was essentially different in sense from that version: cases which will be obvious without being more particularly specified.

<sup>6</sup> Ps. xlviii. 6.<sup>7</sup> Ps. l. 23.<sup>8</sup> Ps. lxxviii. 25.

meditations, watch over their repose, guide them in their administration. For the heavenly powers recognise their fellow-citizens; with them they rejoice with earnest joy, comfort, instruct, protect, provide for them all in all things with one will, as for the heirs of salvation. Happy am I who, though absent and seeing not, still live to hear these things; far happier still ye my brethren, to whom it is given to do them; blessed above all, he whom the Author of all good hath thought worthy to be leader in so great a good. For which privilege we most congratulate thee, beloved, through whom all this which we marvel at has happened.

7. Perhaps our praises pain thee; but they ought not to do so. For our words have no likeness to the blandishments of those *that call evil good and good evil*;<sup>1</sup> causing him to err whom they honour. Sweet but dangerous is that praise, when *the sinner is praised in the desires of his soul, and the unrighteous is blessed*.<sup>2</sup> Our poor favour comes of love, and exceeds not the bounds of our knowledge and of truth. He is safe in his boasting, who boasts in the Lord—that is, in the truth. That which was evil is called evil, not good; and if we boldly denounced evil when we saw it, now when good is come, must we be silent, and not rather bear witness to the good? If so, we have injured, not corrected; we have done hurt rather than reformed, if, having been so loud against the bad, we are now dumb to the good. The just man reproveth in mercy, the wicked flatters in unrighteousness; the one to heal, the other to hide what needed healing. Fear not then those who praise thee as in God's sight, but fear that anointing of the sinner, with which once thy head was polluted.<sup>3</sup> We praise thee for thy works; we flatter thee not, but by the gift of God is fulfilled that which thou singest, *They that fear thee will be glad when they see me; because I have hoped in thy word*;<sup>4</sup> and again, *Many shall praise his wisdom*.<sup>5</sup> This is thy wisdom, which many now declare, the same who abhorred thy former foolishness.

8. It is right for thee to delight in such applause, from them who fear no less to palliate vice than to detract from virtue. These are the true friends, who so praise the good as never to disguise the evil. For that is false praise and real detraction, which the Scripture mentions, when it saith, *The children of men are vain, the children of men are deceitful in weighing, they are deceitful in vanity*.<sup>6</sup> These are they that are to be shunned, as counsels the wise man: *My son, if sinners entice thee, consent thou not*.<sup>7</sup> For sinners have both milk and oil, sweet also, but poisonous, deadly. *His words, he saith—that is, the flatterer's—were softer than oil, yet were they drawn swords*.<sup>8</sup> The just, too, has oil; but it is the oil of mercy, of holiness, of spiritual

<sup>1</sup> Is. v. 20.<sup>2</sup> Ps. x. 3.<sup>3</sup> Ps. cxli. 5.

\* This refers to the passage quoted just below, in the Psalms, which stands in our version, "It shall be an excellent oil, which shall not break my head." The difference in the versions appears to be nearly that between the words "impingo" and "impinguo," which latter seems to mean "to anoint," or, more closely, to "grease," "with oil which defiles." Thus the LXX. have λιπανάρω; the Italian, "sacchera;" the French, "blessera;" the Spanish, "ungira," &c.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. cxix. 74.<sup>5</sup> Eccles. xxxix. 12.<sup>6</sup> Ps. lxii. 9.<sup>7</sup> Prov. i. 10.<sup>8</sup> Ps. lv. 21.

joy; and wine, to be poured into the wounds of the rebellious soul. For he is wont with the oil of mercy to soften the sadness of the broken and contrite heart; he pours in wine for reproof, oil for comfort; the wine without bitterness, the oil without deceit. Wherefore not all praise is from flattery, as neither is all rebuke from rancour. Happy he who can say, *The righteous shall punish me in mercy, and reprove me; but the oil of the sinner shall not defile my head:*<sup>1</sup> which, since thou hast put far from thee, thou hast approved thyself worthy of the oil and the milk of the saints.

9. Let now those fond but cruel mothers seek in Babylon for children, whom to feed with the milk of death, to soothe with gentle cares, rearing them for the everlasting flames. For the nursing of the Church now, tasting the sweetness of that better milk from the breasts of wisdom, grows up by it unto salvation; he is satisfied with it; he exclaims, *Thy breasts are better than wine, fragrant with the best ointment.*<sup>2</sup> So saith he to his mother. But having tasted and seen that the Lord is good,<sup>3</sup> he saith to him as to a loving father, *Oh, how great is thy goodness, O Lord, which thou hast laid up for them that fear thee!*<sup>4</sup> Truly is our desire fulfilled; for formerly, when I sorrowed to see thee sucking from the lips of flatterers the food of death, the nourishment of sin; with longing and grief I said within myself, *O that thou wert as my brother, that sucked the breasts of my mother!*<sup>5</sup> Far from thee now be those soft and false deceivers, who blessed thee to thy face, while holding thee up to the scorn and reproach of all men; whose applause made the world a dream to thee, yea, made thee a dream to the world. But if they still mutter around thee, say to them, *If I yet pleased you, I should not be the servant of Christ.*<sup>6</sup> We cannot please in well-doing those whom we pleased in evil-doing, unless first they be changed, and by hating what we were, come to love what we are.

10. There have been in the Church in our time two new and hateful extravagances; the one (forgive me for the mention of it) the arrogance of thy former life. But this has been reformed by the hand of God, to his own glory, to thy honour, to our joy, for an example to all. He, too, if he will, may soon console us concerning the other matter; that most odious portent, which I dread to speak of, and cannot bear to pass over. For while grief urges me to speak, fear restrains me; fear of offending any, if I disclose that which moves me, since truth sometimes produces hatred. But I hear this same truth, the parent of this hatred, thus consoling me for it: *It must needs be, he saith, that offences come.* Nor, I think, am I really touched by what follows: *But woe to that man, by whom the offence cometh.*<sup>7</sup> For when vice is rebuked, and thence the offence arises; he himself is the cause of offence, who deserved reproof, not he who reproves. Briefly, I am neither more careful in my words, nor more circumspect in meaning, than he who said, "It is better that offence should come, than the truth be given up."<sup>8</sup> And yet I see not the advantage of my being

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxli. 5.<sup>2</sup> Ps. xxxi. 19.<sup>3</sup> Matt. xviii. 7.<sup>4</sup> Cant. i. 3.<sup>5</sup> Cant. viii. 1.<sup>6</sup> S. Greg. Magn. Hom. 7 in Ezek.<sup>7</sup> Ps. xxxiv. 8.<sup>8</sup> Gal. i. 10.



silent about what the whole world cries out on ; and that, when the stench is in all nostrils, I alone should pretend not to notice the plague, without daring to keep off from myself the ill savour with my own hand.

11. Whose heart is not indignant, whose tongue even in secret murmurs not, at a deacon, against the gospel, serving both God and mammon ; so raised in ecclesiastical honour, as to be equal to bishops ; so engaged in military offices, as to be preferred to generals ? What is this prodigy, I ask, that, wishing to seem both priest and soldier, he is really neither ? The abuse is nearly the same, whether a deacon minister at the king's table, or a king's seneschal serve the mysteries of the altar. Who, I say, but is filled with wonder—ay, with abhorrence, that one and the same man should both bear arms and lead an armed soldiery, and in alb and stole declare the Gospel in the Church ; now with the trumpet calling armies to war, now announcing the bishop's commands to the congregation ? Unless, indeed, (which is worse,) he is ashamed of that Gospel, in which every chosen vessel most glories ; ashamed to appear a priest, thinking it more honourable to be deemed a soldier ; unless he prefers the Court to the Church, the king's table to the altar of Christ, to the cup of Christ the cup of devils. Which certainly is the more credible, because whereas he holds in the Church honours so numerous, as to be barely within canonical rule, he is said to be prouder of being called after the single office which he holds in the palace, than after any of the others ; and being arch-deacon, dean, prior, in divers churches, none of these delights him so much as to be called the king's seneschal. O new and abhorred perversity ! is it then more honourable to be man's servant than God's ? a loftier dignity to be the official of an earthly king than an heavenly ? Truly he who prefers arms to the priesthood, the market place to the church, sets things human above divine, earthly above heavenly. The name of seneschal then is better than of deau or archdeacon ? It is so, but for a layman, not a priest ; a soldier, not a deacon.

12. A strange ambition is this, and a blind, to be delighted with the lowest rather than the highest ; and for a man, whose anchor was cast in a fair place, to embrace again with insatiable love the very filth of the earth, despising the pleasant land.<sup>1</sup> And in this utter disorder, his self-indulgence abuses both offices : on the one hand, military pomp delights him, not warfare ; on the other, the gain, not the service of religion. In which who does not see the disgrace, not less of the royal than the priestly office ? for as it certainly consists not with the dignity of the priest to be an hireling in a king's army, so neither with the royal majesty, to intrust to a priest the work of fleshly strength. What king ever set an unwarlike priest over his army, instead of his bravest soldier ? Or what priest ever thought it not unworthy of him to be bound to the service of any layman ? Surely, the mark on his head bids him rather be a king than a king's servant ; as also the king's throne rests on arms, not on psalms. If, indeed, as usually happens, what is taken from the one were added to the other, so that

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<sup>1</sup> Ps. cvi. 24.

either the humiliation of the king were to elevate the priest, or at least the degradation of the priest were to raise the honour of the king—as, for instance, if a noble lady marries a plebeian, she is lowered by him, but he is exalted by her—if, I say, either the king were to gain by the priest, or the priest by the king, the evil on the one side must at least have been tolerated. But now that the abasement of each gives nothing to either, but rather each loses much of his own dignity, since it is unbecoming a priest to be or to be called a king's seneschal, and a king to intrust his power to any but a valiant man—it is most strange that either authority should bear it: that the Church does not cast off a military deacon, the court despise a clerical noble.

13. I had meant to dwell on these things more largely and earnestly; and perhaps I ought, but the brevity of a letter warns me to cease; and I spare the man chiefly from fear of offending thee, hearing that thou hast long been in intimate friendship with him. But beware of preferring thy friend to the truth. If thou persist, prove thyself a friend indeed, and see to it, that he too be a friend to the truth: then only are friendships real, when bound in the fellowship of truth. But if he will not consent, keep thou what thou hast; offer not an imperfect offering; let thy robe, already by God's grace of divers colours, reach even to thy feet; since it will profit thee nothing to have begun, if (which God forbid) thou persevere not also. And here, having warned thee of the end of the righteous, may this letter end also.

#### APOCALYPTIC INTERPRETATION.

SIR,—At the foundation of an inquiry into the principles of apocalyptic interpretation lies the question of apocalyptic time, and two opinions, and but two, appear to exist upon this subject. The year day, or the literal day, seems to be considered as the one alternative. The deserter from the camp of Mr. Mede, as a matter of course, has enlisted on the side of Mr. Maitland; and yet, I confess that an oversight of the obvious principles of apocalyptic interpretation, appears to me to be involved in the adoption of either of these theories. It seems to me that if we are to be guided in interpreting the Revelation by the principles, which the book itself suggests, and indeed dictates, we can neither take apocalyptic time as being literal time, nor, on the other hand, explain it on the principle of the year-day. It is to the proof of this proposition that I desire to invite attention in the present paper. We must, then, argue from what is known to what is unknown; and all (so far as I am aware) that is antecedently known, respecting apocalyptic time, is this—viz., that, in the 1260 days of the prophesying of the Witnesses, there is an allusion to the three-and-a-half years of drought in Samaria, in the reign of Ahab. Nobody, I imagine, doubts the fact of this allusion. Nobody doubts that, in all the circumstances of the history of the Witnesses, there is a studied and sustained allusion to those of the period of the reign of Ahab. The shutting up of the heaven that there be no rain—the period of time

for which this lasts—the dress—powers, and office of Elijah—the *two Witnesses*—and those two olive-branches and two candlesticks corresponding to the two tribes, Benjamin and Judah, the two remaining branches of Jehovah's "once loved olive-tree," and these also ministering "at the tabernacle of *Witness*"—all unite in presenting to the mind the scene and circumstances of the land of Israel in the days of Ahab. What, then, is the force of this allusion? What is the design of it? What is it that it means? What is the use and application to be made of it? And is this doubtful? for what is meant by every similar allusion throughout the book? What is meant (to take no controverted instances) by "the Lamb as it had been slain"—by the censer and the frankincense—by "that woman Jezebel"—by "the song of Moses"—by the "pillars in the temple"? Nobody questions or doubts the force of the allusion in these instances. Nobody regards the Lamb as a literal lamb, or the censer and the frankincense as these things literally, or Jezebel as the queen of Ahab brought to life again, or the song of Moses and the pillars of the temple, as anything but figures: and what different rule of interpretation can we, in consequence, apply to the case of allusion under our consideration. If the shutting up of the heaven (that there should be no rain) for a period of three years and six months, had *not* been an allusion to a known passage of Jewish history, the language might possibly have been claimed, with some shadow of probability, as being literal. But how will this idea consist with the fact that it conveys an allusion to past occurrences as definite and obvious, as the one which we recognise directly as we should in the mention of the Lamb—the censer and the frankincense—in the song of Moses, or in Jezebel. The allusions in these instances, obvious at a glance, instruct us to regard the language as symbolical and figurative; and is not this the principle involved accordingly, in that more sustained and elaborate course of allusion, which we are here considering? It will no more allow us to suppose the drought to be a literal drought, or the 1260 days a period of that literal extent, than we are permitted to regard the Lamb as a literal lamb, or the frankincense mingling with the prayers of the saints, as literal frankincense. But as the Lamb is, literally, he whom the lamb typified, as the frankincense is, literally, that of which the frankincense of Mosaic institution was the type, so, by the allusive language used throughout the history of the Witnesses, we are taught to regard that history as being one which had its type, and *which thus finds its symbol*, in that portion of Old Testament history, to which the allusions are so obvious. It is as if St. John had said, "I do not tell you expressly who and what it is to which I am now directing your attention, but I send you to a certain passage of Old Testament history as its type. Find out by the light which I am now throwing back upon that portion of Old Testament history, the state of things in New Testament times, which was typified by the mutual relations in the reign of Ahab of the ten tribes and the two, by Elijah prophesying in sackcloth, and by the drought for the limited period of three years and a half, which at his intercession was inflicted on Samaria, lest God should come and smite the land with a curse"—and you will then have found out the

passage or aspect of New Testament history which I am describing in symbolical language in this place. This, I think, is the fair and necessary construction to be put upon the language; and if it is, we are, then, not merely taught that the language is not literal, we have the principle for interpreting its symbols decisively assigned. We are no more in this case permitted to see, in the 1260 days of the prophesying of the Witnesses, a period of 1260 literal years, than we are to see "thousands of (literal) rams" in the Lamb of the Apocalypse, instead of the Lord Jesus. The 1260 days are not a shorter period put symbolically for a longer one. They are a typical period put symbolically for the period which it typified. I grant, indeed, that if the three-and-a-half-years' drought, in the reign of Ahab, typified a visitation which was to last for the same period, the 1260 days of the Witnesses, in this case, are a period of that literal extent, and similarly, if that drought typified a dispensation which was to extend over a period of 1260 years, the 1260 days are doubtless in this case an expression for that period. I am only speaking to the *principle of interpretation*. And this, I contend, is, that the meaning of the symbol is to be sought from, and determined by, the meaning of the type—that all that the symbol does, is to refer us back to a certain history, as typical of that which is here symbolized, bidding us read its meaning as a symbol, in the meaning of this type. This, I think, is the principle of interpretation required obviously in the case of the 1260 days of the prophesying of the Witnesses, and which, accordingly, is likely at least to be found to be the principle of interpretation equally, in other cases of apocalyptic time, possessing, indeed, the first and most obvious claim to be considered as the principle on which apocalyptic time in general deserves to be interpreted. The same, accordingly, (it appears to me) is the principle to be applied in the solution of "the five months" for which the locusts were to "hurt" the men whom they were "not to kill." The imagery of this passage brings before our mind the picture of a Jewish year in the period between "May and September inclusive," the time for which the natural locusts devastated in these regions. The revolution, however, of a Jewish year, is the constituted type of the history of the nation and the church—its Abib typifying "our Passover sacrificed for us"—its Pentecost representing the period of the outpouring of the Spirit, and the founding of the church—its Tisri a representation of the time when "the Great Trumpet will sound, and they will come who were ready to perish in Assyria," &c., the time when the Jews "shall with joy draw water out of the wells of salvation," and celebrate a spiritual feast of Tabernacles in their restoration and conversion. When we are told, then, that the locusts shall hurt men "five months," we are, in effect, informed that their "woe" shall spread over the five months that separate the Feast of Pentecost from the Feast of Tabernacles—that is, that separates the constitution (by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit) of the Christian church from the future re-collection and restoration of the Jewish nation. This interval is that portion of the typical Jewish year which extends from "May to September inclusive," and is thus, in current time, a period of five months, nor merely of *five* months, but

of *those five* over which we are informed that the natural locust spreads his devastations. Hence, then, I think, the due and requisite interpretation of the language. I am not aware that the year-day interpreters pretend to find a *May* for the commencement of their period, or a *September* for the close of it; and is not this, notwithstanding, a thing absolutely necessary—certainly of the highest importance—under the circumstances of the case? for the duration of the visitation is assigned and specified. The locusts are to “hurt men five months.” Now, is it to be doubted that in this specification of the time for which they were to “hurt” there is a reference to the period of the year, the five months “from May to September inclusive,” during which the natural locust devastates? Is it to be doubted but that the force of the expression is to tell us that these symbolical locusts were to vindicate their title to this appellation, as in other respects, so in respect also to the season of the symbolical year, over which the visitation would be spread, and to which it would be limited? And does not this oblige us to conclude that the “woe” which is here symbolized begins, in some sense, in May, and comes to its conclusion in September? It does this, then, supposing the interpretation, which is here contended for, to be accepted, and it does it in the case of no other interpretation of the symbol with which I am acquainted. Hence, then, an argument for the correctness, in its application also to this symbol, of the principle of interpreting apocalyptic time, for which I have previously contended, and which I believe myself to be the true one.\* Apocalyptic time, I believe, is neither literal, nor is it to be explained on the principle of the year-day; it is the time of certain

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\* While speaking of the dispensation of the locusts, I cannot avoid noticing, first, I think, an obvious, and yet universal, mistake which our commentators make about the angel of the bottomless pit, in representing him to be a fallen angel. It is true that he is described as “falling from heaven,” but possibly this expression means nothing more than “descending from heaven,” according to the language employed respecting the same angel, c. xx. v. 1. And is it to be supposed that the key of the bottomless pit should be committed to the charge of a fallen angel? Was the “destroyer” again, of Exodus, xii. 23, or of 1 Corinthians, x. 10, a fallen angel? Was he not, on the contrary, “the Lord,” “the angel Jehovah”? And who is it, accordingly, who is said to have the keys of hell and death, but the Lord Jesus? If anything more is meant by “falling from heaven” than descending from it, I should suppose the allusion to be to the act by which our divine Lord, from being in the form of God, became the creature of a fallen world, exchanging the sphere of his own glory for the likeness of sinful flesh, and the experience of our sorrows. It was this act, however, which put the key of the bottomless pit into his hand—this which made him Lord both of the dead and of the living, which enabled him to “quicken whom he will,” and placed hell and death at his command. The Father hath committed all judgment to the Son, *because he is the Son of Man*. Second, in the ordinary interpretations of the locusts, it does not seem to me to be remarked, as it deserves to be, that though to be “tormented and *not killed*,” still the men not having the seal of God on their foreheads, are, notwithstanding, given up into the hand of the “*Destroyer*.” Two contradictory ideas appear to be united in the case. The agency is that of Abaddon, the *Destroyer*, and yet the commission is to “torment, and *not to kill*.” The idea of destruction is to be connected with the dispensation, or why are we so industriously made to understand that the king which the locusts have over them, and who employs them as his agents, is Abaddon the Destroyer? and yet, in this instance, *without losing the character of the Destroyer*, he is “*not to kill*.” I know nothing in history which does, and I can

typical periods symbolically, and in the Apocalypse as expressions for the period which they typified. This, at least, is ascertainably the principle of interpretation in those leading instances which I have noticed in this paper; instances which are enough, at least, to show that the claims both of the year-day and the literal day (as they are usually advanced), involve an oversight of principles of apocalyptic interpretation, to which we are bound to have regard in interpreting the meaning of the prophecy.\*

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

NULLIUS.

imagine nothing that can satisfy the conditions of this symbolization but the fulfilment of those predictions:—

"I will destroy . . . saving that I will not utterly destroy, the house of Jacob, saith the Lord." Amos, ix. 8.

"The *Lion* is come up from his thickets, the *Destroyer* of the Gentiles is on his way. Behold he shall come up as clouds, and his *chariots* shall be as a *whirlwind*, his *horses* are swifter than eagles. Woe unto us for we are spoiled. . . . This is thy wickedness, because it is bitter, because it reacheth unto thine heart. . . . *Destruction upon destruction* is cried, for the whole land is spoiled. . . . I beheld the earth, and lo it was without form, and void, and the heavens, and they had no light. . . . I beheld and lo there was no man, and all the birds of the heavens were fled. . . . For thus hath the Lord said, The whole land shall be desolate, yet will I not make a full end." Jer. iv. 7—27.

"For I am with thee, saith the Lord, to save thee, though I make a full end of all the nations whether I have driven thee, yet will I not make a full end of thee, but I will correct thee in measure." Jer. xxx. 11.

As with these passages I have now declared or intimated my view of the other particulars of the symbolization of the locusts, I may as well add, that I follow Lightfoot, in taking the "faces as men and hair as women" as descriptive of a body of spiritual Nazarites.

\* I earnestly trust that Dr. Todd will be satisfied, on reflection, and on referring to my paper, that he has none of that matter of complaint against me, which at present he appears to consider that he has. I never did, he must allow me to say, "profess to criticise his book" at all. What I did, was to presume on the candour and kindness of the editor of the British Magazine, for allowing me to criticise two or three points of apocalyptic interpretation, which he had enumerated, as apparently approving of them, while I regarded them as questionable points, which he, indeed, had drawn out of the work of Dr. Todd, but which are only common to Dr. Todd and many others—I will not say of the same school, (for this, it appears, would be offensive,) but—taking the *literal* view of apocalyptic interpretation like himself. My paper bore evidence upon the face of it, that at the time of writing it, I was unacquainted with Dr. Todd's work. If Dr. Todd accordingly failed to observe this, and thus honoured me with an attention which, if he had perceived that I had not read his lectures, he would not have thought that I deserved, he has himself to blame for the mistake, not me. I am "beaten, but the fault is in his own people," in *oi apoti* Dr. Todd. The truth is, that Dr. Todd's many important avocations did not allow him time to do more than cast the hasty glance upon my paper. Even this was probably more than it deserved; but the consequence was, first, a course of reasoning founded on a total and inexcusable misrepresentation of my sentiments; and, secondly, this soreness at finding out, at length, that he has condescended to defend himself against a writer who had never troubled himself to read his book. This error, if it were an error, is one which, I am happy to say, I have long since repaired, and I am now indebted for much valuable information and suggestion to the work of Dr. Todd.

### QUERIES.

SIR,—I shall feel obliged if any of your correspondents can furnish me with answers to the following questions :

1. In the case of the corpse of a parishioner being brought for interment, whom I know to have been not baptized by any one of the parochial clergy, may I demand a *certificate* of baptism ?

2. Have I any option as to taking, or not taking, the corpse into the church ?

N. B.

### BISHOP BARLOW'S FORM OF BIDDING PRAYER.

SIR,—I have been lately looking into a collection of forms of Bidding Prayer, published some years ago at Oxford, and among them I have met with one, which has puzzled me so much, that I should feel greatly obliged to any of your readers who will throw some light upon it. It is dated in the year 1605, and is headed :

“ William Barlow, Bp. of Rochester, afterwards of Lincoln, his prayer before a sermon preached at Paules Crosse the 10th day of November, the Sunday after the discovery of this late Horrible Treason.”

and at foot of the prayer, the Editor of the collection, in order to determine the authorship to be Bishop Barlow's, says,—

“ That this prayer was composed by Bishop Barlow, appears from a colophon at the end of the printed edition of the Sermon, 1606. It is as follows :—‘ O Eternall God and our most mightie protector,’ etc., as it followeth in that prayer, beginning with those wordes, printed in the Book of thanksgiving for this discovery and delivery ; but made by the Preacher.”

So far is plain enough ; but, when we read the prayer itself, it seems difficult to imagine, how it could have been composed by Bishop Barlow, or, indeed, by any one else in particular. I shall give the prayer at length as I find it, and must leave your readers to judge for themselves. I confess, I can make nothing of it.

“ O Eternal God, and our most mighty Protector, we thy unworthy servants do humbly present ourselves before thy Majesty, acknowledging thy power, wisdom, and goodness, in preserving the King, and the three Estates of the realm of England assembled in Parliament, from the destruction this day intended against them. Make us, we beseech thee, truly thankful for this, and for all other thy great mercies towards us ; particularly for making this day again memorable, by a fresh instance of thy loving-kindness towards us. We bless thee for giving his late Majesty King William a safe arrival here, and for making all opposition fall before him, till he became our King and Governor. We beseech thee to protect and defend our Sovereign King James, and all the Royal Family, from all treasons and conspiracies ; preserve him

in thy faith, fear, and love ; prosper his reign with long happiness here on earth ; and crown him with everlasting glory hereafter ; through Jesus Christ our only Saviour and Redeemer. Amen."

I am quite aware that queries like this are but seldom answered, but still I cannot help saying, that I should be thankful for some explanation of what appears to me very strange.—Yours, &c.,

J. F. E.

#### NOTES OF A TOUR FROM JERUSALEM TO MOUNT CARMEL.

[THE Editor has much pleasure in being able to lay before his readers the following curious and graphic notes of a recent tour from Jerusalem to Mount Carmel, by a Lady.]

On Tuesday evening, September 16th, it was determined that we should forthwith commence preparations for a trip northwards ; so, next morning, we procured tents, a small one for ourselves and a larger one for the servants, inquired for horses and mules—the latter for the luggage. I completed a brown Holland riding dress to wear instead of my habit, and in the afternoon we rode out to the encampment at the Convent of the Cross, and surprised all our friends there by announcing our departure on the following morning. Thursday morning was occupied in storing our canteen with tea, wine, arrowroot, coffee, and sugar ; packing the wonderful hat-case and the carpet bag, superintending and ordering the cleaning and preparing guns and pistols, and the roasting of some six or eight fowls ; providing rice, flour, macaroni, and bread for two or three days ; sewing up mattress and pillows in coarse linen ; choosing bedding, &c. &c. The above mentioned articles, together with a small kitchen apparatus about ten inches long, including fireplace, kettle, saucepans, and frying pan ; a bag of charcoal, two tiny water barrels, two drinking cups, two camp-stools, and other sundries, were all in readiness by three o'clock. Now for our party. Of course the dragoman could not be dispensed with ; and, besides, he considered it a great "onore" to be taken. Our Maltese, Antonio, had suffered very severely from ague, so we took him for change of air, and as general servant. Next came two cavasses, or guards, Mohammed (called by our disdainful Christians "Il curto"—the short one—although a descendant of the prophet—in reality a good-natured little man), and Achmet (called the long one). Maria, the Arab woman, came, good humouredly grinning and smiling, to say she should like change of air too ; but I really thought our attendants numerous enough already, and, besides, could not be sure of her keeping her seat on horseback. Then the cavasses rebelled and considered it beneath their dignity to take charge of our two horses, and sent to know whether the groom should go : This was absolutely refused, the more peremptorily as one of them had formerly had the care of a gentleman's horses. There were two mules for the tents, &c., a ragged-looking white horse for the dragoman, and a similar one for Moham-



med, and two no better looking bay ones for Antonio and Achmet. Our plan was to reach a place called Beer that evening, which we could do in about three hours, and we sent forward the baggage and muleteers (two muleteers, a superior, and an inferior named Jussuff, a short, stout, good humoured dirty little fellow), with one cavass, directing them to go on and pitch our tents.

Though ready ourselves long before, we could not get the others mounted until just five o'clock, when we locked our door and sent the key to the Armenians, we having the keys of the rooms ourselves. Maria went home, and off we went, the drollest looking party imaginable—the dragoman with his turban and flowing blue cloth dress (he wears neither beard nor whiskers, and is always shaved close, excepting a black moustache on the upper lip), his turban being a salmon-coloured shawl, his portly figure looked but ill at ease on horseback, whenever the worthy steed essayed a gentle amble. He carried one of the guns; the cavasses, who always covet this, being deprived of the honour on account of their late rebellion. Antonio carried the other, and looked like a slovenly sailor, (which it seems he has been,) all our reformation of his dress, &c., being forgotten on this occasion. He had also a pair of pistols stuck in his girdle, which was a red cotton pocket handkerchief, and his horse was decorated with sundry saddle-bags, bundles of wardrobe, &c. The cavass also had saddle-bags, but was otherwise smarter, his embossed pistols being stuck in his girdle. My husband wore his jean frock coat and trousers, and blue cloth cap, with a shot-belt over his shoulder, and pistols at his saddle. I had my Holland dress and large bonnet on, with my knitted bag at my saddle, containing sketch book, pencils, drinking cup, &c. &c. Our horses and English accoutrements contrasted admirably, in their glossy coats and in their simplicity, with the shabby appearance and clumsy, gaudy trappings of the others; and so we bid good bye to the walls of Jerusalem.

Our course was by the Damascus road, a lane of scattered stones between two stony banks being dignified by that name. In about a quarter of an hour we met a poor Polish Jew, who addressed some caution to us about robbers, but I could only understand a word or two of his Jewish, it was so much worse than usual. Our fears, however, were not excited, for the present Pasha has struck terror into all the people by his recent doings at Hebron, &c., by his severities towards refractory sheikhs, and those found carrying arms (none now being allowed to do so but soldiers, Europeans, and cavasses, which makes the latter very proud of the distinction), and by the capture of Abou Goosh. The road soon improved, and we cantered along gaily, and towards dusk began to wind among the browned and barren, but romantic hills, our path often being the course of some winter torrent, and sometimes, especially towards the end, over little plains between the hills. Although despatched before us, we overtook the baggage in about an hour, and found that two little donkeys, laden with barley for the horses, had been appended to the train, and their frequent tumbles had been the principal cause of delay, although no one that has not been here can imagine the almost impossibility of getting these

people to make haste. The best and only thing now to be done was to send forward a cavass to get some milk, eggs, and fowls for next day, if possible, while we submitted to walk slowly on with the rest.

There being no help for misfortunes, we enjoyed ourselves exceedingly in the soft evening air (for in Jerusalem every one hastens in before sunset, lest the gates should be closed), innumerable stars twinkling in a cloudless sky over our heads, our sure-footed horses going steadily on. J. was much reminded of Spanish scenery by the barren, wild hills, and absence of all trace of human beings, or, indeed, of life of any kind—nothing to be heard but our own animals and our own voices. At length, some distance before us on the plain, we saw a light, which, when reached, proved to be the cavass, and then we also heard the clucking of a pair of fowls (invisible in the dark) which he had got, together with some eggs. By the help of the lantern we chose a spot for the tent, and we remained on horseback while it was pitched, which, as nobody, amongst the six people hindering each other, had any idea of order or method, took at least half an hour to do. I had some time before required J. to put my black shawl about his shoulders, Antonio being in advance with the cloaks; and now I felt chilly, and inquired for my cloak, which on setting out I had given, with J.'s, to Antonio. It was not forthcoming, however, but instead of it he pulled out and brought me one of our blankets; which I doubled and put on, shawl fashion, a considerable part of it very gracefully covering my black horse. But it was in the dark.

The tent pitched, we had our mats and carpet spread, and bedding brought in, and a fire was lighted without. The canteen was our table, and two camp stools our seats, and we lighted our candle and waited till the water should boil. It did boil in time, and so did some eggs; so these made our supper. I must not forget that the guns and pistols were carried in and tied firmly to the centre pole of our tent, all ready loaded. Meanwhile, the horses were picketed round by means of halters attached to strong iron pins, driven firmly into the ground, the cavasses upon our horses being at some distance from the rest. The other people were scattered around, eating, smoking, talking, quarrelling, and singing, and they did not pitch their tent until about midnight.

We were up before the sun next morning, and found our resting-place to have been a pretty little plain, surrounded by hills which opened to the S E., and showed the Moab mountains. The well of water was at the other side of the road from us, and on a rising ground to our left lay the little village of Beer, ornamented by some fine walnut trees, and some olives. On the slope between us and the village sat a party of wild Arabs eating. We brought our canteen and stools out of the tent, and breakfasted upon coffee and cold fowl, while they were packing up the tents, and in about an hour and a half all were ready to start, our dog, Caire, frisking about the horses in great glee. We were wondering whether this was the Beer to which Jotham the son of Gideon fled from Abimelech, but had forgotten Robinson just on leaving Jerusalem, and so could not see what he says about it. We remembered, however, his mentioning the ruined

Christian Church, which we rode round ; it must have been a large and fine building.

Our destination this day was Nablous (Shechem), a ride of nine hours, and our halting place was to be a place called Luban, about half way to Nablous.

Before leaving Jerusalem, we had been advised to turn aside from this Bure Beer, a distance of about an hour eastward, to look at a remarkable place, believed to be the site of ancient Bethel. We accordingly did so, taking Mohammed, who knew the place by its name of Beer Jeen, with us. A pleasant scamper across the hill tops brought us to the place, remarkable at least for its situation upon a high, bold hill, and for the beauty of the surrounding hills descending eastward towards the Jordan ; the view on that side being bounded by the wonderful wall of the Moab mountains. There are extensive ruins here, but J. was not inclined to think them of any great antiquity ; several broken columns but without any capitals, which the Arabs always break off to ornament their huts with. On one we found the crusading cross carved, in another part we found innumerable tesserae, or bits of Roman pavement, some of which we carried away, and then set forward on our journey.

A short cut soon brought us into the road again, and up to our sleepy mules and horses, so that we were once more condemned to their walking pace. The scenery and variety, however, afforded us unceasing enjoyment. The road soon improved, and became a good smooth path, often broad enough for two horses abreast, and the hills began to appear terraced up the top with vine and other fruit trees, those not cultivated being also clothed with small bushes of evergreen oak ; and the green was most exceedingly refreshing to our eyes, after the parched neighbourhood of Jerusalem. We soon began a very long but gradual descent of from two to three hours, the road being between two high hills, rising immediately on either side, and covered with perfect woods of fig trees, in beautiful order, and laden with fruit, many as large as large apple trees ; and, here and there, single olive trees and olive plantations intermixed. The mould looked beautiful, and, wherever the rocks appeared, there was not a crevice ungraced by some flourishing young fig tree. The weather was warmer than I ever knew an August day in England, but delightful. I counted nine or ten different kinds of butterflies, and saw multitudes of dragonflies. We bought some figs from the people sitting under the trees. The name of this district is Selwad, and they say it is the richest in the country. No wonder—for it is cultivated.

After passing a spring of water trickling out of the rock, we began to ascend a high hill, from which a very steep descent brought us into an almost circular plain, inclosed with hills, but looking dry and barren. Here, they said, was Laban, our halting place, but where, we could not see. "Here," said they, stopping at a low wall at the foot of the hill, "here is the fountain," and the village was on the opposite hill. Here, then, we were to stop, but there was no shade to be seen, and we had intended resting for at least two hours. A small spot of ground about three feet square was found to be shaded by the

ruined wall of a little mosque, and here they spread our carpet, so we sat down and had some cold fowl and bread, and a peasant brought us some grapes to sell. We remained from nearly two o'clock until after three, and then went on across the plain. The sun being still hot, poor Caire was distressed, and so Antonio put him before him on his saddle, which he, or the dragoman, or Yussuf often did in the heat of the day, and Caire used, when tired, to run on before until he met with a stone or rock from which he could conveniently jump on the horse as it passed. The cavasses disdained to lift a dog.

After riding for about an hour we saw a train of horsemen coming to meet us. It proved to be the Greek Patriarch returning to Jerusalem from Nazareth. He recognised my husband, and stopped to speak to him. His retinue was very numerous, and the trappings of his horse crimson, embroidered with gold. His dress was a chocolate-coloured robe of beautifully fine cloth. After this our road ascended a hill, and we found that it continued smooth and good (generally chalky) along the side of a long range of very fine rocky hills, none other than the mountains of Ephraim, which formed the western boundary of a beautiful plain below us, stretching north and south, traversed by numerous good looking roads, and also skirted by high hills on the opposite side. The dragoman told us that this was a beautiful grain country, and that from it both north and south were supplied. These hills, or rather mountains, are very fine and bold indeed.

Just before sunset our road turned abruptly to the left, and we found ourselves looking down upon Nablous, lying in the valley, or rather plain, between the hills which continued at each side. The scene was perfectly enchanting. A verdant space, and abundance of water beneath us,—and beyond, the light green tents of a large body of troops, beautifully disposed,—and beyond again, avenues of gigantic olives. It was like an English park, and very animated and picturesque. We descended the hill, and passed along in search of our tents, which we had given orders should be pitched by the well. Jacob's well was here, by the encampment, and here they were not, but we were told there was another well or fountain at the other side of the town. As we rode on, we could see the palm trees, and minarets of Nablous, peeping through the olive trees—such olive trees as we had never before seen, of enormous growth and proportionate height. Just after passing the camp the evening gun was fired, and the effect of the echo among the hills was splendid. We then entered the town and passed through about a mile of narrow bazaars, crowded with a very barbarous looking set of people, many of them wild Arabs of the Desert. Innumerable bats flitted around, and the scene was most strange. On passing out at the opposite gate, we found ourselves suddenly in a crowd of wild Bedouins, and hundreds of camels lying so closely on the ground, that it seemed impossible for our horses to pass, or in any way to get over the large space between us and the spring. The cavass pushed his way forward, however, and shouted at men and beasts, pushing and compelling the camels to make way. I told Antonio to take up Caire, and we followed each other's footsteps

closely through this extraordinary multitude. Many of the camels, although lying down, had their heads as high as ours, and the others might, by means of their long necks, have done us injury enough, had they been pleased to use their powerful jaws. Neither we nor our horses were anything the worse, however, for this adventure, and it was marvellous to see how quietly they passed through the throng. We were greatly amused at the grunting and ill-will some of the camels showed at being compelled to move, and at seeing some gigantic ones walking on their knees rather than get up.

We now reached a nice spot under a clump of magnificent olives, where were our mules and baggage, but no tents pitched,—“they did not know whether we should like it.” So it was dark before they were even unpacked, and no provisions to be had, which surprised us much, but so it was, and we were at last very thankful to get some arrowroot and rice and milk, and retire to rest, rather fatigued with so long a day. None of our Bedouin neighbours molested us during the night, and when daylight came, we saw what a beautiful place we were in—the well just beyond us,—a little running stream (which I was sure I had heard in the night,) between us and it. All around us gardens, and the most luxuriant vegetation, and above our heads Mount Ebal on one side, and Mount Gerizim on the other—splendid rocky mountains. We were scarcely dressed before the Arabs brought down their camels to water—old and young, white, brown and cream-coloured; some very pretty and amiable-looking, and others grizly and fierce—stalking along after their savage-looking, half-dressed owners, who went before, calling them to follow. Some women helped, wearing simply a loose blue garment. The dragoman told us that there were 500 camels, and that another 500 had gone to Acre; that they were the property of a tribe from the neighbourhood of Damascus.

This was Saturday, September 19th, and our to-day's journey was to terminate at Djenin. About three-quarters of an hour out of our way lay the ruins of Sebaste, the city built by Herod on the site of Samaria. So we again sent forward our baggage, directing them to stop at Sanur, in order that we might then get some food; and we ourselves—that is, Achmet, the dragoman and we—went in quest of Samaria, taking a guide from Nablous, to show us the direct way. At first we kept along this beautiful valley, here about half-a-mile across, and a perfect garden, watered by the little stream before mentioned. Only think of our seeing blackberries, ripe blackberries, the bushes growing rankly among figs and olives, and pomegranates and vines! We then crossed the hills to the left, and our road continued for some time rather monotonously, up and down and along barren chalky paths. At length in ascending a high hill, we caught a glimpse of the Mediterranean above the opposite heights, and from the top we saw a hill standing out by itself from the plain beneath, and on its summit were the ruins of Sebaste, and the site of Samaria. The first thing that struck us on approaching were the time-stained ruins of a fine church. On this eastern side of the extensive space at the top of the hill, there is an Arab village, as usual a mere collection of square dust (not mud) huts, the road as frequently passing over as beside them.

The fine dust and heaps of rubbish make all these places intolerable, and we made it a rule never to encamp in a village—always at a respectful distance. But for Samaria. The village people told us, on inquiry, that there were ruins at the other (the western) end, so we dismounted and walked thither, a distance of perhaps half-a-mile, and found many fragments of columns standing, and others thrown down. In one place there was a circular space surrounded by columns. From the west side we had a splendid view of the country below, and over ranges of hills to the Mediterranean. Truly this was an imposing situation for a capital city. Somehow I had never before thought of there being any sea view from Samaria, but both sea and land views were very fine indeed. From this western, back to the eastern side, we passed along a colonnade, with frequently a double row of pillars still standing on each side, which J. thought not much less than a mile in length, but not one single capital could we see. Here, also, we found *tesseræ*, some of which we picked up, and then mounted our horses, engaged the services of one of the only two Christians in the place, as guide, and rode away.

Our guide, an active old man, put his shoes in his pocket as soon as we left the village, and led the way up hills, and along plains, at a pace that kept our horses in a very quick walk, almost equal to a trot. This is what all the horses of the country are trained to when young, by being compelled to walk with their legs tied, and they travel surprisingly fast in this way; but their trotting is detestable. My little horse relapsed into what he must have learnt in his youth, as soon as in company with the others; and even where the road was broad, I had great difficulty in preventing him from following, step by step, in the track of the others, as all horses here do, but when in advance he quite outwalked all the rest, even J.'s larger animal having difficulty in keeping up with him, although at a gallop I was generally a little behind.

About an hour from Sebaste we got a magnificent view of the coast, extending miles and miles beyond the hills. Here we started an eagle from the rocks below. At length we reached Sanur, a ruined fortress on a high hill, in a moderate sized plain, but found no baggage; they had not stopped. We shortly overtook them, however, and finding some bushes, sat down under them and had some dry Arab bread and some grapes, but no water. I have before described this bread, as round flat cakes, brown, tough, and sweet when fresh, but very hard when dry. Further on we reached a village beautifully situated on the side of a hill, and mostly built of stone. The name is Kabatjch. Here is a well, and here we got some water. We scrambled up and down steep hills, over uneven stones,—so smooth and slippery, that none but very sure-footed horses would have brought us down safely, —and then saw in a plain before us the palm-trees of Djenia, our resting-place.

Here we found an English and an American gentleman, pitched for the night, on their way to Jerusalem. Djenia is notorious for thieves and robbers, and the plan pursued by all travellers who wish to keep their horses and baggage is to send to the governor for a guard. He

is then responsible for any robbery or other annoyance committed. The travellers had done so, and we saw his governorship inspecting their encampment. He was a large smart Turk, dressed in a white loose jacket and trousers such as are worn here, and red tarbash, but with a very unpleasant countenance. J. sent the dragoman to say who we were, which brought the governor towards us with all manner of civil speeches. He looked at the ground we had chosen for the tent, said he would send a guard and come himself in the evening to see that all was right.

The servants had chosen a place in the village for safety,—a dirty spot, but we liked the open plain outside much better, and found a nice smooth place about five minutes from the village, from whence we had a very pretty view of it, and of the distant northern mountains, beyond which J. was sure (and it afterwards proved he was right) he could distinguish the towering table summit of Mount Tabor. Towards the left, a plain opened into the one in which we were, and on the other sides we had the near hills for boundaries of the view. At a little distance was the Turkish burying-ground with its white-washed tombs; beyond it a pretty olive grove; and just opposite to us, a cluster of fine towering palm-trees, decorated with large bunches of ripe dates. This, then, was the place in which we were to spend Sunday, September 20th. But I must not forget the governor's visit.

We were just very comfortably finishing our dinner in our tent, having disposed and arranged everything as tastefully as possible for the next day, when the dragoman came to announce the governor. I found another seat for myself, and the two camp-stools were placed, one at each side, just within the door of the tent. His "Excellency" could not think of entering without putting off his shoes, and therefore appeared in bare feet, and his attendants clustered round outside; while the dragoman, rather than for once relinquish his privilege of *sitting* in such presence, squatted most orientally upon his heels, for want of chair or stool. After coffee was presented, which, as our canteen furnished but two cups, was first handed to the governor and J., then to those outside, and then to the dragoman. After this ceremony and sundry compliments had been gone through, the dragoman read an Arabic letter from the redoubtable Mehmet, Pasha of Jerusalem, requiring all attention and civility. At the various sentences, the governor raised his hand to his head, and at the end he repeated this, saying at the same time, "Upon my head be it." After some talk, he went away, setting three guards. Antonio came, in a few moments, to say that the governor had sent for some European cheese, and wished to know whether he should send any. We happened to have some, which we sent part of, highly amused with the whole thing.

We were now glad to retire for the night. My face felt thoroughly scorched from the heat reflected by the white chalky roads passed over the last two days. We slept till morning, in spite of the howling of the jackalls and village dogs, who would gladly have made a meal of Caire, who for this reason always slept in our tent, and often at our feet. Next morning on awaking, I found my cheeks and forehead so

swelled as almost to close both eyes, and so red, that you would scarcely have recognised me. A little milk and lemon juice soon cooled and brought down the swelling, and prevented the skin from blistering much; and as it was not the least painful, all my annoyance consisted in being obliged to sit with my eyes covered during the greater part of the day. The tent keeps out the sun but imperfectly, and so we found it very warm, but still pleasant.

About the middle of the day, on peeping out from under my shade, I saw what looked a tall column of white smoke. After watching it a moment or two, I observed to J. to what an amazing height it steadily rose. He had scarcely looked before we found it to be, not smoke, but a whirlwind of sand coming rapidly upon us from the plain to the north-east. We shut up our tent instantly, and though it passed a little aside, yet everything was covered with dust. We saw it disperse near us, but it must have been at an immense distance when first I observed it.

The governor came again in the evening, and left an additional guard, as he had been summoned to the Pasha at Nablous, and was going off. Antonio lost an iron spoon from the door of their tent, but that was the only thing useful. A nice walk in the cool twilight ended our quiet Sunday at Djenia.

Monday, Sept. 21. We were six hours distant from Nazareth, our next station, and being anxious to travel as much as possible before the heat came on, fired a pistol at break of day, which roused our sleeping people. Myself speedily dressed, and the bedding folded up, we moved out the canteen stools, and sat down to breakfast outside, while our tardy people took down the tents. In spite of all our urging, their performances were not finished at seven o'clock, so we went on and left them to follow. I must not forget the delicious goats' milk of Djenia, (cow's milk is not to be had,) a foaming vessel of which was brought to us morning and evening, just milked in view of our tents; more than a quart for 2d. We passed through Djenia, a mere Arab village, and then rode over a fine plain for some miles, where there were flourishing cotton plantations, and here and there tobacco. Just on getting among the hills, a Nazareth merchant joined us. He was afraid to travel alone, and had waited three days at Djenia for company. We crossed some hills, and then a corner of the great plain of Esdraelon, (which, however, we could not see more than a very small portion of,) having the river Kishon on our right. By about eleven o'clock we reached another line of hills, which we ascended by the most rugged bed of a winter torrent, that seemed as if the water had rent itself a channel in the mountain. To look back upon the windings of the road was indeed romantic. But our horses kept forward, and in time we got upon a path, and by twelve o'clock found ourselves looking at Nazareth, snugly lying upon the sides at the foot of a high hill.

Our people not having arrived, we went to the convent, and saw the church and the grotto, so called, of the Annunciation, cut in the live rock, and, of course, a place much venerated by Roman Catholics. We thought the church worth seeing, but felt no interest there equal



to that in looking upon the very hills that have stood unaltered since the times of our Lord and his Apostles—travelled over and looked at by them. There can be no mistake in this. They then invited us to look at the Casa Nuova, a house built for the reception of travellers; and it is very neat and pleasant. After taking coffee, we went to our tents, which had arrived. We had them pitched a little distance from the well, under some olive-trees opposite, and a little north of the town. Our tent looked southwards, and had a very pretty view of the town, the little valley, the near hills, and the more distant ones of Samaria.

In the afternoon, J. and I walked up the steep hill above the town, being induced to do so by the advice of some traveller, entered in the visitors' book in the convent. The ascent is steep and the hill high, but our trouble was rewarded at the top by a most glorious view: and in ascending also, we had a beautiful view of Nazareth below, which, however, we completely lost before reaching the top. On our left we had, towering immediately behind the near hills, Tabor. The hills around us were barren and covered with heath or thyme—that is, the black and brown stalks of both, no green of any kind. Southward of this was the top of Hermon. South, stretched along the enormous plain of Esdraelon, a magnificent space for, one would have thought, the battles of twenty Siseras and their hosts. Beyond, and bounding this view, the mountains of Samaria, blue in the distance; while Esdraelon looked the gold colour of wheat fields. On our right, the Mediterranean Sea—the Great Sea—bounded the prospect; while north and east, we looked over hill-tops innumerable, and strained our eyes in the direction of the Lake of Gennaseret, but feared we did but see its probable situation. This, I suppose, was true, for it is so completely in a hollow, that, if any, we must have seen but a very small part of it. However, we saw the hills of Galilee, and the Moab mountains beyond Jordan, instead. I question now whether this view was not worth our whole journey and ten times more.

But I have yet more to relate, and so will not stay longer at Nazareth. We inquired the distance to Mount Tabor, and being told two hours, resolved on going thither, and ascending it. So, next morning, we sent on our luggage to Tiberias, while we went to Tabor.

Tuesday morning, Sept. 22nd. We took a guide from Nazareth and crossed the eastern hills towards Tabor. As we left, we heard the firing of guns and saw a large procession. On inquiry, we were told it was the funeral of the Sheikh's son, who had died the day before. On reaching the top, and descending at the other side, we found the hills well wooded with shrubs and large trees of evergreen oak, covered with acorns; and so our ride was very pleasant indeed. We went on, up and down inferior heights, and at length found ourselves at the foot of Tabor, covered to the top with rich woods of the same oak. They had told us that there was but one road up the mountain. To us this looked as a mere path, or track, in the brushwood. It was steep enough to make me avoid being behind the horses of the cavass or dragoman, lest a slide of theirs should involve me in the consequences of a roll downwards. About half way up, J. and they dis-

mounted, their horses being wearied, but, as my powerful little black fellow persevered gallantly, I thought I might as well keep to this far less fatiguing mode of ascent, than scrambling on foot would have been, and so continued on horseback, and comfortably contrasted the advantages possessed by iron shoes over leather ones in such performances. The cavass had remained with the horses, but the dragoman continued with us; and it was surprising to see how well an oriental could climb: he really did wonders. At length we reached the top, and found a good broad road winding round and round the mountains. Our wise guide having thought we would like the *shortest* way, had led us straight up the side of the mountain, thereby spending considerably more time.

Here, however, the view again repaid us amply. There was less of the Mediterranean visible, but a wondrous extent of country lay spread at our feet; the great plain of Esdraelon, south, and also the great plains surrounding Tabor, north and east. Here, also, we saw Hermon, opposite to Tabor, both distinctly alone, and separate from other hills. And here we could distinguish the sea of Galilee, with its blue waters. We walked about and looked at the ruins, picked up acorns and tesseræ, and drank some delicious water from a deep cistern at the top, (from which the dragoman filled two bottles carried in his capacious pockets,) and then we walked down by the good road in order to continue our journey to Tiberias.

It was now about twelve o'clock, and we had some distance to travel. After descending, we continued along the plains for some time, and after some hours reached a village called Subia, where we left our guide, the road being now direct across the hills. This day we passed thousands of sheep and goats, the property of Bedouin Arabs. We were very much struck, as on the days before, at passing over miles and miles of richest plain without finding village, or inhabitant, or cultivation—the land left to itself. Thistles we saw ten and twelve feet high, and the plains looked as if covered with crops of rye and yellow wheat, while, in reality, they were covered with rank, luxuriant grasses, even taller than wheat, ripened by the sun, and rustling and waving in the breeze. It was most wonderful. In spring, they say, this ground is carpeted with flowers, and it may well be so; the soil is most rich looking, and we know that where it is even simply scratched with the Arab plough, it will and does bring forth fifteenfold.

We now crossed the hills to the east, but still had no view of the lake. At a distance of about an hour from it, we found ourselves among black and reddish masses of volcanic rocks, the very smell of which could not be mistaken; and this continued the whole way to the lake, and everywhere in its neighbourhood. At last we saw the lake—a most beauteous sheet of water spread below us, in a large basin, surrounded by hills; rough, rocky, volcanic hills they were; but the blue water looked indescribably beautiful. The view around was also splendid. Tabor still above the hills on our right, and on our left a sharp peak, high above, with most romantic outlines: this was Safet: and before us, beyond the hills and mountains on the other

side of the lake, rose, in the dim distance, a giant, snow-capped monarch of the scene, the Djebel es Sheikh (considered to be great Hermon, one of the southern mountains of the Anti-Libanus.)

A long rocky descent brought us to the town of Tiberias, and we encamped on the shores of the lake, just south of the town. It was now sunset; our baggage had been here more than three hours, and nothing was done except the pitching of our tent, not even provisions brought. What the servants had been about we could not tell, and they all accused each other. Antonio was most outrageous, abusing everybody, dragoman, cavasses, and muleteers. His contempt for the Mahometans had before been sufficiently evident; but he was now beyond all bounds, and we could not obtain a hearing. He would not even make a fire, saying, there was so little charcoal. It grew late and dark, and still there was no prospect of any supper. Knowing there was enough, and ought to have been much more charcoal, we at length ordered him instantly to bring it and the kettle to the door of our tent. He was greatly astonished, and did so. We then told him we should not take anything more that night at his hands, which astonished him still more, and he begged to be allowed to cook. But this was not to be, on account of the cavasses, who had again been rebelling a day or two before, (refused to groom horses, clean bridles, or anything,) but had been brought to submission. We then learned that Antonio had, during the whole journey, withheld all dinner, supper, &c. we had sent the dragoman or cavasses. He was to cook for us, and not for them. His contempt for *questi Arabi* (those Arabs) was supreme, and not always expressed in mere words. A rebuke was once addressed to him in Arabic, that the woman servant might hear it, and he said, "Speak Italian—I don't speak Arabic." His scolding powers this night exceeded those of any woman we had ever heard, although in Arabic. We were very glad indeed to get a meal of arrowroot, and eggs, and milk after all this, and to leave the storm without to subside as it might; but the gravity and coolness of the Mohammedans under it amused us excessively.

Next morning, Sept. 23, we determined upon spending the day here. J. took an early walk along the shore of the lake to the ruins of the hot baths; but the sun, though not long risen, was so intensely hot, that he was not sorry to return without going further, and the heat kept us in the tent till sunset. I do not think it could have been less than one hundred degrees, and we wished we had had a thermometer to know how much more. Although sitting quite still, we were in a perfect vapour bath the whole day, and had never felt such heat before. For breakfast they brought some fish from the lake; had it been properly cooked, it would have been very nice indeed. This was a large flat fish, but there are other kinds, large and small; and as we sat at breakfast, we were delighted watching innumerable fish jumping out of the water, and various wild fowl flying, darting, swimming, and diving. There is one, and only one, little boat here now to catch all this fish. The water of the lake is most delicious for softness we ever tasted; it is almost like milk, and had nearly the same effect on my face as milk.

While at breakfast, three Jews passed our tents, and saluted us. They returned in about an hour, and stopped to talk. They were here on a pilgrimage from Jerusalem, whither they were returning next morning. They inquired for Dr. Macgowan and the hospital, offered to carry letters for us, (so I gave them a note for Mrs. Macgowan,) and after some chat, they left us.

In the evening we went into the town, which was large and walled round until 1837, when it was ruined by an awful earthquake; at which time, the famous hot springs also disappeared. We entered by a breach in the wall, which had been from four to five feet thick, and walked over heaps of ruin; but a very small portion of the town has been restored, and it is like a large Arab village. They say there are two thousand Jews here, and some Turks, but few Christians. We saw many Jews and Jewesses. The most amusing thing, however, was their curiosity to look at me,—a Frank woman! and we immediately had a crowd of little boys round us, who followed as I increased my pace, some running on before and stopping opposite to us, in order to have time for a good look; others running on to the houses and bringing out the women, on the roofs and to the doors. It was very droll to see them congregated on the house tops, peeping and laughing, and some hiding all but their eyes. We soon left, and walked along the beach a little while, picking up shells. We had intended going in the boat to Jebb Hoom, supposed by some to be the city of Capernaum; but the boat was sent for to bring a poor man over who had fallen from the rocks and broken his leg. We saw its beautiful little white sail some miles up the lake, as it was going. For this reason, also, we had no more fish; but our people caught a dish of crabs. Antonio also shot two snipes and some other birds; the rocks abounding in game, especially partridges. He had a formal audience to-day, and was told that we should dispense with his services on our return to Jerusalem. Thus ended the events of our day in Tiberias, a most pleasant day, in a most beautiful spot.

You cannot think the wonderful effect reading about our Lord and his disciples had, close to the same lake where both he and Peter walked upon the water, and where so many great miracles were wrought and parables spoken. When will these silent hills again see little ships, and fishermen, and flourishing cities? And when shall all these and the hills and waters again be given to their rightful owners? *When*, we know not; but one can hardly look upon this fair, fruitful land, and see it uninhabited, and unenjoyed by strangers, without being convinced that it must be kept and reserved for some who have a right to it—whose inheritance it is.

Our wish was to set off next morning as soon as day broke, in order that we might leave this warm place before the sun had power. We accordingly gave orders that it should be so, and determined to awake as early as possible ourselves. On Thursday morning, September 24, we accordingly awoke shortly after four, and on looking out found that the day was just beginning to break over the hills at the opposite side of the lake. The morning star was shining with extreme brilliancy, and was reflected in a long glittering train of light across the whole

lake. The other stars also were very bright, and everything, sky, air, and water, so soft and still. J., however, fired his pistol and roused echoes, birds, and men; still, even now, the sun tinged the western hills, and fairly rose a little before six, and we were sitting on our horses, and could not get the muleteers to make haste. They could bear the sun, and would not go out of their way to please us. Neither could the cavasses do much that was beneath them to help forward. However, I comforted myself while sitting waiting, by making a calculation with regard to the time spent, or rather lost, this morning. The result of these cogitations I communicated to J., who could not help laughing, and called to the dragoman, "Tell them that Madame says she will have them up at three o'clock to-morrow morning, as half-past four will not do!" They all laughed; the cavasses said they would be very glad, and we went off, leaving them to follow. Only think of Antonio's grumbling, because we would not leave him one of our two bottles of water for their party, all being too lazy to fill our nice little barrels with the sweet waters of the lake.

But I have not told you our destination. It was Safet. Not very far distant, it is true, but in such mountainous country that the journey is called six hours long. For about an hour, our road lay along the western shore of the lake, and a most beautiful ride it was. On our left the rocks rose, grey, white, and yellow, in every variety of bold and splendid outline, and contrasting their tints with the most delicately blue sky above us. On our right, the lake, sparkling in the morning sun; and beneath our feet, grass and richest vegetation, enlivened by the pretty pink blossoms of the oleander; and all watered and refreshed by little streamlets and rivers running into the lake. It was a very garden.

Our road then ascended the hills towards the left; after winding among which for some hours, we found ourselves at the top of a very rocky descent, of about at least a mile. I rode two or three steps, when J. desired I should dismount as the others had done, so I sent my horse before me, and followed on foot. J. was afraid to trust his so, and led him down, which looked to me a dangerous operation; the path being no better than the worst staircase, so that I was often afraid the horse must push his master before him in descending step by step. It was, however, the only thing to be done. It turned out that the cavass had mistaken the road, and had come down a path which none but foot passengers ever attempt. When down, however, we found this mountain to be at one side of a magnificent ravine which altogether defies my powers of description, and the whole of the surrounding scenery, southward especially, was extremely grand.

A little further on we found a village named Keen-el-Kerd, and a nice spring. A short distance more brought us to Safet, at about noon. Here are also the ruins made by the great earthquake, and the village is quite Arab in character. We went to the house of Janoos Khan, the Society's\* agent, and saw Mr. and Mrs. Lord's abode. J. having some business to transact, left me there for a while, and on his

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\* The London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews.

return we went through the village to a place chosen for our encampment, beyond it. It was under some enormous olive trees, on the side of the hills, and the view of the mountain country around was magnificent. From the other side of the hills we could have had a lovely view of the lake, but it was nearer the village and farther from our next day's road. Besides, these great olives were worth being under. Their trunks and branches were as large as those of oaks in England. There was a vineyard on our right, and they immediately brought us most beautiful grapes, green and purple, fresh gathered and covered with bloom; the purple ones in close bunches of great size, and the grapes as large as small plums. The situation of Safet is wonderfully fine and the air good, while the surrounding country is most romantic. There are many Jews here. In the evening, J. paid a business visit to the governor. I arranged the tents meanwhile, and we then had supper and retired to rest, not forgetting the morning's restoration. At half-past two o'clock, accordingly, on Friday, Sept. 25th, J.'s pistol was fired, and we heard the dragoman exhorting them to get up. None hearkened, however, and so another pistol was fired shortly after, and then J. went out, ready dressed, to administer rebukes. At length Mohammed lighted a fire, which Antonio suffered to die away before he put on any water. Achmet pleaded illness, having really a fit of ague, got by taking a Turkish hot bath at Tiberias, and then instantly bathing in the lake. The muleteers were wicked, and this morning it was half-past six before we started! At daybreak they brought us fresh grapes, cold as ice, from the vineyard, and exceedingly beautiful in appearance.

For various reasons, Achmet's illness included, we meant to make rather a short journey, to a village called Mejd-el-Kurm, and then to reach Carmel next day. We descended the hill from Safet, and continued our road south-east, across the other hills, meeting many peasants, bringing grapes, figs, and great vessels of milk to the weekly markets in Safet. By eight o'clock the sun was very hot, but by ten o'clock we again got upon wooded hills. In one place our road lay along a ledge on the mountain's side, through woods of evergreen oak, while the ravine and opposite hills, on our left, were one mass of foliage. A little before this we had for the first time observed specimens of quartz, having hitherto seen nothing but limestone and chalk, and we picked up some pieces. About noon we sat down under the trees, and had some grapes and bread. The dragoman said the name of this mountain was Ramah. We ought to have passed the village of this name, but Mohammed, who was our guide, as knowing the country, had again missed the road. The path now descended, and brought us to a beautiful spring and pools of water, at the bottom of this deep and narrow valley. It then crossed over, and partly ascending the opposite hill, continued along its side, but still through thick woods. We were often passing in single file under perfect arcades of branches; and wherever we could peep down the valley it was most lovely, and the colours of the Oriental dresses and red tarbooshes, with their blue tassels, contrasted beautifully with the ever-varying greens.

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We then left this and ascended the raw barren hills, and came to a large village called Schmuata. There they told us we had quite missed Mejd-el-Kurm, and were too much north. This we could see, for we had now a view of the Mediterranean. So we took a guide towards Acre, and crossed the various ranges of hills between us and the sea, keeping southwards. At last we caught sight of the bay of Acre, with Carmel stretching into the sea at its southern side. At sunset we reached a place they called Ekurkat, where we encamped under some fig-trees, near the well or fountain, where we immediately got fresh goats' milk from the flocks, and most refreshing it was after our long day, though I was surprised to find myself not tired, though somewhat additionally scorched. Europeans, it seemed, had never before been here, for the women and children immediately flocked around to look at me and my dress. They themselves were fine-looking people, and much better dressed than those in the interior. They soon retired, and then we opened our canteen, having judged it prudent not to tempt them by a display of glass, knives, forks, &c.

We were now in the plain, about two hours from Acre, so before six next morning we set off, leaving the baggage to follow to Carmel. We left Acre on our right, having had a delightful ride across the plain, and rode round the bay on the broad smooth sand to Kaiffa, on the opposite side, and sometimes riding into the sea and fording a little river near Acre, and then the Kishon: across both which Caire gallantly swam—his first swimming lesson. It was quite amusing to see him chasing and barking at hosts of crabs, which he was yet afraid to touch, and quite puzzled when they suddenly buried themselves in the sand, or swam off in the sea. The morning was lovely, and the sea was most gently breaking over the sand, which was strewn with shells. There are swarms of fish, and we saw a fisherman walk in a little way, cast a net, and instantly bring up several. There are two such fishermen here, and no boats.

We stopped a few moments at Kaiffa, at the British Consular agent's, and then came here, where we are, in the famous convent on Mount Carmel. They have very nice accommodations for visitors, and accept a present on their departure, but no payment. Mount Carmel is high and steep: it is therefore quite a walk to the sea-side. We went down one morning; and another morning went to look at the so-called Grotto of Elisha. It is a remarkable chamber, cut in the face of the rock, rather more than 46 feet by 25. The place of the sacrifice is believed to have been at the inland end of the mountain, and as that is six hours distant, we have not been there. As for venomous beasts, we have seen but little of them on our journey. At Tiberias, our tent was full of hornets all day; three, four, five at a time, with their beautiful coats, but they did us no harm. J. saw the cast-off skin of a serpent, six feet long, at Tiberias; and, at our last village, when I opened the canteen, I found in it a little black scorpion about an inch and a half long, the first we had seen. The dragoman got a slight sting of one there, also.

The scenery here is very bold and fine. The mountain stretches some twenty miles southwards, and projects a series of promontories

westwards into and towards the sea. It is at the southern end and towards Samaria that the sacrifice of Elijah is naturally supposed to have taken place; this we have not seen, and shall probably not visit it now. The convent is situated upon the most northern of these promontories, and the front is westward. Behind the convent the mountain gradually rises to a much greater height, and there are, therefore, endless walks and rides, wild and unfrequented. There are stags and gazelles here, also wolves, jackals, and hyænas. Tigers, leopards, and wild cats are also sometimes seen. There are not many large trees here, but the mountain is covered with shrubs and plants, many of these last being aromatic and medicinal. We have lately had some rain, and the ground is cracking in every direction to permit innumerable flowers and bulbous plants to spring up. In every little crevice, and wherever a little dust may have been lodged by the wind, there are many and various plants, and the pretty little autumnal crocus looks most lovely, peeping out of the cracks and holes in every large exposed stone. You speak of winter weather, and so do we, but ours is English spring at present. In Jerusalem we expect to have colder weather, but here they never have any frost. On the sea shore are various ruins of former cities, and many ancient tombs in rocks. And then for the views. The bay of Acre is most lovely; backed by the nearer mountains, above which rise the great Hermon, and more to the left Lebanon itself. Not to speak of the Kishon, winding its silvery way among scattered palm trees, until it empties itself into the bay.

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#### VICE-CHANCELLOR KNIGHT BRUCE'S JUDGMENT IN THE MATTER OF THE PETITION OF F. A. NORTH, AND OTHERS, INFANTS.

A CASE of considerable interest has lately been brought before the Vice-Chancellor's Court, in which the question was raised, whether a widow, who has left the Church and become a Roman Catholic, shall be allowed to bring up her children (all being under eleven years of age) Roman Catholics, their father having lived and died a Protestant. The circumstances of the case will be sufficiently intelligible from the report. We reprint this from the newspapers, in order to enable our readers to understand the judgment delivered by the Vice-Chancellor, which is of no small importance at a time when cases of a similar nature are so likely to occur. We must be prepared to expect many such conversions to Romanism as that of Mrs. North; and it could not be considered as anything less than a very serious misfortune, if infants under such painful circumstances were not to be protected from having their education committed to those teachers who have been the instruments of leading their misguided parent to forsake the reformed faith. The Romish priests, of course, will naturally desire to be allowed to educate as many of the children of the gentry as they can bring under



their influence, in the religion of the church of which they are ministers. No one should blame them for their zeal in behalf of what they believe to be true and right. But neither should any one blame the law if it interpose to protect infants from having their minds imbued with prejudices in favour of a religion, which, —though it be recognised, tolerated, protected, endowed, and consequently, in a certain sense established,—is still regarded by the law as an erroneous religion, in some of its doctrines heretical, and in some of its acts of worship idolatrous. Where the religion of the deceased parent had been some form of dissent, it may be deemed no more than a reasonable carrying out of the principles of toleration, to prevent his expressed or supposed wishes, regarding his children's education, from being violated. But, in any case where the parent has lived and died a member of the Established Church, it would seem reasonable, not only to guard his rights over his children, but to protect the infants themselves from being deprived of the benefit of receiving their earliest impressions in favour of that religion, which is not only established by law, but which the law has established on the ground of its being true. Indeed, when it is remembered that the Acts of Parliament which tolerate and protect dissenters, and relieve them from penalties and disabilities, do not pretend to declare the tenets of dissenters to be right, or even matters of indifference, it may well be considered a very large and liberal construction of its powers, for a court, which asserts and exercises the right (or rather the duty) of superintending the religious education of such infants as the law commits to its protection, to sanction their being educated in any other religion than that established by law. And certainly, on the theory of any *one* form of religion being established as the national religion, it seems difficult to understand how the law can be expected to interfere to superintend the education of infants in any other. When of age to think and act for themselves, the law will protect and tolerate them in the exercise of whatever form of worship they may think fit to adopt. Till then, if the law should have occasion to interfere in their religious education at all, much more, to prescribe the communion and the tenets in which they shall be educated, it is not easy to imagine what reason any one could have to complain, if the law should throw in the weight of its sanction to aid the religion of the country in regaining its legitimate influence, even in cases where that influence had been weakened by the example or opinions of the deceased parent. At all events, those who would feel disposed to complain of such an act of preference for the established faith, would do well to consider how Independents or Presbyterians have acted in times when they had the supreme power, and how Roman Catholics would determine such

a question in those countries where they still retain it. If *their* conduct in such cases is not to be deemed inconsistent with that liberty and toleration which they claim as a matter of right, what reason would they have to complain of us for acting on the same principle?

*" (Before Vice-Chancellor Knight Bruce.)*

**" IN THE MATTER OF THE PETITION OF FRANCES ARABELLA NORTH AND OTHERS, INFANTS.**

" In this matter, Mr. Anstey on Thursday last moved for a writ of habeas corpus, directed to Mrs. Wilson and Miss Arabella North, requiring them to produce the four infant children of Mrs. Dudley North, widow, of the respective ages of ten, seven, six, and four years. On Saturday the return of the writ was enlarged to Monday, the eldest daughter being placed in the interim charge of Lord and Lady Waldegrave, and the three younger ones being continued under the care of Miss North, their paternal aunt, at the home of her brother, Mr. Frederic North, at Rougham in Norfolk.

" On that occasion the return of the writ was enlarged, and a petition directed to be presented respecting the guardianship of the infants.

" Mr. Anstey to-day moved that the return might be made to the writ, which his Honour directed was to issue on Thursday last. He also appeared in the petition for Mrs. Dudley North.

" Mr. Lovat, who appeared for Mrs. Wilson and Miss North, said that the case now came before the Court, not only on the habeas corpus, but also on a petition. The ordinary course was by a petition by the infants in their own names without a next friend.

" His Honour said he thought it would be better that there should be a next friend.

" The name of Miss Arabella North was then inserted as next friend, and the petition for that purpose was amended in court.

" Mr. Lovat said that the case now came on petition, supported by the affidavit of Mrs. Wilson, which disclosed the following facts:— That Lieutenant Dudley North, late of the Indian navy, married the lady who is now his widow, in Australia, where three of their children were born; the birth of their youngest child having taken place after their return to England in the year 1842; that after the death of the husband, Mrs. Wilson paid the greater part of her son's debts, and the whole of his funeral expenses; that soon after the return of Lieutenant North to England, the eldest child of the marriage went to reside with Mrs. Wilson, by whom she was maintained, as had also been the whole family since Lieutenant North's death; that Lieutenant North was a Protestant, as was his widow until lately, and he and the widow and all the children habitually attended a place of Protestant worship; that Miss North and Mr. Wilson had, during the lifetime of the father, taught the eldest child, and since his death had taught the whole four the Catechism of the Church of England, and daily heard them read the Bible; that Mrs. Wilson and Miss North were willing, at

their own expense, to maintain and educate all the children, provided the guardianship were entrusted to them or either of them, and the children brought up in the Protestant faith. The petition then prayed a reference in the usual manner, for the appointment of guardians.

"Mr. Anstey, who appeared for Mrs. North, said, that he was instructed to oppose the reference, on the ground that the mother was the lawful guardian of the infants. In the matter of the habeas corpus, two affidavits had been filed, which Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. North had had the opportunity of answering. They had since filed affidavits, but as they did not contest any of Mrs. North's statements, the case made by that lady must be taken to be true in every particular; and it was one which would justify him in asking the court not to consign the care of these infants to two ladies who had conducted themselves with so much impropriety towards these children, and towards their mother. He submitted that they had by their own acts deprived themselves of whatever right they ever had to the custody of these children, or to the assistance of the court.

"His Honour—I have only to look at the interests of the children, and the rights, if I may use the expression, of their dead father. Faith must be kept with him in his grave.

"Mr. Anstey—It was not Mrs. North's intention to dis sever the connexion between herself and her husband's family. When she was on the point of changing her faith, no attempt was made by either of these two ladies to dispute her legal rights over these infants: a subterfuge was resorted to, and they were secretly abducted from the custody of their mother. In fact, until last Thursday, she had no knowledge of the actual place of residence of her children. He must, therefore, submit, whatever order his honour might make in the merits of the case, that he ought not to commit the custody of these children to persons who had already betrayed the faith and confidence which had been reposed in them. It was not until they obtained possession of the children that they made any objection to Mrs. North, with respect to her religious opinions. He was informed that three of the children would be produced to-morrow. He had now a right to demand a return to the writ; and the only return was the production of the children in court. It might not be necessary to order at once the restoration of these children to their surviving parent; but, at all events, he must submit that they should be produced in court, so that his honour might have the opportunity of ordering the restoration if he should think right to do so. He must also remark, that this petition was not presented until the matter had been brought before the court on the motion for a habeas corpus. These ladies did not come forward as they ought to have done, if their intentions towards the children were such as they now pretended. They merely presented this petition, to escape from the consequences of the common law jurisdiction of the court under the writ of error. The learned counsel then went through Mrs. North's affidavits in respect to the question of religious belief, in which she stated that she and her husband were nominal members of the Church of England; that he was of latitudinarian tenets, and that they both were unfrequent in their attendance

at church ; that she was never a zealous member of the Established Church, nor ever received the sacrament in such church, abstaining therefrom in consequence of religious scruples ; that Lieut. North, from 1842 till three months before his death, lived at Plymouth, where she was in the habit of attending a Roman-catholic chapel, to which he was desirous of accompanying her, which she for a time resisted, fearing that she might be supposed to influence him in a change of faith ; that at length she accompanied him to such Roman-catholic place of worship, with two of their children, and that during such attendance he conducted himself with great devotion and attention ; that three months before his death, which arose from the effects of a coach accident, he removed to Ipplepan, in Devonshire, where, being on his death-bed, and informed by his medical attendant that he was in a dying state, he refused to receive the rector of that parish, who had been brought into the house by Mr. Frederick North, his brother, and died without receiving the sacrament, and without any clergyman being present. That she, about a year and a half before her return to England, began to read Roman-catholic books of controversy and devotion, without any the slightest objection on the part of her husband, and continued to do so up to the time of her being reconciled to the Church of Rome, which took place soon after her husband's death. And she further said, that she firmly believed her husband was at the time of his death, not a Protestant, but a Catechumen ; that is, an uninstructed and unreconciled Roman Catholic, and, but that for his untimely death produced by his accident, he would have become reconciled to, and a professing member of the Roman-catholic Church. He had now gone through all the facts of the case, and he had to submit, first, that as Mrs. North was the legal guardian of these infants, no case had been made on this petition for the appointment of any other guardian or guardians ; and secondly, that nothing being alleged against Mrs. North, their legal guardian, no case had been made to remove her from such guardianship. The children were all of tender years, and all within the age of nurture. The court never looked at the religious doctrines of parents, so long as they did not hold doctrines contrary to law. The Roman-catholic religion was not only a legal religion, but, since the passing of the first Toleration Act, in the judgment of Lord Mansfield, an established religion ; and the court, acting on such principles, would not hold the profession of that religion by a guardian a sufficient ground of removal. The learned counsel cited the following authorities :—Hargrave's notes to Coke, Litt. 88, a. 53, 71 ; *Ex parte Bailey*, 5 Dow. P. C. 311 ; *Hall v. Hall*, 3 Atk. 721 ; *Tremain's case*, Strange 168 ; *Pottinger v. Whiteman*, 3 Merivale, 67 ; *Hart v. Mellish*, 2 Swanston, 538 ; *Attorney General v. Cullum*, 1 Collyer C.C. ; *Corbett v. Tottenham*, 1 Ball and Beate ; *Symons v. Blenkins*, Jacob, 256 ; *Shelly v. Westbrook*, Jacob, 266 ; *Talbot v. Lord Shrewsbury*, before Lord Cottenham, *Witty v. Marshall*, Young and C. 68 ; and *Storks v. Storks*, P. W. 61.

“ His Honour—A petition not in any cause is presented to the court on behalf of four infants who are in this country, the children of a

deceased English gentleman, all under the age of eleven, if not all under the age of ten years. Now as they are without a testamentary guardian, and have no real estate, the reference to the Master to appoint a guardian will be purely a matter of course, except that, as it is said, the fact of the children having a mother living, and that the eldest of them, who is within the age I have stated, furnishes a reason against the usual reference to the Master to appoint a guardian or guardians for the children. I have never heard it suggested, and I am not aware of any authority for it, that if the reference would be right if the children were without a mother, it would not be equally right although the children have a mother. It is quite a different question whether the mother shall or shall not be appointed a guardian. It is an entirely different question, and it is also an entirely different question in what manner the children are to be educated. The only question upon the petition is, whether there shall be the usual reference to the Master to appoint for these children a guardian or guardians. I think it purely of course that there should be such a reference. Upon the petition, the registrar will let the case go according to the ordinary forms of the court, and with the ordinary directions and provisions where an order is made on petition to appoint a guardian or guardians. Then comes the question which belongs equally to the petition and to the writ of habeas corpus—the question, what shall be done in the meantime? Now, the children, at least the three youngest of them, were under the care and in the charge of their mother, a lady whose respectability has not been questioned, and who I have no doubt treated her children with invariable kindness and affection. The eldest child, a daughter, appears to have been more under the care of the father's mother than under the care of her own mother. That is a circumstance which I think ought not to affect the question in any manner prejudicially to the mother's interest. Now, in the question what is to be the nature of the custody of the children in the meantime, I cannot say that the question of the children's religious education is a question to be entirely disregarded. Impressions may be made, even at so early a period of life, perhaps upon the youngest child, certainly upon the eldest, certainly upon the second, which may be irremovable; therefore it is the duty of the court to ascertain, as far as it can on the present occasion, whether it will be the duty of the guardians to educate these children in the doctrines and practices of a particular religion, and, if so, to be careful that nothing shall occur in the meantime which may impede and obstruct the execution or performance of that duty. The father of the infants was a younger son, an English gentleman of a Protestant family, and who appears to have been brought up, and passed at least the greater part of his life as a Protestant. I say at least, because it is stated, and probably with truth, that for a few weeks or months before his death, he had been in the habit, while living in Devonshire, of attending a Roman-catholic place of worship in company with his lady, and with two, at least, of their children. It is said that his notions of religion were latitudinarian. That circumstance may perhaps in some measure account for the fact which I have just mentioned. He does not appear to

have had the least objection to his lady attending a Roman-catholic place of worship. On the contrary, as I have said, he went there himself with her, and with two of the children. After this had continued for some weeks, he returned in an ill state of health to his ordinary place of residence in the same county, at some thirty miles distance, where there was no Roman-catholic clergyman near. There his last illness came upon him, and he died, having refused to receive the attendance of the rector of the parish. It does not appear that any proposal was made to him, or that he made any proposal, or expressed any wish for the attendance of a Roman-catholic clergyman. His illness appears to have passed and his death to have taken place without the presence of any clergyman, and without the expression of any wish on his part for the presence of any clergyman. It is not alleged that this gentleman ever conferred with a priest of the Roman-catholic religion. It is not alleged that either of the children, at any time, conferred with a priest of the Roman-catholic religion. It is not suggested that this gentleman, whose original religion was Protestant, as I have said, had ever professed a departure from the religion of his youth ; but, from the facts I have stated, it is inferred by Mrs. North, that a change of religious sentiments, or at least an adoption of particular religious sentiments, was in progress ; that he was that which Mrs. Dudley North describes as a Catechumen ; a Catechumen, however, as I understand it, without a teacher ; because, that he ever had any instructor in the Roman-catholic religion is not suggested ; and she states her belief, and I dare say sincerely, that he would have become a Roman Catholic if he had lived long enough. I must, on the evidence, take it that he did not become a Roman Catholic ; and that, either from curiosity, or from latitudinarian notions, or otherwise, he did for some weeks attend a place of Roman-catholic worship, without changing his religion. This is my opinion upon the present evidence. What the effect of additional evidence may be, it is impossible for me to say or to speculate upon ; but on the present evidence I must assume, that having been bred a Protestant, he continued a Protestant to the end of his life ; and I must assume, as he died intestate, so never at any time, or in any manner, did he express a wish as to the mode in which his children or either of them should be educated in respect of religion ; a remark subject of course to the qualification, if qualification it is, which may be supposed to result from the facts I have stated. Then, in that state of circumstances, what is the duty of the court with respect to the religion of the children ? That it should view the religion of the children as a matter of indifference is of course quite out of all question. That no one can do. That the religion of the children would depend on the mere will and pleasure of the person or persons who may happen to be the guardian or guardians, especially where there is no testamentary guardian, appears to me to be equally out of the case. As it is the duty of the court to superintend the education of infants in all cases where its powers are not excluded, so especially, and most importantly, it is the duty of the court to superintend that course of religious education in which the children ought to be educated, and in which they ought,

until they are of years of discretion, and able and think fit to choose for themselves, to be educated. Now I apprehend the rule of the court is, that where the father has not left nor expressed any direction or instruction as to the religion in which his children are to be educated, it is to be presumed that his wishes were, that they should be educated in his religion ; and that, I am of opinion upon the evidence as it now stands before me, and for the present purpose, must be the presumption in this case. My opinion therefore is, unless this case can be varied by subsequent evidence, it is the duty of the court to direct that these children should be brought up as members of the Church of England. That is an observation, however, which does not dispose of the interim custody. Recollecting, however, that Mrs. North, of whom I desire to speak as I feel, and as every one in this case has spoken, and as every one in this case seems to feel, with the highest possible respect, I cannot avoid recollecting that she is a recent convert. Speaking again of her most respectfully, I cannot avoid being strongly impressed with the opinion, that, consistently with the most conscientious, kind, and best motives on her part, the children, if placed with her, may receive an inclination and a disposition towards that religion in which, in my view, it is the duty of the court to see that they should not be educated.

" His Honour then directed, until the Master should make his report appointing guardians, the parties consenting, the custody of the four infants should be in Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson, Miss Arabella North, and Mr. Frederick North. The infants to reside at Hastings, and Mrs. Dudley North to have access to them for two hours daily, in the presence of one or more of those three parties, but all topics of religion to be avoided at such interviews. The return to the *habeas corpus* in the meantime to be enlarged. All the parties to have leave to propose themselves as guardians. It therefore would be perfectly competent for Mrs. Dudley North to propose herself as sole guardian, if she should be so advised.

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#### THE SCARCITY.

THOSE who read the daily accounts in the newspapers of the condition of the poor in different parts of Ireland, cannot but feel it almost impossible to imagine, what remedy can be suggested, adequate either to the greatness of the calamity or the complicated difficulties of the crisis. The observations which have already been made in preceding numbers of this Magazine would be very greatly misunderstood, if it were supposed that it was intended to impute any blame to the Irish Executive. That the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and the Board of Works have had almost superhuman difficulties to encounter, no one could doubt who had any accurate information as to the nature of the present distress, heightened as it is by the peculiar embarrassments which entangle and perplex every government in that unhappy country. To question the sincerity of their desire

to do all that can be done would be most unjust. Our observations were merely intended to convey the impression, which we believe to be true, that, on the one hand, the distress of particular districts may be such as cannot be alleviated without *private* assistance, and at the same time, that the pressure and urgency of distress may have been greatly increased, especially, and at the beginning, by mistakes of the officials of government—by accidents which may, or rather which must, be expected to occur, in such an enormous machinery of public relief as is at present at work. That delays, for which no one has yet accounted, have taken place in the payment of the labourers' wages on the government roads, is undeniable. We happen to know of one parish, in which the arrears of wages fell little short of six hundred pounds. It needs no very great sketch of fancy to imagine what fearful amount of misery must be caused by such a circumstance, and how exceedingly injurious to the poor to be obliged to run in debt at the village shop, week after week, and thus eat out beforehand their miserable wages of eightpence a day, for weeks before it was paid off, buying everything at the rate they must expect to pay who were purchasing on credit under such circumstances. To meet the exorbitant price of provisions, eightpence a day for the support of a whole family could go but a short way, even if the labourer had his ready money to lay out on the most advantageous terms. To keep him for several weeks without his wages was to increase fearfully the amount of his sufferings. And in some instances, there is too much reason to fear, this delay has been the cause of death. We have stated this, however, not as a censure on government, but simply to show that cases of destitution may and do exist, which require the immediate assistance of private benevolence. The landed proprietors, no doubt, have in many cases been to blame. In some cases—perhaps in many—it would be unfair to say that any one in particular has been to blame. But whether they are to blame or not, is a question which must be postponed while the population of any particular district are dying of starvation. The case of the parish of Durrus, which was brought before our readers in the letter of the rector, Mr. W. M. Crosthwaite, is one in which we have good reason to doubt whether the existing landlords can be blamed. Whether the present calamity may not be augmented by the bad management of past years and former generations is a question of moment, but not the first and most urgent question when people are starving. The people lost, all at once, the food on which they depended, and to which they were so accustomed, that in many cases it was not in a moment their stomachs would receive any other species of nourishment. This was an evil which is not to be met by dis-



cussing the duties of landlords, though, in the particular district referred to, the principal landlord is a nobleman of known benevolence, and resides on his property. The general system of Irish agriculture is deplorably bad. The natural resources of the coast are most imperfectly developed. The system of poor-laws requires revision. The country is suffering from the absence of a large proportion of the great proprietors, and, in too many instances, from the lamentable apathy and want of public-spirit of both residents and absentees. These are evils of long standing. They existed before the union with this country. Some of them have rather increased than otherwise since the year 1800. But, however important it is to bring the whole system which affects the poor in Ireland to a better state, there are districts in such a condition at the present moment, that if one were to wait for legislative relief, there would be few survivors, if any, to relieve. The accounts in the Times newspaper are frequently of such an appalling character, as to have few parallels in the history of human suffering. These particular cases must be met at once by private benevolence, or else multitudes will perish before the meeting of parliament. The stopping of the miserable supply they now receive for a single day would seal the fate of thousands. Thousands are on the verge of death, and are only kept alive from one meal to another. Of course there are painful instances of imposition. And as the Arms bill has been allowed to expire, the lawless will take the opportunity of buying guns and pistols as fast as they can procure money for the purpose. But we have too accurate information not to know, that it is not the really destitute who are buying up arms; and that the destitute are to be reckoned, not by hundreds, but by thousands. In fact, the most lawless parts of Ireland never have been the most destitute; while the south-west of Ireland, the county of Cork, has been, generally speaking, quiet and peaceable. And, indeed, the worst cases of destitution are found in remote and sequestered districts on the coast, where the people take little or no part in political agitation, except in as far as they have been compelled to do so by their priests. Two examples of this kind have lately come to our knowledge. They are two parishes in the north of Ireland, in the county of Donegal, on the rocky and mountainous coast of the Western Ocean. The printed statements inclosed to us, on the truth of which we have reason to know reliance may be placed, (independent of the weight which should be attached to the names subscribed to them,) are so well calculated to give some insight into the nature and circumstances of the present distress, that we prefer printing them entire.

“FAMINE IN DONEGAL.

“The following appeal to the wealthy and benevolent will not, it

is hoped, be made in vain, nor fail in calling forth a ready response from those who sympathise with the suffering poor of Ireland, now reduced in many places, by the mysterious visitation of Divine Providence, to the very verge of starvation.

"The relief committee of Cross-Roads feel themselves urged by the heart-rending destitution of the people under their charge, and from their own peculiar circumstances, to make this appeal for aid, and to cast themselves upon the liberality of the English for a supply in their present distress. Their district, comprising the two parishes of Raymonterdoney and Tullaghobigley, is situated in a remote and mountainous part of the north-west coast of Donegal. It extends over upwards of 81,000 acres, containing about 14,000 inhabitants, almost all small holders—the whole annual income of district not exceeding 3500*l.*, and that, with but two or three resident gentry, upwards of 14,000 individuals are depending upon them for daily provision: with great exertion a supply of meal has been procured, but wholly inadequate to the pressing wants of the people. Some idea of their eagerness to procure food may be conceived from the fact, that meal was sold at the rate of from four to five tons per day, and that in quantities not exceeding 30*lbs.*

"With distress fearfully increasing, their money and means of meeting that distress failing, and the people crying to them for food, they have no other resource than to apply to those whom God has blessed with means to supply, and hearts to feel for, those in such utter destitution: surely facts like these speak for themselves, and will not, we hope, speak in vain, to those who bear in mind the words of truth—'He that seeth his brother in need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?'

"Cross-Roads, Dunfanaghy, Nov. 26, 1846.

*"Any Contributions will be thankfully received by*

"Wybrants Olphert, J.P.D.L., Chairman Cross-Roads Relief Committee, Ballyconnell-house, Dunfanaghy; Lord George Hill, Ballyarr, Ramelton; Rev. C. Stewart, Hornhead, Dunfanaghy; Rev. R. Gibbings, Rector of Raymonterdoney, Dunfanaghy; Rev. A. Nixon, Woodlands, Mullingar; Rev. John Olphert, Drumachose, Newtown-Limavady; Rev. H. Norman, Secretary, Cross-Roads Relief Committee, Carrowcannon, Dunfanaghy; Rev. Robert Gage, Tamlaghtard, Newtown-Limavady."

The second appeal is from another parish on the same coast; it is as follows\* :—

"'The young children ask bread.'—*LAM.* iv. 4.

"It has been shown by the government valuation, that the parish of Templecrone, generally called the 'Rosses,' situate on the western

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\* Some of the applications of Scripture in this document are to be regretted. But, allowance being made for the excitement of feelings under such appalling circumstances, it is better to allow the sufferers to tell their story in their own language. The facts we know may be relied on.

shores of Donegal, is the very poorest in this extensive county. Such a sad distinction had for a while *one* advantage: it created a confidence, that the place would necessarily have attached thereto *precedence*, when relief was dispensed; and the assurance, which has been propagated, that the government had arranged, excepted and guaranteed, for supplying directly the poorest districts with food, helped us to hope that we should be compensated for our melancholy notoriety, by falling into the hands of a considerate and merciful government. But these pledges and prospects seem not to be in the way of being seasonably realized.

"The locality of Templecrone is perhaps the most disadvantageously circumstanced that exists, or can be imagined, for a people to be placed in during the prevalence of such a calamity as is dreaded. It is *hemmed in on one side by bleak mountains, through which there is but a single unobstructed road*, leading to the nearest market-town *thirty miles distant*, and even that road is not only too hilly, but otherwise incompetent for traffic, being also *occasionally rendered impassable by snow*; on the other side,—by the sea,—access to the place is still more precarious and impeded, by *a notoriously rugged, foul, and boisterous coast*, subjected to all the vicissitudes of the Western Ocean. Thus we are exposed to, and, at the same time, dependent upon, every casualty to which sea or land carriage is liable.

"In addition to the natural difficulties connected with the *position* of the parish, its *social* condition is extremely peculiar. Hitherto the population have depended for sustenance on potatoes, the vast majority holding only very small plots of land, and, consequently, growing but the most trifling corn crops, any part of which was seldom used for food, it being *invariably sold*—except the portion reserved as seed—in order to meet the demands for rent, &c.; and if the people are obliged to consume all their oats, preserving none for seed, (and *double* the usual quantity would be required,) they will not be able to crop the land at all next year, even if, through the great mercy of God, they are spared to survive the famine that threatens them. Thus the last state will be worse than the first, and reproduction will be at an end.

"In such a frightful emergency this appeal is made; and it is sent forth in the lively hope, that the case of the poor sufferers of Templecrone will commend itself to, and engage the sympathy of benevolent Christian hearts. No other resource or refuge can be thought of, for *the place* is far too unpromising, insignificant, and miserable for merchants or capitalists to mind it: but *the people* are worthy for whom it should be done, *having ever been peaceable, orderly, and patient*.

"It may help to convey a just conception of the backwardness of their condition, and the disadvantages they have to contend with, in an *agricultural* point of view, to state, that in a parish, the area of which is 52,921 acres, with a population of ten thousand souls, dispersed through wild mountains and thickly-inhabited islands, **THERE IS NEITHER A RECOLLECTION, NOR THE TRADITION, OF A PLOUGH EVER HAVING BEEN USED THROUGHOUT IT.**

"If, then, under circumstances such as have been glanced at, we look to our own resources, the language of excessive perplexity, or even despair must be ours, and our remonstrance is—'Whence should we have so much bread in the wilderness, as to fill so great a multitude?'

"Our case is urgent—a crisis is approaching—very many are passing tedious days, wandering about for relief—'destitute—afflicted—tormented.'

"'The charity of every one toward each other aboundeth,' and while any stunted remnant of the blighted crop can be found, neighbours allow one another freely to dig and partake of it; hunger is thus checked or mitigated, but not relieved. Yet so very far spent is even this poor and *poisonous* stay, (for 'the root is as rottenness,') that some are actually *turning the land over a second time*, in the keen search after a chance potatoe which might have escaped notice at the first digging.

"The Government have distinctly announced that supplies need not be calculated upon until after Christmas, so that unless aid is derived from other sources in the meantime, it seems *utterly impossible* that life can be preserved. Disease has already become prevalent, and how soon Death may thus, by a more direct and speedy process, complete and terminate such misery, it is not for us to calculate.

"In concluding, we invite the most rigid scrutiny into every statement made in this appeal—nothing has been exaggerated—nothing has been perverted. Rather are we confident, that if a person not habituated by sore experience to the difficulties, privations, and hardships inherent to our locality, was deputed to investigate, his sentiments and decision might be couched in the language of Scripture:—'It was a true report that I heard; howbeit I believed not the words until I came, and mine eyes had seen it, and, behold, the half was not told me.'

"ALEXANDER MONTGOMERY, Rector.

"VALENTINE P. GRIFFITH, Officiating Minister.

"JAMES M'DAVITT, P.P.

"FRANCIS FORSTER, J.P.

"R. K. THOMPSON, Inspecting Officer of Coast Guard.

"G. F. BRADY, Medical Superintendent.

"Dungloe, County Donegal, October, 1846.

"Contributions will be most thankfully received by Sir James Dombrain, Custom-house; Messrs. La Touche and Co.; and Emanuel Orpen, Esq., Blackrock, Dublin. John Stukeley Reynolds, Esq., Lower Hampstead, London; Henry Leader, Esq., 6, Brown-street, Manchester; the Rev. Alexander Montgomery, Inver, Mountcharles; the Rev. Valentine P. Griffith, Templecrone Glebe, Dungloe; and Francis Forster, Esq., Roshine Lodge, Dungloe."

It is in such districts as these—shut up between sea and mountains—where a plough has never yet been seen or heard of—places like Durrus parish—where there are many thousands

of acres, to or from which no load could be carried, except on the backs of men and women—places where the potato has formed the sole food of the cottager and his pig—and where the miserable crop of oats has been little enough, along with the proceeds of the sale of the pig, to pay the landlord his rent, and the Romanish priest his dues.—these are the cases which no government relief now in existence can meet, and to which legislative improvements will come too late.

It is but too obvious that in numberless cases the landed proprietors in Ireland have never been duly sensible of their responsibility. Too many among them have been at all times as anxious to evade their duties to their tenantry, as they have been to shift from their own shoulders the support of the church of which they professed to be members. But it would be very uncandid and unjust not to admit that the aristocracy and landed proprietors have numbered within their ranks men of real benevolence and piety. And one would hope the number of such persons is on the increase. But whether or not, such cases of destitution as the foregoing do not allow time for the discussion of any general questions of the sort. A few weeks will decide all such questions, as far as the sufferers are concerned.

With regard to the conduct of the Roman-catholic priests;—one would be sorry to be obliged to render any body of men odious in public estimation. But, that priests have been known to have sold the relief tickets, and to have refused to recommend persons actually destitute, for employment on the government works, except on the receipt of a shilling from each person, we have but too good reason to be assured of. When the fact was proved beyond possibility of evasion, the priests who had acted in this disgraceful manner, endeavoured to excuse themselves under the pretext that they were obliged to raise money to build chapels;—an excuse which, it is to be hoped, will not be forgotten in any future consideration of the merits of the Voluntary System.

No doubt, at such a crisis as the present, those who have hitherto derived their income from the superstitions of the Irish peasantry must be in no little perplexity. The clergy of the Established Church themselves must be exposed to very severe privations at present. It is scarcely necessary to say that the demands on a clergyman's benevolence must be most embarrassing at such a time as the present. In the most distressed neighbourhoods, we have reason to know that the clergyman's house is surrounded from morning to night by hundreds in actual want of food. In truth, the calls on their charity are heavy at the best of times; and in most cases, extremely disproportionate to their income. What, else, indeed, could be expected in a country where there are few resident gentry, and

where, unhappily, it would seem to be the general opinion, that the clergy ought to be exemplary characters, in the sense of setting an example of virtue, which the laity are not obliged to imitate. But, besides this, the income of the clergyman in Ireland—however its security may have been increased by the change which was effected some years ago, in the commutation of tithes into a rent-charge payable by the landlords—must, whenever the collection of rents is seriously obstructed by the distresses of the tenantry and small farmers, be liable to interruption and temporary diminution. If the landlord receives no rent, it is unlikely the clergyman will obtain his rent-charge without difficulty: possibly, without resorting to such methods of recovery as, under the circumstances of a general distress, it might be considered odious to resort to. In such cases, the fact of his entire income being payable by a very few persons, may rather increase his perplexity than otherwise. This is on the supposition of the farmers being really unable to pay the rent to the landlord, and the landlord having no funds beside his annual rental to meet the payment of the rent-charge to the clergyman. But, even in places where there is no unusual distress, the clergy may be in a position of overwhelming embarrassment. Ireland would differ from the rest of the world even more than it does, if there were not found numbers of persons of different classes—tenants and landowners—ready to take advantage of the general distress, and to make the badness of the times an excuse for refusing or delaying to pay the charges on their property.

A very remarkable feature in the present state of things, is the influence which Roman-catholic priests have been able to exercise, in procuring the dismissal from the government relief works, of persons to whom no objection could be made, except that they had ceased to be Romanists, and had joined the Protestant Church. Every allowance must be made for bigotry and intolerance. But there is an end to all rational civil and religious liberty, if a Romish priest has the power to overawe the authorities, and make the government itself the tool of persecution. One case of this description has lately come to our knowledge, of which we hope soon to be able to lay the particulars before our readers.

Not that we believe the Protestant Church has reason to apprehend any lasting injury from such conduct. For a while persecution may succeed in intimidating the defenceless. Indeed, as a general rule, there are few of the country parts of Ireland in which a Roman Catholic can now act on his convictions, without exposing his life to danger from the agents of the priesthood. Even the conduct of the neighbouring magistrates and gentry is discussed (and that in no measured terms) from the altar at the Sunday's mass. But it is hard to imagine anything more shock-

ing than the fearful curses and denunciations which the priests pronounce in their chapels, against any member of their congregation who dares to read the Bible,—or ventures to take any step whatever which implies an exercise of religious liberty, or has a tendency in that direction. Many of the persons present in the chapel on such occasions may feel a disgust at the gross and brutal language in which these maledictions are conveyed—a disgust they dare not but conceal—a sympathy with the victim, which it would be dangerous to avow. For, the danger both of the victim and his supporters does not arise from the general feelings of the population. It lies in the fact, that these curses are uttered in a country where offenders against the tyranny of the priesthood can be put out of the way by assassination;—and where any priest who, chooses to make use of the place of worship and the Lord's day for such purposes, *knows* that he has in his congregation some half-dozen desperate characters, whose guilty courses he is privy to, and who are but too anxious to uphold (as long as it suits their purposes) a tyranny, which they find convenient because it serves to screen them from the consequences of their crimes. That, in many cases, assassination has been traced to the denunciations in the chapel, is a matter of notoriety. It could be traced to the same source in far more, were it not for the extreme difficulty of obtaining witnesses who will come forward to fix the guilt on the offenders, and run the risk of being murdered themselves. To incur the priest's curse, is tantamount to having one's death-warrant signed.

The sword of terrorism, however, is wielded by comparatively a few persons. And wherever the population are protected from violence, the Protestant Church is on the increase. No greater delusion, indeed, can be propagated, than the notion, that the great body of the Irish peasantry are attached by affection or personal respect to their priesthood. Multitudes of them, doubtless, are the slaves of a degrading, and in many particulars, an almost ludicrous, superstition, which—regarding the priests as a species of human elves or goblins—teaches them to fear the official, and dread his power, whatever may be their dislike or contempt for his personal character. Their fears are the fears of a semibarbarous people. To what else can be ascribed their belief, that what they call a *blessed* priest—by which they mean a priest degraded by his superiors on account of notorious and habitual immorality—has the power of working miracles and casting out devils;—and that even the earth which covers his grave possesses the power of curing the diseases of those who will mix it with water, and drink it. Hundreds of such monstrous superstitions still find believers in Ireland. It is not many years ago since a case of assault was tried before a judge

of assize, in which the plaintiff was a woman who had had a child by a priest; and, in her childbirth, her bedclothes and dress were violently seized and carried off by some women who forced their way into her chamber, under the belief (common in several parts of Ireland) that the linen which touches a woman under such circumstances is possessed of miraculous virtue. They tore it into shreds, and kept the pieces to be used as charms. The woman was so maltreated in the scuffle, that, on her recovery, she had them tried for an assault.\* But such heathenish superstitions are on the decline, and so materially has the influence of the priesthood (apart from terror and brute force) diminished of late years, that a well organized and cleverly contrived system, for the purpose of reducing the exorbitant demands of the priests to a fixed scale of fees, would have completely revolutionized their incomes, had not the famous scheme of the monster meetings for Repeal Agitation been resorted to, as a contrivance to meet the emergency of the moment, and divert the hopes of the deluded peasantry to an object still more dear to them than the reduction of clerical exaction. For what the populace were *really* taught to expect from Repeal, was the extirpation of the Saxon, and the recovery of the forfeited lands. So that, even in neighbourhoods where the gentry were numerous and resident, and spending large fortunes among their tenantry, the infatuated people were actually quarrelling with each other about the partition of their landlords' estates, which they were to share among themselves,—in some cases, about the pleasant question, to which of them the estates ought to belong,—as soon as Repeal should be carried, and the Saxon banished, and “Ireland for the Irish” should become the Charter of the empire of O’Connell.

But even this delusion must pass away. And the true and real condition of Ireland is, as we have more than once represented it, that the people are in a state of transition, and that the Protestant Church is hourly gaining ground in their affections. And what we observed last November, we believe will be confirmed by every one conversant with facts, that the present distress—fearful as are the sufferings it is entailing on the poor—is aiding the cause of the Church, and binding by closer ties of respect and gratitude the hearts of the poor Roman Catholics to their real friends.

What will parliament do? What will ministers propose? Are new experiments of conciliation to be tried? Are the Romish priests to be bribed into a temporary truce by the plunder of the Protestant Church? The question will soon be

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\* The particulars of this case we had from an Irish solicitor of high respectability, to whom they were communicated by the judge who presided at the trial.



answered. But the stroke which destroys the Church in Ireland will smite the Church in this country also. For weal or woe, their destinies are indissolubly united. We may be mistaken in our opinion—we believe we are not,—but assuredly, it is no lightly formed opinion,—that the safety of our religious and political institutions depends—we shall not say on *supporting* the Protestant Church in Ireland,—but on *allowing it to have fair play*—that fair play, to which even on political grounds, it is entitled. The dismemberment of the empire, and the horrors of a civil war, will not be averted by refusing to assist the Irish clergy in educating their flocks in the principles which have made England what it is. The Covenanters of Ulster are not to be gained over to become the supporters of a monarchical episcopal constitution by the founding of Gower-street universities in Ireland, or the endowment of Unitarian professors. The really respectable Presbyterians are disgusted. The interest of one of their ministers with an old lady of fortune has lately put it into their power to endow a *really* Presbyterian college in Belfast; and with this they intend to rival and starve out the government college in Belfast, by which the miserable policy of conciliation had sought to secure their attachment.

In vain is it attempted to gain over the Romish hierarchy by the establishment of a semi-infidel and latitudinarian system of national education, loathsome to every man of principle among them—notwithstanding the vast patronage and funds it puts under their control. They do *not* wish their people to be educated. They are willing enough, no doubt, that the funds of the empire should be employed to discourage, and depress, and discountenance the Protestant clergy. With this feature of the government system of education in Ireland they are well enough contented,—yet not enough to conquer their repugnance to education itself: a repugnance, on principle, invincible—a repugnance irritated by the galling fact, that they have brought the misfortune of being obliged to sanction a government education on themselves, by their agitation against the comparatively trifling assistance which the government had been giving to the schools of the clergy and the establishment at Kildare-street. Some of their wily politicians may deem it wise to *appear* to act with government in carrying out the National System of Education, for the sake of the patronage and money which government have forced upon them. But the only feature in the system which in their inmost souls they regard with complacency, is the discouragement it gives to the Protestant Church, and the affronts it puts upon the prelates of Ireland. What they really feel (and, if they be honest Romanists, what else could they feel?) is expressed in the denunciation of Dr. Mac Hale,—the safety valve of their party.

We confess our fears are, that we have not yet seen the worst, and that it is only by a calamity more terrible than famine or pestilence, our insane delusion of attempting to govern Ireland through Mr. O'Connell and the Romish priesthood will be dispelled. We fear the Church in Ireland has more of suffering to undergo, before we shall have discovered that She is the only security we have for the peace and prosperity of that distracted country or the maintenance of the integrity of the empire. Happy will it be for all parties if the discovery be made before it is too late. At all events, we should make up our minds, how far we really mean to go. As long as a Saxon proprietor or a Protestant clergyman is suffered to exist in Ireland, the Romish prelates will never allow their subjects (as they call the priests) to be the ministers of peace for England. The Protestant Church is the Mordecai of Ireland; and as long as Mordecai is sitting in the gate, what profits them all the favour and riches which England can heap upon them? Nothing less than extermination is their price. When the price has been paid, what will Ireland be worth to England?

Since the foregoing was written, the *Times* newspaper of December 24th has appeared; and, in the Irish article furnished by the correspondent of the *Times*, are printed some details of the distress in the south of Ireland, which fully corroborate the remarks we have made above—namely, that no existing system of public relief can meet the present fearful emergency in the districts where relief is most severely needed. Who is now to blame?—Government—Priests—or Landlords—is a question which no one of common humanity can stop to discuss under such circumstances. We trust few Englishmen could be found inclined to do so. Whatever objection may be urged against a general collection for the whole of Ireland, those who are disposed to sympathize with trials so calamitous cannot hesitate to do what lies in their power in cases so clear as these:—where suspicion of imposture is out of the question, and where—whether any one be blameable or not—it is palpable, that if relief be delayed, the people must perish in multitudes. Bantry, it will be remembered, is the market town of the district in which Mr. W. Crosthwaite's parish of Durrus is situated. The statement we shall transcribe from the *Times* shows that matters are much worse now than they were when Mr. Crosthwaite's letter was written.

#### “DISTRESS IN CORK.”

“The reports from Cork continue extremely unfavourable. The following is an extract of a letter dated ‘Bantry, Saturday,’ supplied by the special reporter of the *Cork Examiner*:—

“Arega is the influence exercised by the sudden and extraordinary daths which are daily occurring; it is not confined to the fami-

lies or individuals immediately affected—it extends to all the labourers employed for miles around, and excites in their imaginations the most dreadful anticipations regarding their ultimate condition. It is, I have heard from numbers of those labourers themselves, and as I have been credibly informed by the Catholic clergy, their firm and undoubted belief that they all are reserved for the same fate as is daily occurring to their neighbours—that they are doomed, without either expectation of relief or release, to expire before the termination of a few months—that they will be found either in fields or on mountains, without either the consolations of clergy or the comfort of friends.

‘And what reason have the people for anticipating any other change in their present protracted sufferings? With hundreds unemployed—still further retrenchment of expenditure appears to be the government policy, still greater strictness characterizes their present proceedings. In the remote and extreme districts of the parish that I at present refer to, the individuals composing the families of employed labourers are obliged to travel a distance of twenty miles to the nearest available market for the purchase of perhaps one stone of flour or meal, and they are then compelled to return the same distance before their hungry families can receive one morsel of food. They are thus compelled to travel a distance of forty miles before they are privileged to purchase India meal at 2s. 5d. a stone, and make it available for their family’s subsistence. There are other districts connected with the parish where they are more fortunately located, and where they are obliged to endure journeys only amounting from twenty to thirty miles; all because government, in its profound discretion, did not find it convenient to establish food depôts within a more limited distance.

‘There is another instance, though, unfortunately, not an extraordinary one, which I accidentally became acquainted with. A distressed labourer, named Michael Linehan, from the parish of Slane, a district situated about eight miles from this town, came into Bantry, on Thursday evening, to solicit charity for his aged mother and a younger brother, who were stretched upon the same bed of sickness, and suffering from a similar disease. I have learned that he did succeed in procuring some trifling assistance from some charitably disposed persons in the town, and that he was returning to his anxious parent and starving brother, when death also released him from the miserable position that hunger and cold had reduced him to. He was discovered a lifeless corpse yesterday morning on the Mountain of Ibane, and his emaciated remains were conveyed to his miserable home, to console the wretched family who associated his return with their own existence. A *post-mortem* examination was held, and, on inspection of the intestines, a quantity of undigested turnips and stunted cabbages were discovered, which, apparently, constituted his only food for some weeks previous.

‘These are a few amongst several cases, equally melancholy in the detail, with which I have been acquainted; but even these isolated cases will convey an idea of the condition of the peasantry in the re-

mote districts of this extensive parish. As I before observed, and as I will endeavour to impress upon your readers, hitherto the population of this parish have been fortunate in their position, but their future anticipations are of the most appalling character, and their speculations are even at present receiving a horrifying realization."

With regard to the policy of the system pursued by Government, we shall offer no opinion. If any of the language of the writers in the Cork newspaper appear intemperate, many allowances must be made for persons writing under such circumstances. The correspondent of the *Times* proceeds to say:—

"That these statements are not over-coloured may be gathered from a letter addressed to the Duke of Wellington by Mr. N. Cumming, a magistrate of the county of Cork; it is as follows:—

'My Lord Duke,—Without apology or preface, I presume so far to trespass on your grace as to state to you, and by the use of your illustrious name, to present to the British public the following statement of what I have myself seen within the last three days.

'Having for many years been intimately connected with the western portion of the county of Cork, and possessing some small property there, I thought it right personally to investigate the truth of the several lamentable accounts which had reached me, of the appalling state of misery to which that part of the country was reduced.

'I accordingly went on the 15th instant to Skibbereen, and to give the instance of one townland which I visited, as an example of the state of the *entire coast district*, I shall state simply what I there saw. It is situated on the eastern side of Castlehaven harbour, and is named South Reen, in the parish of Myross. Being aware that I should have to witness scenes of frightful hunger, I provided myself with as much bread as five men could carry, and on reaching the spot I was surprised to find the wretched hamlet apparently deserted. I entered some of the hovels to ascertain the cause, and the scenes that presented themselves were such as no tongue or pen can convey the slightest idea of. In the first, six famished and ghastly skeletons, to all appearance dead, were huddled in a corner on some filthy straw, their sole covering what seemed a ragged horsecloth, their wretched legs hanging about, naked above the knees. I approached with horror, and found by a low moaning they were alive—they were in fever, four children, a woman, and what had once been a man. It is impossible to go through the detail. Suffice it to say, that in a few minutes I was surrounded by at least two hundred of such phantoms, such frightful spectres as no words can describe. By far the greater number were delirious, either from famine or from fever. Their demoniac yells are still ringing in my ears, and their horrible images are fixed upon my brain. My heart sickens at the recital, but I must go on.

'In another case, decency would forbid what follows, but it must be told. My clothes were nearly torn off in my endeavour to escape from the throng of pestilence around, when my neckcloth was seized from

behind by a gripe which compelled me to turn. I found myself grasped by a woman with an infant just born in her arms, and the remains of a filthy sack across her loins—the sole covering of herself and babe. The same morning the police opened a house on the adjoining lands, which was observed shut for many days, and two frozen corpses were found, lying upon the mud floor, half devoured by the rats.

‘A mother, herself in a fever, was seen the same day to drag out the corpse of her child, a girl about 12, perfectly naked, and leave it half covered with stones. In another house, within 500 yards of the cavalry station at Skibbereen, the dispensary doctor found seven wretches lying, unable to move, under the same cloak. One had been dead many hours, but the others were unable to move either themselves or the corpse.’

‘To what purpose should I multiply such cases? If these be not sufficient, neither would they hear who have the power to send relief and do not, even “though one came from the dead.” Let them, however, believe and tremble, that they shall one day hear the Judge of all the earth pronounce their tremendous doom, with the addition, “I was an hungered and ye gave me no meat, thirsty and ye gave me no drink, naked and ye clothed me not.”’

‘But I forget to whom this is addressed. My lord, you are an old and justly honoured man. It is yet in your power to add another honour to your age, to fix another star, and that the brightest in your galaxy of glory. You have access to our young and gracious Queen. Lay these things before her. She is a woman. She will not allow decency to be outraged. She has at her command the means of at least mitigating the sufferings of the wretched survivors in this tragedy. They will soon be few indeed in the district I speak of, if help be longer withheld.’

‘Once more, my lord duke, in the name of starving thousands, I implore you to break the frigid and tinsy chain of official etiquette, and save the land of your birth, the kindred of that gallant Irish blood which you have so often seen lavished to support the honour of the British name, and let there be inscribed upon your tomb, “Servata Hibernia.”’

‘I have the honour to be, my Lord Duke,

‘Your Grace’s obedient humble servant,

‘N. M. CUMMINS,

‘Justice of the Peace.

‘Ann Mount, Cork, December 17.’

After this, it is to be hoped few, who have the means to alleviate such sufferings, will excuse themselves by the plea, that, in districts *where no such famine has ever existed*, some of the misguided victims or agents of Mr. O’Connell’s agitation have been purchasing arms. What if, even in the district which is here described, five hundred stand of arms had been purchased by those who had money to buy them? Would this be an excuse for leaving those to perish under so terrible a visitation, who

had none? Some clever writers in the newspapers, whose ignorant and ill-timed witticisms were the means (*and we know they were*) of closing hands and hearts which were actually opened to relieve the misery of this very district, have good reason to tremble when they read such statements as Mr. Cummins'. Such writers will find it difficult to persuade any rational person that the victims of Skibbereen and Bantry have expired with arms in their hands.

#### THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS IN ROME.

A LITTLE volume with this title,\* written by the Reverend Mr. Kip, an American clergyman, has lately been published in this country, containing a very lively and entertaining account of the impressions made on his mind by a visit to Rome in the Christmas of 1845. We are not sure that there may not be some passages in the book which might have been omitted with advantage. Some, at least, have struck us as being calculated to give to indiscriminating young readers a more favourable view of Romanism than the author himself appears to feel. Many are willing enough to censure the puerilities or grossness of its superstitions, who wish Romanism *as a whole and a system* to be better thought of—if not to be held up as a model for our imitation. We do not charge Mr. Kip with this. We are inclined to think otherwise of his views. But yet passages have struck us as being calculated to encourage young people of a poetical turn in that very erroneous notion; and we think it right to make the observation, and to add, that we should not advise the work to be placed in the hands of such readers without some caution of the sort. It may not be easy to convey what we mean by a single quotation; but the following may help to make it in some degree intelligible to our readers. It occurs in the third chapter, in the description of St. Peter's Cathedral.

"But, in the wide Transept, is a sight which cannot but arrest the attention of every one who is sighing for Catholic unity, and remind him of those days when every nation acknowledged the same faith, and with one voice professed the same creed. There are arranged the boxes for the confessional in every language. Not only are those of Europe to be seen inscribed over these places, but also its various dialects, and the strange tongues of the East. Thus the wanderer from every land, who worships in these rites, beholds provision made for his spiritual wants. There is one spot where the pilgrim always finds his home. We are all one people when we come before the altar of the Lord. Such are represented as the words of Marco Polo, in the thirteenth century, and here, to the member of the Church of Rome, they are realised. He comes to what he regards as the Mother Church of Christendom, and learns that he is not a stranger or an alien. He can unburden himself to a priest of his own land, and the consolations of his faith are doubly sweet when conveyed to him in the familiar words of his own tongue, wherein he was born. With the errors of Rome we have no sympathy; we feel and realise how much she has fallen from the simplicity of the faith; yet Catholic traits like this, none

\* The Christmas Holidays in Rome. By the Rev. W. I. Kip, M.A. Edited by the Rev. W. Sewell, B.D. London: Longman. Foolscape 8vo, pp. 292.

but the most prejudiced can refuse to admire. They show the far-reaching wisdom of that church—that, overlooking the distinctions of climate and country, and recognising her field of labour to extend wherever there is a degraded being to listen to her message, she is resolute to 'inherit the earth.'"  
—pp. 27, 28.

The question, however, is very obvious, whether this is a *Catholic trait*—and whether it is a Catholic spirit, or a desire for unity of spirit, which places these confessionals for all nations in the transepts of St. Peter's. A Roman ecclesiastic would probably regard them as badges of that universal dominion which asserts its right to compel every creature under heaven to bow down before its tribunal of penance. This, we imagine, is the sober and business-like view which the unpoetical part of the Romish clergy would take of them—and to lead young persons in our communion to look at them as in any sense a realization of desires for Christian unity, is to encourage them in an error, and a very dangerous one. The system of Auricular Confession is an engine of cruelty, and a means of deluding souls. The only unity it promotes is that unity which is created by turning the clergy into spies and tyrants, and the laity into a body of slaves who tremble at the power of the man whom they are compelled to make the depositary of their most secret thoughts. It has become the fashion of late with those who hold the peculiar tenets of Dr. Pusey's school, to insist on the benefits of spiritual direction—by which they really mean to recommend a system of confession such as is practised by the Romanists. No minister can have any really sincere desire to benefit the souls of his parishioners, without feeling anxious to lay hold of every opportunity of gaining and encouraging their confidence. But to represent this as bearing any similarity to the Romish system, is to mislead. One would be very sorry not to hope that many Romish priests, finding themselves part of the machinery of their system, do endeavour to employ it in the cultivation of good principles, and to make it a help to the penitent in his warfare against corruption—though, even of such persons, many may have more of zeal than of judgment and discretion. But looking at the system, not as a theory, but a machine in actual operation, as it exists in countries where any large proportion of the inhabitants are Roman Catholics, it is quite certain that, in multitudes of cases, the confessional is a direct encouragement to persons of what is called a religious turn, to talk of themselves—that it is equally an encouragement to censoriousness, spying, tattling, and meddling with the business and families of other people—with the additional injury of investing these vices of an uncharitable mind with the garb of duty and religion. And, confining one's self to the mere question of spiritual direction, we are persuaded that, for one Protestant who, in a healthy state of pastoral superintendence in our church, is suffering from the want of a spiritual director, in any useful sense of the term, multitudes of Romanists have their consciences misled and their moral principles injured by the direction they receive in the confessional. And this would be our opinion still, if there were no ground for any one of the charges which have been made against particular priests. The poison is in the system itself. The official may

be a bad man, but he must be a bad man indeed, whom the system was not likely to make more dangerous. We cannot, therefore, but feel it very mischievous to lead young people to regard the system of the confessional as a Catholic trait, or a sign of Christian unity. And we apprehend the passage we have quoted may lead young people to such a conclusion, and thus attract their *feelings* in a direction which the author did not intend. Read with this caution, Mr. Kip's volume is entertaining, and in some respects instructive. But our object is not to review his work, but to extract from it, for the gratification of our readers, some passages which may help them to form some notion of the state of the metropolis of the Romish Church. Continuing his description of St. Peter's, Mr. Kip says—

"We pause to inspect the *bas reliefs* on the magnificent bronze doors, and are transported back to the days of heathenism. The artist drew his inspiration from no source more hallowed than the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid; and Ganymede and the Eagle, with Leda and the Swan—the latter group more spirited than chaste—figure on the doors of this Christian temple. Advance to the High Altar, and near it, on a pedestal about four feet high, stands an old bronze statue, which the sceptical antiquary will tell you was once a Jupiter, by a slight change transformed into an undoubted St. Peter. However this may be, it is now a mere instrument of superstition, and through the whole day crowds may be seen kneeling before it in earnest prayer. Their devotions ended, they approach, kiss the extended foot—which is almost worn off by this constant friction—press their foreheads to it, and the process is ended. Has the Romanist any reason to laugh at the poor Mussulman, who performs a pilgrimage to Mecca, to kiss the black stone of the Caaba? On St. Peter's day this image is clothed in magnificent robes—the gemmed tiara placed upon its head—the jewelled collar around its neck—soldiers are stationed by its side, and lighted candles burning about it. A clergyman of the Church of England, who was present on this occasion last year, told me, that the effect of the black image thus arrayed was perfectly ludicrous; and with the people all kneeling before it, had he not known he was in a Christian church, he should have supposed himself in a heathen temple, and that, the idol.

"In the massive columns which support the dome, are preserved some holy relics, which are only shown with much ceremony from a high balcony, during Passion Week. A portion of the true Cross—the head of St. Andrew—the lance of St. Longinus (with which our Saviour was pierced)—and the *Sudarium* or handkerchief, containing the impression of our Lord's features—form a part of this sacred treasury. Unfortunately, there are divers other lances of similar pretensions—one at Nuremberg, and another in Armenia. With the *Sudarium*, it is still worse, there being six rival ones shown in different places, viz., Turin, Milan, Cadoin in Perigord, Besançon, Compeign, and Aix-la-Chapelle; while that at Cadoin has fourteen bulls to declare it genuine, and that at Turin, four. The learned, however, solve the difficulty by saying, that the handkerchief applied to our Lord's face consisted of several folds, consequently the impression of the countenance went through them all, and they are all genuine!

"One more item, and I have done with this disagreeable portion of the subject. Pass the High Altar, and at the farther extremity of the church is a magnificent throne of bronze and gilt, surmounted by a canopy, and supported by four colossal gilt figures of St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, and St. Athanasius. Within is a chair, which tradition tells us is the identical one in which St. Peter sat when he officiated as Bishop of Rome. Some twenty years ago, Lady Morgan gave to the world another story of this



wonderful relic. She states that when the French held Rome, their sacrilegious curiosity induced them to break through the splendid casket for the purpose of seeing the sacred chair. Upon its mouldering and dusty surface were traced carvings, which bore the appearance of letters. The chair was quickly brought into a better light, the dust and cobwebs removed, and the inscription faithfully copied. The writing is in Arabic characters, and is the well known confession of Mahometan faith—"There is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet." The story, she adds, has since been hushed up, the chair replaced, and none but the unhallowed remember the fact, and none but the audacious repeat it. Dr. Wiseman takes *miladi* to task with great severity, and asserts that it is an ancient curule chair, evidently of Roman workmanship, and may therefore reasonably be supposed to have been used as an Episcopal throne when St. Peter was received into the house of the Senator Pudens at Rome. The truth probably is, that it was brought from the East among the spoils of the crusaders—presented to St. Peter's at a time when antiquarian research was not much in fashion—and now, its origin has been forgotten."—pp. 29—31.

This passage, in justice to Mr. Kip it should be observed, proves that his design is not to recommend the puerilities of Romanism. Whether his view of it *as a whole* be equally just, we must leave the reader to decide; especially as the tone of such passages as the following one does not find it very easy to harmonize with that of others which have caught our eye.

"Immediately below the high altar is what is called the tomb of St. Peter. As we stood beside it, we thought what would be the feelings of the humble fisherman of Galilee, could he rise from his martyr-grave, wherever it may be, and behold the gorgeous ceremonies of the temple which is called by his name. The purity of the faith for which he died, perverted—the simplicity of ancient worship deformed by countless rites, partaking of the 'pride and pomp and circumstance' of Pagan rituals—the Gospel mingled up with strange legends from the old mythology—his own name, which he only wished to be 'written in heaven,' now exalted above all human fame, and made an argument for blinding superstition—how would his lofty rebuke startle the thousands kneeling here, and echo even through the halls of the Vatican, as he summoned all away from the 'cunningly devised fables' which are taught in this glorious shrine, to those changeless and immutable truths which are to last while 'eternity grows grey.'"—pp. 37, 38.

In the fourth chapter are some curious particulars of the observances of Christmas;—the effect of the whole being to convey to the mind the idea of a population in a state of childish ignorance.

"The Christmas holidays are at hand, and on every side we hear the note of preparation. The shops are decorated with flowers, while the altars of the churches are arrayed in their most splendid ornaments. The images of the Virgin in particular are seen in their gayest dress, and all the jewellery which the treasury can furnish is brought out to give them an elegant and fashionable appearance.

"At this time, too, in addition to the varied population of the city—its priests, soldiers, and beggars, who together form the great proportion—a new accession is pouring in from the surrounding country. The peasants who live in the deserted tombs on the Campagna—the natives of the Alban mountains, fierce banditti-looking fellows, who gather their cloaks about them with a scowling air which would not be at all pleasant to encounter among their own hills—and the Trasteverini, in their picturesque costumes, boasting themselves to be the only true descendants of the ancient Romans, and as proud and haughty in their bearing as if they had also inherited the heroic virtues of

their ancestors;—these are to be met roaming about every street, and in the churches, gazing in wonder at their magnificence.

"The most singular, however, are the Calabrian minstrels, the *pifferari*. Their dress is wild and striking, consisting of a loose sheepskin coat, with the wool left on it, and a high-peaked cap, decked with gay ribbons and sprigs of heather; while the huge *zampogne* of goat-skin is formed like the bagpipes of Scotland, and resembles them, too, in its shrill music. These interesting characters arrive during the last days of Advent, and consider themselves the representatives of the shepherds of Judea, who were the first to announce the news of the Nativity. Their usual gathering-place is on the steps of the *Piazza di Spagna*, where they lounge and sleep in the warm sun. Every little while a party sets out on a tour through the city, blowing away with the most desperate energy. At the next corner is one of the shrines of the Madonna, and this is their first stopping-place, to salute the Mother and Child. Lady Morgan says, 'it is done under the traditional notion of charming her labour-pains on the approaching Christmas.' They turn down the *Via Frattina*, and a short distance farther come to a carpenter's shop, which must also be favoured with a tune, '*per politezza al messer San Giuseppe*,' 'out of compliment to St. Joseph.' The owner hands them out a *bejoccho*, and they continue their march until the circuit is completed."—pp. 39, 40.

In describing the service at the Sistine Chapel on Christmas Eve, he says—

"The audience seemed to be almost entirely English, and I suppose were Protestants. Such at least is the complaint of the Italians, that they can never gain admittance to the services of their own church, but every place is occupied by foreigners. This formed the subject of one of the satirical witticisms of Pasquin. One night the question was affixed to his statue—'How shall I, being a true son of the holy church, obtain admittance to her services?' The next night the answer which appeared was—'Declare that you are an Englishman, and swear that you are a heretic.' After awhile, the rumour began to be spread round among the spectators, that the pope was not to be present this evening, and therefore there would be no high mass after Vespers. This news apparently made them more restless, and they began to thin out. One party after another passed down the line of guards as they stood like statues, and departed. Many went to the church of St. Maria Maggiore, to see at midnight the true cradle in which our Lord was rocked carried in procession. Having, however, little taste for such exhibitions, we did not join them. I found, indeed, from the account of a friend who witnessed it, that we did not lose much. After standing for some hours in a dense crowd, listening to the singing of the choir, a procession of priests carried the holy relic across the church from the sacristy to the altar. It was enclosed in a splendid coffer of silver, with a canopy of gold cloth elevated over it. Banners waved—the lighted tapers were held up—incense rose in clouds about it—the guard of soldiers, and the crowd which filled the church dropped on their knees—it passed—and the whole show was over."—pp. 42, 43.

On the following day he saw the Pope himself assisting at High Mass.

"Christmas morning fulfilled in its beauty the promise of the night before. It is the great festival of the winter. The papal banners are displayed from the castle, and the streets are filled with crowds thronging up to St. Peter's. The guards in their strange white and red costumes were stationed around the body of the church, while at the lower end a body of troops were drawn up, who remained there on duty during the whole service. With the audience

the same formality of dress was required as the evening before.\* At the upper end of the church was the magnificent throne of the pope, raised quite as high as the altar which it fronted, and decked out most splendidly with its cloth of crimson and gold, and the gilded mitre suspended above. Next to it on the sides were the seats for the cardinals, then the boxes for ambassadors and their suites, and then high platforms covered with crimson cloth to afford seats for the ladies. The altar has no chancel around it, and the great area between its steps and the papal throne was left vacant for the performance of the services. As my stand happened to be close to the ambassadors' boxes, I had an excellent view of everything which took place.

"After waiting for at least an hour, suddenly there came a burst of music from the lower end of the church: it was a loud chant, which, softened by the distance, floated sweetly through the building. Every eye was strained towards the spot from which it proceeded, and there, raised high on the shoulders of men clothed in violet-coloured robes, we beheld the pope borne above the heads of the kneeling multitude in his crimson chair, the falling drapery from which half concealed those who carried him. The gemmed tiara was on his head, and his robes sparkled with jewels. On each side of him were carried high fan-like banners of ostrich feathers, such as we see in pictures of the processions of an eastern rajah. Before him marched a guard of honour, consisting of some sixty Roman noblemen, who always form his escort on great festivals. Around him was his brilliant court—the cardinals—the bishops of the Greek, Armenian, and other Eastern Churches in their most gorgeous array—the heads of different religious brotherhoods in ash-coloured garments—priests in purple and white, some bearing the great cross and lighted tapers, and some flinging in the air their golden censers; thus the procession came slowly on to the sound of anthems—the most gorgeous show which probably ever entered a Christian church. The pope passed within six feet of where I stood. His eyes were closed, his whole countenance seemed dull and lifeless, and the constant nodding of his head, as the bearers walked with unsteady step, gave him the appearance of a mere image splendidly decked out to form part of a pageant.

"At length, amid his kneeling train, he was deposited on the pavement in front of the altar, and the guard of nobles ranged themselves on each side of the area up to the throne. He knelt for a few moments—parts of his dress were changed, the tiara being put upon the altar and a mitre substituted in its place; he joined in the psalms and prayers which precede the solemn service, and was escorted in state to his lofty seat, while the choir sang the *Introitus*, or Psalm of Entrance. Then one by one the cardinals swept across the church, their long scarlet trains borne up behind them as they walked, and spread out so as to cover a surface of yards in extent when they stopped, and ascending the steps they kissed the pontiff's hand and the hem of his garment.

"The service of High Mass now began, in which he at times took part. He read the Collect—gave his benediction to the two deacons kneeling at his feet with the Book of the Gospels—commenced the Nicene Creed, which the choir continued in music—and returning to the altar, fumed it with incense from a golden censer, offered the usual oblations, and washed his hands in token of purity of mind. When the elements were consecrated two deacons brought the sacrament to the pope, who is seated. He first revered it on his knees, and then received it sitting.

"But it would be impossible for me to describe the long and complicated service. A cardinal officiated at the altar—rich and solemn music swelled out from the choir, and filled the mighty building in which we were; sweet incense floated through the air, thousands and thousands were gathered under that golden dome, and no single thing was omitted which could add to the

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\* \* Namely, the gentlemen in full dress, and the ladies in black, their covered only with a veil."

magnificence of the pageant. In this respect it is probably unequalled in the world. Yet to most who were present it could have been nothing but an empty show. The priests crossed and re-crossed—censers waved—candles were lighted and put out—dresses were changed and re-changed—the cardinals walked back and forth, until the mind became utterly bewildered. All things about us indeed—the vastness of the edifice—the works of art—the rich dresses—the splendid music—contributed to heighten the effect; yet, with all this, the seriousness of devotion seemed to be wanting.

“Had I known nothing of Christianity I should have supposed the Pope to be the object of their worship. His throne was far more gorgeous than the altar; where they kneeled before the latter once, they kneeled before the former five times;” and the amount of incense offered before each was about in the same proportion. He was evidently the central point of attraction. The entrance of the old man, so gorgeously attired, among kneeling thousands, and the splendour of the whole service, showed more fully than ever before how far the Church of Rome had wandered from the simplicity of the faith, and how much of ceremony it had substituted for the pure worship of the early Christians. The day before I had gone over the service for Christmas with an ecclesiastic of the Romish Church, received from him every explanation, and I now followed it through with the missal in my hand. I wished to form an opinion for myself, and after investigating as far as possible the meaning of the many ceremonies we had witnessed, I could not but feel the truth of the remark I have somewhere seen, that ‘the Romanist has been the Pagan’s heir.’ The most interesting part to me was to hear the Nicene (or rather Constantinopolitan) Creed chanted in Greek immediately after it had been chanted in Latin. ‘It is to show the union of the two churches,’ a priest most gravely told me. I thought that whereas the Latin Church has for centuries anathematised the Greek, and the Greek in turn repudiated the Latin, this service had about as much meaning as the title ‘King of Jerusalem,’ which the king of Naples still uses.

“At length, the service ended. The Pope was once more raised on his lofty seat and carried down the church—the Roman nobles formed around him—his body-guards shouldered their halberds—the cardinals with their train-bearers fell into their places—and the gay procession went as it came. While it passed down, the Pope gently waved his hand from side to side to dispense his blessing—the immense multitude sunk upon their knees as he went by—until the train disappeared through the door, and the successor of St. Peter departed to his dwelling in the Vatican. The released ecclesiastics proceeded to pay their respects to the ladies—violet and scarlet stockings appeared in the crowd among the brilliant uniforms—‘nods, and becks, and wreathed smiles’ were visible on all sides—compliments in French and Italian mingled into one chaos of sound—and the whole broke up like a gay pleasure party.

“For some time I lingered under the colonnades to see the immense multitude pour out and disperse. As they passed down the steps and by the massive pillars, they seemed pigmies in size. Before the church, the whole square was alive. The crimson and gold carriages of the cardinals, with their three liveried footmen hanging on behind, were dashing away—the troops were pouring out—military music was sounding—and I went home with scarcely a feeling to remind me that I had been at church.”—pp. 44—49.

After this one need not wonder at the gratification the author felt, in attending at the British Chapel; and indeed it is but fair to him to quote the passage.

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“ ‘Never, I ween,  
In any body’s recollection,  
Was such a party seen  
For genuflection.’ ”

"From this gorgeous and unsatisfactory show I was glad, at a later hour of the day, to repair to the pure worship of our own Church, for I felt that thus far I had been doing nothing to keep the solemn Festival of the Nativity. The Papal power, which in our own land talks so loudly of toleration, here will not allow the worship of a Protestant within the bounds of 'the Eternal City,' and almost supported as its people are by the money which the thousands of English scatter among them, it does not permit them even to erect a church in which to meet. Without the walls of the city, just beyond the *Porta del Popolo*, a large 'upper room' has been fitted up for the British Chapel, and there on *sufferance* they gather each week. There is no organ—no singing—everything is as plain and simple as possible. Yet never did I so much enjoy the services of the Church as on this occasion. Never did I feel so grateful to the Reformers of the Church of England, that at the cost of their own lives they had bequeathed to us primitive purity. I thought of the time when, eighteen centuries ago, while the magnificence of a heathen ritual was going on in old Rome, perhaps some little band of Christians had met beyond its walls, in seclusion to offer up their simple worship. How great must have been the contrast between the two scenes—the splendour of those forms and ceremonies with which thousands bowed around the altars of the Capitoline Jupiter, and the simplicity and purity with which the few disciples of Christ prayed to their crucified Master!

"Did you receive much spiritual benefit from the services at St. Peter's this morning?" said a friend to me as we were leaving the British Chapel. 'Yes,' I answered, 'indirectly, I received much; for it taught me to realize the value of our own services as I never did before, and I trust therefore to use them for the rest of my life with greater benefit. It is the contrast between the Church in the days of Leo X. and in the time of Constantine.'—pp. 49, 59.

In the course of his description of the Vatican, Mr. Kip says—

"We succeeded one morning in obtaining admission into the Sistine Chapel at a time when there was light enough to see the paintings. In the large saloon which leads to it the walls are covered with frescoes, one of which, representing the *Massacre of St. Bartholomew's*, might as well have been omitted, it not being a triumph of which the Church of Rome should be particularly proud. In the papal Mint, however, can be seen a medal which was struck in honour of the same occasion. The glory of the Sistine chapel has always been the great fresco of the Last Judgment, by Michael Angelo, which entirely covers one end. It is chiefly remarkable for the boldness of its drawing, the great number of figures introduced, and of course the anatomical details. The blessed are there, rising from their graves, ascending into heaven, and received by angels; while demons are seizing the condemned and dragging them down to the pit. It of course gave opportunity to the artist to display his great power, as every possible passion was to be delineated; but the picture is half heathenish. In the foreground is Charon, in his ferry-boat, rowing the groups over the Styx, and striking the refractory with his oar. This, however, was in accordance with the spirit of the age; and Michael Angelo only painted the retributions of eternity as Dante had described them."—p. 69.

We quote this chiefly for the sake of the following, which is appended as a note to the description of Michael Angelo's picture.

"In 1841, the favourite ballet at the French Opera in Paris was called, 'The Infernal Gallopade of the Last Judgment,' all the attitudes of which were taken from this picture."

Passing on to the Epiphany, we have the following account of the Solemnities in the Church of the *Bambino*.

"The great service of the day, however, was in the church of S. Maria d'Ara Coeli. This is a strange looking building on the Capitoline Hill, erected on the foundation of the old Roman temple of Jupiter Feretrius, in which the Spolia Opima were deposited. The ascent to it is by one hundred and twenty-four steps of Grecian marble taken from an ancient temple of Romulus, near the Porta Salaria. They were constructed in 1348, the expense being defrayed by the alms of the faithful after the great plague which Boccaccio has so admirably described as afflicting Florence in that year. The age of the church itself is unknown, although all agree in ascribing to it an antiquity not lower than the sixth century. Upon entering, your first impression is, that it is composed of an assemblage of fragments. The materials have indeed been plundered indiscriminately from every ancient building within reach, and of the twenty-two large columns which separate the nave from the side aisles, no two are alike. Some are of Egyptian granite, and some of marble—some white, and some black—two are Corinthian pillars elegantly fluted, and the rest are plain. The capitals, too, are all different, and as none of the pillars were originally of the same length, it was of course necessary to raise them on pedestals of various heights. The grotesque effect produced by this variety may be imagined. On one of the pillars is the inscription in antique letters—*A CUBICULO AUGUSTORUM*—which would seem to prove, that the church was built with the spoils of the palace of the Cæsars. The pavement, formed of mosaic of the most rare and precious marbles, is uneven with age, and the sculptured images of knights and bishops who sleep beneath are rapidly disappearing under the tread of the thousands who pass over their resting-place. My principal interest in this building, however, arose from its connexion with Gibbon, whose fascinating narrative must so often recur to the mind while dwelling in 'the eternal city.' It was in this church—as he himself tells us—on the 15th of October, 1764, as he sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the barefooted friars were singing vespers, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started to his mind."

"To the Romanist, on the contrary, this church derives its veneration from a miraculous wooden figure of the infant Saviour, called the *Santissimo Bambino*, to which they ascribe especial power in curing the sick. The legend is, that a Franciscan pilgrim carved it out of an olive tree which grew on the Mount of Olives, and while he was sleeping over his work, St. Luke appeared and painted the image. It is a coarse daub, like divers portraits of our Lord which we have seen ascribed to St. Luke, from all of which, if we believed in their authenticity, we should draw the inference, that his talents as an artist were somewhat below those of a very ordinary sign-painter. The image is placed in a side chapel, and dressed most richly, while gems and jewellery sparkle on all parts of it. Over the infant is bending the Virgin in an elegant modern ball dress—red satin, with cord and tassel round her waist—splendid necklace, with a veil gracefully falling over her, and fastened to the back of her head. Around them are pasteboard figures of the shepherds and the wise men, the oxen and the ass, while the picture is completed by canvas side-scenes, back-ground, and clouds. The view seems to extend far into the distance, and there are the hills and palm trees and all the features of an oriental landscape. Altogether it is quite pretty, and the deception is as well managed as it usually is in the theatre."

"On the festival of the Epiphany this scene is all represented on a stage erected near the altar, and crowds of peasantry from the neighbouring country throng the church. In the afternoon the Bambino was brought out in solemn procession. First came the cardinals, who offered gifts—I suppose in imitation of the Magi—and then the image was solemnly carried round the church amidst kneeling thousands. The sick and the halt and the blind were there, 'that at least the shadow of' the wooden image 'passing by might overshadow some of them.' Mothers held up their sick children, that they might be

restored to health by a sight of the miraculous Bambino. Afterwards the procession moved to the front of the church, where the open square on the Capitoline Hill was crowded by thousands. Here once more the image was elevated to bless the prostrate multitudes, and then for another twelvemonth it was restored to its theatrical little chapel."—pp. 106—108.

In fact, things are tolerated, and it would seem admired—undoubtedly encouraged, by the clergy and government, which one can scarcely imagine to be endured among grown-up persons. In giving an account of a sermon preached by a priest, who was just about leaving for America, Mr. Kip says—

"Above the High Altar was a magnificent silk canopy—which had been put up at Epiphany—and under it was what would be called—had it not been in church—a pretty puppet-show. It was a collection of figures, each about two feet high. On a lofty throne, raised several steps, sat the Virgin Mary with the Infant Saviour in her arms, a magnificent crown on the head of each. By her side stood Joseph, and before her were 'the three wise men,' offering their gifts. They, too, were splendidly attired, rather in the costume of the Middle Ages: caps with feathers, velvet dresses with gold embroidery, and a page behind each, holding up his train. Two of the Magi were white, and one black. Over them hung an immense star, cut out of silver paper, two feet high, and of course ten times larger than the head of either of the wise men. And all this was just above the High Altar!"—pp. 141, 142.

In what country under heaven can one imagine the respectable classes taking part in the absurd superstitions connected with the festival of St. Anthony? Of this Mr. Kip was himself a spectator.

"The first time I witnessed it, I was involuntarily a participant to some extent in the ceremony. We were riding with a lady, when crossing the open square a priest in his surplice was seen standing on the steps of this little church, while one carriage after another was driving up to it,—stopping before him for a few minutes, and then passing on to make room for others.

"'What,' she inquired of the courier, 'are they doing there?'

"'Blessing the horses, madam.'

"'Then tell the coachman to drive up, and we will have ours blessed.'

"So accordingly up he drove. The servants reverently took off their hats, and the priest commenced reading a prayer from his book. When he had finished, he took a brush from the hand of an attendant, dipped it in a bucket of holy water at his feet, and sprinkled the horses, repeating the words—

"'Per intercessionem beati Antonii Abbatis, hæc animalia liberentur a malis, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.' (Through the intercession of the blessed Abbot Anthony, may these animals be delivered from evil, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.)

"A small fee was handed to the priest, and we continued our ride. For several days this service is constantly going on. The following Sunday, however, was the great day. Then the square was crowded with animals, and thousands of people were there as spectators. The magnificent carriages of the Pope, each drawn by six horses, and the scarcely less splendid equipages of the cardinals and the Roman princes, came up, to go through the ceremony. Long rows of post-horses arrived from different parts of the city, and the mules of the peasantry from the country, decked out in ribbons and flowers, while their masters were in all their best array. A friend told me, that on one of these days he saw a young man drag up to the church door a miserable looking little dog, which he led by a string while the service was read, and the poor cur received his share of holy water.

"What is the precise meaning of this ceremony? Or, what particular benefit are the animals expected to derive from this service, which seems like an inferior kind of baptism? These are questions to which it is difficult to procure definite answers. In 'Geraldine,' however—a book published in defence of the church of Rome, and recommended by Bishop Kenrick, as 'a work of great interest, directed to remove prejudice, and present the light of truth,'—is a defence of this service, from which we make the following quotation:—

"But what good did all the blessing and sprinkling do the cattle and their owners," said Miss Leonard, "when they left the good monk, just as vicious and distempered, as when they came to him?"

"That is indeed begging the question," said Geraldine; "*I do not believe that the cattle were so much so after the blessing as before.*"

"In another work of fiction also we lately found a rather more complete summing up of the benefits, as given by an Italian peasant: 'Is it not a good horse which we have? Then it has also had this year St. Antonio's blessing: my fellow decked him out with bunches of silken ribbons, opened the Bible before him, and sprinkled him with holy water; and no devil, or evil eye, can have any influence on him this year.'—pp. 233—235.

When one speaks of the superstition of the Irish as a consequence of their Romanism, we are reminded of their being in a state of semi-barbarism—as if the antagonist influence of the priests had not yet been able to overcome their credulity. But here is a picture of Rome itself, in the year 1845, and the Pope himself directly assisting to countenance and encourage a folly sufficient to make religion itself ridiculous, in the eyes of those who are taught to regard such superstitions as part of Christianity.

Again, what is to be thought of the Scala Santa?

"On the other side of the Basilica is a noble portico constructed by Sixtus V., and intended to cover the *Scala Santa*, or holy staircase. This consists of twenty-eight broad marble steps, which tradition tells us are the identical steps once belonging to Pilate's house, and by which our Lord descended when he left the judgment seat. The marvel of course is, that they could have escaped the destruction of Jerusalem, and all the vicissitudes which for centuries beset the Christians. I find, however, upon consulting a Roman-catholic work, the legend is, that during the forty years the judgments which fell on Jerusalem were suspended, the Christians were on the watch to secure all the relics of their Master, and returning from Pella, after the siege, when terror and confusion reigned, they concealed and carried away the precious steps. No one is now permitted to ascend them but on their knees, and an indulgence of about two hundred and fifty years is promised to each one who accomplishes the feat, at the same time, 'devoutly meditating on the Passion.' At whatever part of the day you are there, you see numbers going through the painful service. Men and women—people of rank and beggars—old persons and children—are toiling up, often quite exhausted before they reach the top. When they have gained the highest step, they stoop down and kiss a brass cross inserted in the marble, and the penance is over. At one time indeed there seemed to be danger that the marble itself would be worn out by the knees of the countless pilgrims who availed themselves of the offers of indulgence. By order of Clement XII., therefore, the steps were covered with planks of wood, which have been obliged to be renewed three times.

"Luther tells us of an incident in his own life which occurred on this spot. When the poor Saxon Monk was in Rome, while his mind was in its transition state—disgusted with the superstitions around him, and yet not know-



ing to what else to turn—he determined to gain the indulgence promised for ascending this staircase. While he was slowly climbing up, he seemed to hear a voice speaking from the depths of his heart, ‘The just shall live by faith.’ He started in terror from the steps up which he had been crawling, and struck with shame at his degradation, fled from this scene of his folly.

“The little chapel at the top contains a large number of relics, and is therefore so sacred that no woman is allowed to enter it. An inscription indeed states, that ‘there is no place more holy in all the world.’ Among these relics are some of the barley-loaves and fishes, part of the purple robe, and of the reed with which Christ was smitten. The most remarkable, however, is a very sacred painting, claiming to be a correct likeness of our Lord at the age of twelve years. According to this portrait he was precisely five feet eight inches high at that age. It was begun by St. Luke, but leaving it for a time, on his return he found it miraculously finished.

“On each side of the holy staircase is a lateral one by which pilgrims can descend, and as these steps have not the same sanctity they may be ascended also in the ordinary way.”—pp. 243, 244.

Do the heads of the Roman-catholic Church believe, that the Christians carried off a marble staircase of twenty-eight broad steps from Jerusalem after its destruction, and that, of all places in the world, they brought them to Rome? Do they believe that this staircase ever was at Jerusalem at all? If not, in what state must that church be, where men of the highest station and learning—and, it may be, of religious feeling—think it lawful to connect the name of our Redeemer with such a clumsy and preposterous falsehood, and venture to promise spiritual blessings to those who are superstitious enough to imagine that crawling up these steps on their knees can conduce to the salvation of their souls? This is Rome in 1845. “At whatever part of the day you are there, you see numbers going through the painful service.” It is melancholy to reflect that the clergy of any church can tolerate such impostures; although, on the other hand, we feel very clearly of opinion, that, as long as Rome upholds the heresies and idolatries of her present creed and worship, it is far better for mankind, that these heresies and idolatries should not be stripped of that garb of degrading folly and absurdity which must continually tend to make those, who are really in earnest, and are capable of thought and reflection, look with suspicion on the entire system. Human nature cannot settle down contented with such a mass of outrageous follies.

“In this city the Church is always before us. Its Holy Days are enforced by law, when the shops are obliged to be closed, and all business is suspended. The magnificent carriages of the Cardinals constantly dash by—processions each day pass our windows, with their lighted tapers, chanting the service as they carry the Host, and all kneel on the pavement while they remain in bearing. Wherever we walk, we find throngs of ecclesiastics of every kind. The pilgrim is here, with his ‘sandal-shoon and scollop-shell’—the lordly-looking priest, with his ample cloak and shovel hat—and long lines of friars,

‘White, black, and grey, with all their trumpery.’

“In the city of Rome, their number is estimated at one in twenty-five of the population, while in the whole Papal dominions there are said to be (including nuns) nearly fifty-five thousand—certainly ten times the number necessary for the spiritual wants of the people. The support for all this army is of course drawn from the impoverished inhabitants.

"Of relics it is almost superfluous to write, for every Church has its abundant share of bones and ashes and blood of the Saints. In the Church of San Lorenzo we were shown the gridiron on which St. Lawrence suffered martyrdom, some of his teeth and vials of his blood. In the church of St. Praxides are marble panels on which are engraved a list of the relics they have preserved. It is too long for insertion here, but we make from it the following selection—A tooth of St. Peter—a tooth of St. Paul—a part of the Blessed Virgin Mary's chemise—part of the girdle of our Lord—part of the rod of Moses—part of the earth on which our Lord prayed before His passion—part of the sponge with which they gave our Lord to drink, and of the reed on which it was placed—part of the sepulchre of the Virgin Mary—a picture of our Lord which St. Peter gave to Prudens, the father of St. Praxides—part of the towel with which our Lord wiped his disciples' feet—part of the swaddling-clothes in which our Lord was wrapped at His Nativity—part of His seamless garment—three thorns from His crown—and four fragments of the true Cross. We have copied about one quarter: these, however, are sufficient to show the objects of reverence which are exhibited in every Church to the credulity of the faithful.

"One of the most fatal of their doctrines is that of Indulgences. It seems to be expressed so broadly and unequivocally, that there can be but one way of understanding it. Over the door of almost every Church is the inscription—*INDULGENTIA PLENARIA QUOTIDIANA PERPETUA PRO VIVIS ET DEFUNCTIS*. In the Church erected above the Mamertine prisons is a long Italian inscription, of which we translate the following portion—'From a prison it was consecrated a Church in honour of the said holy Apostles, by Saint Sylvester, Pope, at the prayer of the Emperor Constantine the Great, and he gave it the name of *S. Pietro in Carcere*, and granted every day to each one who visited it, one thousand two hundred years of indulgence, doubled on Sundays and commanded Festivals, and, moreover, every day the remission of the third part of sins. Gregory XIII. granted there plenary indulgence on the first day of August, from the first Vespers until sunset. Finally, Pius VI., in 1776, granted there every day the perpetual plenary indulgence for the living and the dead.' I one day asked an ecclesiastic, what these things meant? He went into a very elaborate attempt to explain them away, at the end of which I was no wiser than before. Either I was very dull, or he darkened the matter by a multitude of words. But these inscriptions are constantly seen on every side, and how must the common and uneducated classes interpret them? Why, of course exactly according to the literal meaning of the words.

"The doctrine of Purgatory is brought before them with equal distinctness. The inscription at the Mamertine prisons, a portion of which we have given above, concludes with this sentence:—'The altar of this Church of *S. Pietro in Carcere* is privileged every day for ever with the liberation of one soul from Purgatory, for every mass which shall be celebrated at the same.' And in almost all the Churches are inscriptions like the following, which we one morning copied from over the altar in that of *S. Maria della Pace*:—'Ogni messa celebrata in quest altare, libera un anima dal purgatorio.' Saying masses is indeed sometimes the only support of unbeneficed priests. They are in readiness to perform this duty for any one who wish it, and thus contrive to gain a precarious living. The price for a mass is from three to four pails—that is, from thirty to forty cents. This disgraceful traffic in sacred things shows that Rome has not improved since Dante referred to it as the place,

'Where gainful merchandise is made of Christ  
Throughout the live-long day.'

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\* Il Paradiso, Cant. xviii. l. 50.

"The Rev. Dr. Jarvis, in a work—'No Union with Rome'—published a few years since, has a passage showing how much an individual by a little bodily labour can do before breakfast, to gain remission of his sins; and from an acquaintance with the places mentioned, we can confirm the feasibility of the plan. 'At sunrise he might kiss the Cross in the Coliseum, and obtain two hundred days' indulgence in a moment. He might hurry to the Church of St. Pudens and St. Pudentiana, and during a half hour's mass secure to himself three thousand years' indulgence, and the remission of a third part of his sins. Returning by the way of Ara Coeli, he can recite the litanies of the most blessed Virgin at the altar of her who by Papal authority is called *THE REFUGE OF SINNERS*, and he has two hundred days more of indulgence, which he may either keep himself or kindly give to one of his dead friends. If he has three pauls (thirty cents) in his pocket, he may exercise his charity towards that friend still further, by having a mass said expressly for his soul by one of the monks or any other priest, and thus deliver it at once from the torments of purgatory. Crossing thence to the Mamertine prison he may gain twelve hundred years' indulgence, or on a Sunday or Festival morning, two thousand four hundred years, and the remission of another third part of his sins. Here, also, if he has another thirty cents to spare, he can pay for another mass, and liberate another friend from purgatory. Thus he may before breakfast, every day of his life, obtain for himself at least more than four thousand three hundred years' indulgence, and the remission of two-thirds of his sins, with only a little bodily labour; and for the expense of sixty cents he may liberate two souls from purgatory.'

"While such corruptions exist, is it not natural that unbelief should be rife? The fear of the Inquisition may indeed prevent its open declaration, yet still it poisons the very fountain of faith, and changes men into formal hypocrites. The educated ask, Can this be the religion of Christ? It requires but a faint glimmering of reason to answer in the negative, and knowing nothing to substitute in its place, they fall into the coldness of scepticism. We believe that the external city well typifies the actual condition of the Papal Church. On every side we see decrepit, faded grandeur, the evidences of a mighty power which in past centuries had here its home, but which has now utterly passed away.

"The most fearful picture of religion in Rome is that given by Mazzini. He writes, indeed, with the bitterness of an exile; and we should therefore feel inclined to soften some expressions, and strike out some sentences of sweeping condemnation; yet, as a whole, we fear there is too much truth in his view. 'Conceive the state of a creed-distrusting people, curbed, domineered over, burdened, by an army of priests manifesting faith only in force, who surround themselves with Swiss and Austrian bayonets; or, in the name of Christ, muster brigands from the galleys! Religion—I speak of Papal Catholicism—is, in the Roman States more than elsewhere, lifeless; lifeless in the educated classes, as a consequence of the enlightened age; lifeless in the people, as wanting a symbol—as wanting a something representative. Who in that country is ignorant, that the nomination of Christ's Vicar depends on ambassadorial intrigue, and that the direct or indirect *Veto* of Austria, of France, or some other power, throws into nonentity the so-called chosen of the Holy Spirit? Who is ignorant that long since the *King* strangled the *Pope*; that diplomacy masters theology; that the notes of foreign plenipotentiaries have inspired Briefs to the clergy of Poland and the Bishops of Ireland? Which *motu proprio* of a Pope but insults the *infallibility* of his predecessor? Who in the provinces but can point to the agents of the Prelate-Governors, shamelessly trafficking in all that can bring money to themselves or their masters? How, dizzied in this whirlpool of scandal, of hypocrisy, of dilapidation, can man preserve his faith intact? By a deplorable but too natural reaction, negation, materialism, doubt, day by day, engulf fresh souls! Nought of religion survives but forms, outward shows, and observances, compelled by law. It is

compulsory that men should communicate at Easter, it is compulsory that the youth of schools and universities should be present at Mass each day, and communicate once a month; it is compulsory that public officers should take part in services termed religious. Such is religion in the Papal States.\*

"This is the dark side of the Church of Rome, and we write it in sorrow that any branch of the Church of Christ should ever have given occasion for such comments. Very many, however, there must be who are not subject to these charges, and who, in spite of their doctrinal errors and the dogmas of a perverted theology, seem to exhibit in their own characters the highest principles of faith. Their lives are marked by austerity, and self-denial, and ceaseless devotion."—pp. 273—278.

It may be so. One would be sorry to think there were not many such, even in Rome. But in what way do these persons resist the system of fraud and imposture which is interwoven into every part of the national faith? In what way do they bear witness against these superstitions? Do they encourage them? Do they connive at them? And if they are content to disapprove in silence, what effect can their silence and connivance have, except to give a real and substantial countenance and assistance to fraud and falsehood, and to recommend by the sanctity of their deportment and their general respectability, a system which makes a gain of religion, and trade on the credulity of those whom they should rescue from such deplorable superstition, even by the sacrifice of their lives? There is no class of persons who do so much mischief as those respectable and religious men, who connive at things which the weight and influence of their characters would go far towards correcting, had they a regard for truth sufficient to constrain them to come forward in its defence.

Such, then, was Rome in 1845, and such were the impressions it made on the mind of an intelligent and certainly not uncandid traveller. Since that time, changes have taken place, of which it is hard to foresee the issue. But how strange it is to find that, with all his apparent liberality in matters of politics and government, the first act of the new Pope is to assert that claim to infallibility which ties him down to all the errors and mistakes of his predecessors, and which, as long as it is maintained, must preclude the possibility of any real reformation, or any return to Catholic unity.\*

It is often said, that Rome knows how to make use of all sorts of minds, and find employment for all descriptions of tempers and abilities. It is true. But those who make the observation, seem to forget, that it is only as tools and instruments she retains them. Many

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\* The following is the passage referred to in the encyclical letter of Pius IX., dated Nov. 9, 1846 :—

"Atque hinc plane apparet in quanto errore illi etiam versentur, qui ratione abutentes, ac Dei eloquia tamquam humanum opus existimantes, proprio arbitrio illa explicare, interpretari temere audent, cum Deus Ipse vivam constituerit auctoritatem, quæ verum legitimumque cælestis suæ revelationis sensum doceret, constabiliaret, omnesque controversias in rebus fidei, et morum infallibili judicio dirimeret, ne fideles circumferantur omni vento doctrinæ in nequitia hominum ad circumventionem erroris. Quæ quidem viva et infallibilis auctoritas in ea tantum viget Ecclesia, quæ a Christo Domino supra Petrum totius Ecclesiæ Caput, Principem et Pastorem, cujus fidem nunquam defecturam promisit, ædificata, suos legitimos semper habet Pontifices, sine

peculiarities, many flights of folly and enthusiasm she can turn to account;—so long as the individual is willing to give implicit obedience to her authority, and implicit faith to her dogmas. The moment that any man ventures to question either, that moment he ceases to be useful, and Rome loses the power of being able to employ him. There is no church in which a really wise and good man can do so little of general good, as in the church of Rome. The most fanatical—the most heretical sect, which she exults over as the growth of Protestantism, can be reformed by the teaching of one man, if he can only induce them to attend to his arguments and advice. But, suppose a sensible and pious Romanist to become awakened to the condition of his church, and to learn from his Bible the duty which lies on him to follow the guidance of truth and conscience,—what is he to do? What alternative has he, but, either to leave his church, or become a martyr within it? Though he should speak with the eloquence of angels, she will not listen. He must submit in silence, or be cast out. She will not forego her preposterous pretensions to infallibility; and until she does, she must persist refusing all persuasions and warnings, even though the Apostles, whom she claims for her founders, were to rise from the dead, to recal her to the faith which they once delivered to the saints.

intermissione ab ipso Petro ducentes originem, in ejus Cathedra collocatos, et ejusdem etiam doctrinæ, dignitatis, honoris ac potestatis hæredes et vindices. Et quoniam ubi Petrus ibi Ecclesia,\* ac Petrus per Romanum Pontificem loquitur,† et semper in suis successoribus vivit, et judicium exercet,‡ ac præstat quærentibus fidei veritatem,§ idcirco divina eloquia eo plane sensu sunt accipienda quem tenuit ac tenet hæc Romana Beatissimi Petri Cathedra, quæ, omnium Ecclesiarum mater et magistra,|| fidem a Christo Domino traditam, integram inviolatamque semper servavit, eamque fideles edocuit, omnibus ostendens salutis semitam, et incorruptæ veritatis doctrinam. Hæc siquidem principalis Ecclesia, unde unitas Sacerdotalis exorta,¶ hæc pietatis metropolis, in qua est integra christianæ religionis ac perfecta soliditas,\*\* in qua semper Apostolicæ Cathedræ vigit Principatus,†† ad quam propter potiorem principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est qui sunt undique fideles,‡‡ cum qua quicumque non colligit spargit.§§ Nos igitur, qui inscrutabili Dei judicio in hac veritatis Cathedra collocati sumus, egregiam vestram pietatem vehementer in Domino excitamus, Venerabiles Fratres, ut omni sollicitudine et studio fideles curæ vestræ concreditos assidue monere, exhortari connitamini, ut hisce principiis firmiter adhærentes, nunquam se ab iis decipi, et in errorem induci patiantur, qui abominabiles facti in studiis suis humani progressus obtentu fidem destruere, eamque rationi impie subjicere ac Dei eloquia invertere contendunt, summamque Deo ipsi injuriam inferre non reformidant, qui cælesti sua religione hominum bono atque saluti clementissime consulere est dignatus.”

\* S. Ambros. in Psal. 40.

† Concil. Chalced. Act. 2.

‡ Synod. Ephes. Act. 3.

§ S. Petr. Chrysol. Epist. ad Eutich.

|| Concil. Trid. Sess. VII. de Baptis.

¶ S. Cyprian Epist. 55. ad Cornel. Pontif.

\*\* Litter. Synod. Joann. Constantinop. ad Hormisd. Pontif. et Sozom. Histor. Lib. 3, Cap. 8.

†† S. August. Epist. 162.

‡‡ S. Irenæus, Lib. 3. contra hæreses, cap. 3.

§§ S. Hieronym. Epist. ad Damas. Pontif.

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ORIGINAL PAPERS.

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ESSAYS ON SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE REFORMATION  
IN ENGLAND.

NO. XIV.

THE RIBALDS, No. IV.

PERHAPS I have given enough specimens to show the nature of a spirit which was abroad when the Act of Six Articles was passed, and which that statute was particularly intended to meet. We may readily believe Fox when he tells that "great perturbation followed in all parishes almost through London." The Table given by him, and from which the foregoing cases are quoted, contains the names of more than two hundred "persons presented," and one would naturally suppose that, thus presented by those who were charged to "spare none" to those who gave the cruel Charge, the next thing must have been, that they were put to death without mercy. Let the reader look back to Holinshed's statement, that "such was the rigour of that law, that if two witnesses, true or false, had accused anie, and advouched that they had spoken against the sacrament, there was no waie but death;"\* and to the statements of Lord Herbert and Strype, that they "suffered daily," and did "triumph over the most cruel death."† Really, after all this preparation for the sublime and terrible, the simple facts of the case must seem, to any candid inquirer, to approach the ridiculous. As to the whole of this motley assemblage of offenders, the Chancellor was "content that one should be bound for another." And upon this pleasant and commodious bail, "they were *all discharged*," being bound only to appear in the Star Chamber, the next day after All Souls, there to answer, if they were called; "but," Fox honestly and quaintly adds, "neither was there any person

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\* Cited *British Magazine*, December, p. 638.  
VOL. XXXI.—*February*, 1847.

† Cited *ibid*.  
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called, neither did there any appear.”\* Add to this what I have already said respecting the real number of persons who actually suffered under the statute during the eight years that it was law, and I think we may form a tolerable opinion of the reason which led to its being originally passed, and subsequently maintained without being kept in fierce operation.

But we have not yet the whole case before us; nor even the worst part of it. There was, as I have already stated, another class of even more gross offenders, against whom the Act of Six Articles was particularly directed. So many instances have been given of what may be described as a mocking and jesting spirit intruding itself into churches and deriding the divine service, that I should not have added more on this occasion, had it not occurred to me to give one which, by its date, will show that there was such a spirit in action long before the time which we usually understand by the period of the Reformation. “We find,” says Fox, “that in the year of our Lord 1431, one Nicholas Canon of Eye, was brought before the Bishop of Norwich for suspicion of heresy, with certain witnesses sworn to depose against him touching his manners and conversation; which witnesses appointing one William Christopher to speak in the name of them all, he deposed in manner and form following:” and then he gives the depositions, from which it is worth while to make one or two extracts.

“First, That on Easter-day, when all the parishioners went about the church of Eye solemnly in procession, as the manner was, the said Nicholas Canon, as it were mocking and deriding the other parishioners, went about the church the contrary way, and met the procession.—This article he confessed, and affirmed that he thought he did well in so doing.

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“Item, That on Corpus Christi day, at the elevation of high mass, when all the parishioners and other strangers kneeled down, holding up their hands, and doing reverence unto the sacrament, the said Nicholas went behind a pillar of the church, and turning his face from the high altar, mocked them that did reverence unto the sacrament.—This article he also acknowledged, affirmed that he believed himself to do well in so doing.

“Item, When his mother would have the said Nicholas to lift up his right hand, and to cross himself from the crafts and assaults of the devil, forasmuch as he deferred the doing thereof, his mother took up his right hand and crossed him, saying, ‘In nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.’ Which so ended, the said Nicholas, immediately deriding his mother’s blessing, took up his right hand of his

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\* Vol. V., p. 451.

own accord, and blessed him otherwise ; as his adversaries report of him.—This article the said Nicholas acknowledged to be true.

"Item, That upon Allhallows-day, at the time of the elevation of high mass, when many of the parishioners of Eye lighted many torches, and carried them up to the high altar, kneeling down there in reverence and honour of the sacrament, the said Nicholas, carrying a torch, went up hard to the high altar, and standing behind the priest's back saying mass, at the time of the elevation, stood upright upon his feet, turning his back to the priest, and his face towards the people, and would do no reverence unto the sacrament.—This article he acknowledged, affirming that he thought he had done well in that behalf."—Vol. iii., p. 599.

Coming, however, to the class of offenders to whom I have referred, and recurring to Fox's Table, so often quoted in the foregoing Essay, we find that William Plaine, of whom it has been there stated, that "*when* he came to the church [a phrase which seems to indicate that it was not often] with loud reading the English Bible he disturbed the divine service," was also charged, that "seeing a priest going to *mass*," he "said, 'Now you shall see one in *masking*.'" This jingle of words was common in the party, and appears to have been particularly popular in his parish of St. John's, Walbrook, where William Clinch seems to have made it a standing joke ; for the presentment (which is for using nearly the same words) runs, "for saying when he seeth a priest preparing to the mass," &c. By indulging the same vein of humour, John Hardyman, priest of St. Martin's in Ironmonger-lane, came to be presented for "preaching openly that *confession* is *confusion*, and\* *deformation*;" and John Mailer, grocer, of St. Botolph's, Billingsgate, "for calling the sacrament of the altar 'the baken god,' and for saying that the *mass* was called beyond the sea *miss*, for that all is *amiss* in it." These things may be considered trifles, but they are genuine, even if they are to be considered mild, emanations of the ribald spirit ; and I mention them here as such, and as illustrative of the state of society at the period.

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\* One cannot but suspect that much of the jest is lost by the reporter, or the printer, having here left out a word—perhaps *confirmation*. Should any reader think it improbable that confirmation should be so disrespectfully spoken of, he may be referred to George Marsh's account of "How the Bishop [of Chester] came to Lancaster, and of his doings there in setting up *Idolatry*." He tells us that "The Bishop being at Lancaster, there set up and confirmed all *blasphemous idolatry* ; as holy-water-casting, procession-gadding, mattins-mambling, *children-confirmation*, mass-hearing, idols-upsetting, with such heathenish rites forbidden by God." It is sad to read such ribaldry as this ; but even more melancholy to see such an absurd comment on it as Mr. Cattley has appended in the form of a note : "As the Romish church continues to this day the idolatry of the mass, which ought to be made a service tending to God's glory, so it appears that even the holy rite of *Confirmation* was made an offence to some, in the manner in which it was administered."—Fox, Vol. VII., p. 47.



But a more open and more flagrant manifestation of this spirit was given by Henry Patinson and Anthony Barber, of St. Giles's-without-Cripplegate, who were presented "for maintaining their boys to sing a song against the sacrament of the altar," and Thomas Grangier and John Dictier, of the same parish, were "noted for *common singers* against the sacraments and ceremonies." Nicholas Newell, a Frenchman, of St. Mary, Woolchurch, was "presented to be a man far gone in the new religion, and that he was a great *jester* at the saints, and at our Lady." Shermons, Keeper of the Carpenter's Hall, in Christ's parish, Shoreditch, "was presented for procuring an *interlude* to be openly played, wherein priests were railed on and called knaves." "Giles Harrison, being in a place without Aldgate, merrily jesting in a certain company of neighbours, where some of them said, 'Let us go to mass:' 'I say, tarry,' said he; and so taking a piece of bread in his hands, lifted it up over his head: and likewise taking a cup of wine, and bowing down his head, made therewith a cross over the cup, and so taking the said cup in both his hands, lifted it over his head, saying these words, 'Have ye not heard mass now?' for the which he was presented to Bonner, then Bishop of London."

I presume, however, that Giles Harrison was one of those who became bail for each other; and certainly there was a moral beauty and fitness in making that good office mutual—indeed, a sort of necessity; for if they had not done it for each other, how would they have got it done at all? But is it not strange, after all that we have read, to find Fox writing thus:—

"In declaring the dreadful law, before set forth, of the Six Articles, which was A.D. 1540, ye heard what penalty was appointed for a breach of the same, in like case as in treason and felony; so that no remedy of any recantation would serve. This severity was a little mitigated by another parliament, holden afterwards, A.D. 1544, by which parliament it was decreed, that such offenders as were convicted in the said Articles for the first time, should be admitted to recant and renounce their opinions. And if the party refused to recant in such form as should be laid unto him by his ordinary, or, after his recantation, if he afterwards offended again, then, for the second time, he should be admitted to abjure, and bear a faggot; which, if he deny to do, or else, being abjured, if he the third time offended, then he to sustain punishment according to the law, &c. Although the straitness and rigour of the former act was thus somewhat tempered, as ye see, and reformed by this present parliament, yet, notwithstanding, the venom and poison of the errors and mischief of those Articles remained still behind; not removed, but rather confirmed by this parliament aforesaid. By the same parliament, moreover, many things were provided for the advancement of popery, under the colour of religion; so that all manner of books of the Old and

New Testament, bearing the name of William Tyndale, or any others, having prologues, or containing any matters, annotations, preambles, words, or sentences, contrary to the Six Articles, were debarred. In like manner, all *songs, plays, and interludes*, with all other books in English containing matter of religion tending any way against the said Articles, were abolished."—Vol. v., p. 526.

This brings us back to the subject of songs and interludes, of which something has already been said, and on which a great deal that is curious and illustrative might be added; but for the present I pass it over briefly, merely observing that it requires some effort in the minds of men of this generation to conceive such a state of things. We have just read of men in London charged with "maintaining their boys to sing a song against the sacrament of the altar," and of two others who were stated to be "common singers against the sacraments and ceremonies." They might be unjustly accused, but there is no reason to suppose so, for the thing was evidently common enough. Take, by way of specimen, a case mentioned by Fox, as not at all out of the common way, and which should engage the sympathy of the reader.

"Here might also be recited the hard adventures and sufferings of John Cornet, and at length his deliverance, by God's good working, out of the same; who, being a prentice with a minstrel at Colchester, was sent by his master, about the second year of Queen Mary's reign, to a wedding in a town thereby, called Rough-hedge, where he being requested by a company there of *good men*, the constables also of the parish being present thereat, to sing some *Songs of the Scripture*, chanced to sing a song called 'News out of London,' which tended against *the Mass*, and against the Queen's misproceedings. Whereupon the next day he was accused by the parson of Rough-hedge," &c.—Vol. viii., p. 578.

But of all things, it is most remote from modern ideas and feelings to find the puritans rejoicing in their alliance with the stage. Bishop Gardiner, in his letter to the Lord Protector, says, "Certain *printers, players, and preachers* make a wonderment, as though we knew not yet how to be justified, nor what sacraments we should have;" and Fox puts a sly note in the margin, "Printers, players, and preachers trouble Winchester;"\* and afterwards, in commenting on his letter, he says, "He thwarteth and wrangleth much against players, printers, preachers. And no marvel why: for he seeth these three things to be set up of God, as a triple bulwark against the triple crown of the Pope to bring him down; as, God be praised, they have done meetly well already;" and lest this "triple bulwark"

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\* Vol. VI., p. 31.

should escape the particular notice of the reader, it also has its marginal note, "Preachers, printers, players."\*

The Protector's answer is well worthy of notice, though to understand it we must observe, that among the offences of these three united professions, Gardiner had particularly specified their railing against Lent. "What rhymes," says the Bishop, "be set forth to deprave the Lent, and how fond (saving your grace's honour) and foolish! and yet the people pay money for them;" and he afterwards adds—

"The public defamation and trifling with Lent is a marvellous matter to them that would say evil of this realm; for there is nothing more commanded unto us christian men in both the churches of the Greeks and Latins, than Lent is, if all men be not liars. In the king our late sovereign lord's days, this matter was not thus spoken of. And I think our enemies would wish we had no Lent. Every country hath its peculiar inclination to naughtiness: England and Germany unto the belly, the one in liquor, the other in meat; . . . and let an English belly have a further advancement, and nothing can stay it. When I was purveyor for the seas, what an exclamation was there (as your grace showed me) of the bishop's fasting day, as they called Wednesday, and 'Winchester, Winchester, grand mercy for your wine; I beshrew your heart for your water!' Was not that song, although it was in sport, a signification how loth men be to have their licence restrained, or their accustomed fare abated? unless it were in extreme necessity.

"I hear say that the Lent is thus spoken of by Joseph and Tonge, with other new (whom I know not) as being one of Christ's miracles, which God ordained not man to imitate and follow; at which teaching all the world will laugh. For christian men have Christ for an example in all things," &c.—*Fax*, Vol. VI., p. 32.

After arguing this point at some length, the Bishop proceeds;—

"If any man had either fondly or indiscreetly spoken of Lent to engrieve it to be an importable burden, I would wish his reformation; for I have not learned that all men are bound to keep the Lent in the form received. But this I reckon, that no christian man may contemn the form received, being such a devout and profitable imitation of Christ to celebrate his fast; and in that time such as have been in the rest of the year worldly, to prepare themselves to come, as they should come, to the feast of Easter, whereof St. Chrysostom speaketh expressly. And for avoiding contempt, a licence truly obtained of the superior serveth. And so I heard the king's majesty our sovereign lord declare, when your grace was present: and therefore he himself was very scrupulous in granting of licences. And to declare that himself contemned not the fast, he was at charge to have (as your

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\* Vol. VI., p. 57.

grace knoweth) the Lent diet daily prepared, as if it had been for himself; and the like hereof I hear say your grace hath ordered for the king's majesty that now is; which agreeth not with certain preaching in this matter, nor *the rhymes* set abroad. Lent is, among christian men, a godly fast to exercise men to forbear, and in England both godly and politic, such as without confusion we cannot forbear, as the experience shall show, if it be ever attempted; which God forbid. And yet Lent is buried in rhyme, and Stephen Stockfish bequeathed not to me, though my name be noted; wherewith for mine own part I cannot be angry, for that is mitigated by their fondness. But I would desire of God to have the strength of this realm increased with report of concord, which doth quench many vain devices and imaginations."—*Ibid.*, p. 34.

A few words of the Lord Protector's answer to this I have already quoted in a former essay for another purpose; but it is not worth while on that account here to omit them from a very pregnant and characteristic passage. Perhaps it is possible, and at least it is charitable to hope, that the Protector Somerset did not know that the "magistrate" Crumwell had been anything but "unawares of" the wretched ribaldry which was the subject of the Bishop's complaint.

"The world never was so quiet or so united, but that privily or openly those three which you write of, *printers, players, and preachers*, would set forth somewhat of their own heads, which the magistrates were unawares of. And they which already be banished and have forsaken the realm, as suffering the last punishment, be boldest to set forth their mind; and dare use their extreme licence or liberty of speaking, as out of the hands or rule of correction, either because they be gone, or because they be hid.

"There have foolish and naughty rhymes and books been made and set forth, of the which, as it appeareth, you have seen more than we; and yet, to our knowledge, too many be bought: but yet, after our mind, it is too sore and too cruelly done, to lay all those to our charge, and to ask as it were account of us of them all. In the most exact cruelty and tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, yet Pasquill (as we hear say) writeth his mind, and many times against the bishop's tyranny, and sometimes toucheth other great princes; which thing, for the most part, he doth safely: not that the bishop alloweth Pasquill's rhymes and verses—especially against himself; but because he cannot punish the author, whom either he knoweth not, or hath not. In the late king's days of famous memory, who was both a learned, wise, and politic prince, and a diligent executor of his laws—and when your lordship was most diligent in the same—yet, as your lordship yourself writeth, and it is too manifest to be unknown, there were that wrote such *lewd rhymes and plays* as you speak of, and some against the king's proceedings, who were yet unpunished, because they were unknown or ungotten. And when we do weigh the matter, we do very much marvel, why that about Jack of Lent's lewd ballad, and

certain, as it was reported unto us, godly sermons (which be evil in your letters joined together,) you be so earnest, when against Dr. Smith's book, being a man learned in the doctors and scripture, which made so plain against the king's highness's authority, and for the furtherance of the Bishop of Rome's usurped power, your lordship neither wrote nor said anything."—*Ibid.*, p. 34.

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"Writers write their fantasy, my lord, and preachers preach what either liketh them, or what God putteth in their heads. It is not by and by done, that is spoken. The people buy those foolish ballads of Jack-a-Lent. So bought they in times past pardons and carols, and Robin Hood's tales. All be not wise men, and the foolisher a thing is, to some (although not to the more part) it is the more pleasant and meet. And peradventure of the sermons, there is (and indeed there is, if it be true that we have heard) otherwise spoken and reported to you, than it was of the preachers there and then spoken or meant. Lent remaineth still, my lord, and shall, God willing, *till the king's highness, with our advice and the residue of his grace's council, take another order*, although some light and lewd men do bury it in writing; even as the king's majesty remaineth head of the church; although, through sinister ways, and by subtle means, some traitors have gone about, and daily do, to abuse the king's majesty's supremacy, and bring in the Bishop of Rome's tyranny, with other superstition and idolatry."—*Ibid.*, p. 35.

The view of things which we have obtained from the writings of protestants might be much farther illustrated from Strype, and from the various public documents of the period, but that I do not wish to reprint here more than is necessary of matter so easily accessible to all who take any interest in the subject. It is better worth while, if we are willing to hear both sides, and judge fairly, to take one or two extracts from Roman-catholic writers; and if we see anything in them that looks like party feeling, exaggeration, or prejudice, we shall have been prepared to confess that such infirmities were not all on their side, and that too much ground for their complaints was afforded by some who, with no right to be considered reformers themselves, were not sufficiently distinguished from, or repudiated by those who had a better claim to the title.

"JOHN CHRISTOPHERSON," says Strype, under the year 1554, "ere long to be preferred to the deanery of Norwich, published also an exhortation upon occasion of the late insurrection, directed to all men to take heed of rebellion: wherein were set down the causes that commonly move men to rebel; and showing that there was no cause that ought to move a man thereunto. Printed in 8vo by Cawood."\* The title-page tells us to "Reade

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\* Mem. I. i. 273. He was an eminent Greek scholar, and Master of Trinity

the whole, and then judge ;" and this it will really be worth the reader's while to do, when he has leisure ; for it contains much curious matter illustrative of the times ; but a few extracts will suffice for our present purpose.

" Besides this, it wold pitie anye good mans bart, to thinke, what disorder and disobedience came of this liberty. Wold not the seruantes controll their maysters, and tel them, when they were chekked for leauing their busines vndone, that they had bene occupied eyther in readyng God's word, or in hearing some sermon, yea and so godly lessons hadde they learned, since they had tasted of this newe doctrine, that very few of their maysters could after truste them. And if the mayster were a Catholike man, and one that feared God, then wold his seruante, if he were of a contrary iudgement, handel hym like a warde, and in maner make a lout of him, and do his busynesse as he list, and when he lyst, and lette it be vndone, if he list. For the mayster fearing, that he shuld have displeasure by him, durst neyther put hym away from hym, nor ones as much as rebuke hym for any matter.

" After the same sorte dyd children order their parentes, wyues their husbandes, and subiectes their magystrates : So that the fete ruled the head, and the cart was set before the horse. For children when they had bene brought vp in schole a while with some lewd Lutherane then would they write letters to their Catholike parentes, and exhorte them in the lordes name to leaue their papistry and blind ignorance, that they were in, and fall at lenth to folow goddes worde, and gladly to receane the truth. And if the parentes would not folowe this their childishe aduise streight way would they not let to talke with their companyons, and tell them, that their parentes were blinde papistes. Yea and make a mery mockinge stocke of them, and say : my father is an old doting foole, and will fast vpon the fryday, and my mother goeth alwayes numblinge on her beades. But you shall see me of another sorte, I warraunt you. For I will neuer folowe no suche superstitiouse folye, nor walke in the Papisticall pathes of my parentes. Were not men well at ease, trow you, when they had bestowed a great deale of money vpon suche graceles graftes, who neyther feared god, nor reuerenced their parentes ? Thus did mens wyues to, that were become systors of the new fraternitie, order their husbandes. For where as the husbände dyd not fauoure their secte, then would the wyfe no longer go to schole with hym in silence, as Saynt Paule byddeth her, but would boldlye fall to teach

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College before he was Dean of Norwich. Whether he held his mastership with the deanery I do not know ; but Strype seems to have been mistaken in supposing that he obtained the latter preferment after the publication of his book. According to Le Neve, he was installed as dean on April 18, 1554, and if Strype got his information as to the printer from the book itself, one would think he must have seen that it was " Imprynted at London in Paul'es churcheyarde, at the signe of the holy Ghost, by John Cawood, Prynter to the Queenes highnes. Anno Domini. 1.5.5.4. 24. Iulij. cum priuilegio Regine Marie." ; the day of the month actually forming a line by itself.

hym, and tell hym of his duety. And many of them were offended with Saynte Paule, that hadde commaunded them, that they shuld holde their peace in the churches. For gladly would they haue preached, if they might haue bene suffred, as some of them neuer-theles did in corners. At which tyme also the deuil, for the better furtherance of heresy, piked out two sorts of people, that shuld in tauerns and innes, at comen tables, and in open stretes set forwarde his purpose, as wel as false preachers dyd in the pulpet: that is to say, minstrels and players of enterludes. The one to singe pestilente and abhominable songes, and the other to set forth openly before mens eyes the wicked blasphemye, that they had contriued for the defacing of all rites, ceremonies, and all the whole order, vsed in the administration of the blissed Sacramentes. Then the scripture being in suche folkes handes, was sore studied not for amendement of life, which they neuer mynded, but partly to mayntayne their fonde heresye, wherwith they were infected, partlye to controll the priestes, whome they had in great derision, and partlye to find faulte with other, when they had anye occasion at all. For yf a man were a good vertuous priest, he had bene better a great deale to haue liued amonge Turkes and Saracenes, then amonge this kind of folke: by reason that whensoever they mette with him in anye place, they woulde aske him: Now Syr John where fynde you your masse in scripture, or who gaue you authoritie to make god? As though the prieste by his owne power had made Christes blessed body in the holye Sacramente of the aultare, and not the holye wordes of God. And then wolde they say beside, it is pitie, that anye suche popishe wretches lyues, that thus haue deceaued Christes flocke. But nowe I warrante you must you turne your tippet, and laye away your olde mumpsimus, and shutte vp youre portesse and your Masse boke to, and putte awaye cleane your purgatory Masses. You must now olde foole go to schole agayne, and learne a newe lesson. And agayne whensoever they see one of his cote walke by the strete, they wolde whistell and hemme at him, and say, go walke in a mischiefe you bald headed knaue. Yea and as yet thys maliciouse mockers cease not in many places, when they can spie a prieste, to play the like part. But thinke you, that suche mockers shal not at length be plagued for their tauntinge of Gods ministers, euen as the children were, that mocked Heliseus the Prophete?"—*Sig. T. i.*

"And to make up their malicious mischief withal, plucked they down the pix, wherein the very body of our Lord and Saviour was reserved and kept, and some vile varlets to tintent they might do the Devil their master better service, hurled the same blessed sacrament under their feet, and certain of them would not let to say as the Jews said to our Saviour hanging upon the cross, 'If thou be God save thyself.'"—*Sig. Vv. b.*

"As for such as have most wickedly called the Mass a Maskarye, and the priests' vestments, masking clothes, and mocked all the ceremonies thereof, and spit at them and did smite the priests, may well

be compared with Pilate's men, who (as we read in S. Matthew's Gospel) bowing down their knees, mocked our Saviour Christ, spit at him and smote him upon the head."—*Sig. Xii. b.*

"But to return to our former purpose, concerning the wretched fruits that came of this doctrine, when altars were pulled down, and mass put away, then were all churches without any law, spoiled of all their ornaments, as of copes, vestments, altar clothes, corporaxer, chalices, crosses, candlesticks, censers, cruets, books, and all other things belonging thereto, and the same put to profane uses, as hangings of beds, curtains, cushions and other such like. And some men made jolly mocking and jesting, and called them the priests' masking clothes, as we told you before."—*Sig. Y. iii. b.*

"There was also," says Strype, "one MILES HOGHEARD or HUGGARD, a tradesman in Pudding-lane, who set forth a book about this time, (or rather the year after,) bearing for its title, *Against the english protestants*,\* a piece written with much bitterness and scurrility; laying to their charge the famine, and the other miseries of England. This man made some pretence to learning; but Bale laughs at him for going about to prove fasting from Virgil's *Æneis* and Tully's *Tusculan* questions. But he set himself to oppose and abuse the gospellers, being set on and encouraged by priests and massmongers, with whom he much consorted, and was sometimes with them at Bishop Bonner's house.† And the protestants were even with him, and made verses upon him, not sparing him at all: some whereof, in Latin, may be seen in Bale's *Centuries*. Against him wrote Laur. Humphrey, Crowley, Kethe, Plough, and others. When Mr. Hawks, a gentleman of Essex, was Bonner's prisoner, because he would not permit his child to be christened after the popish rites, this Hogheard was in company with Dr. Richard Smith, and others of the Bishop's chaplains, who came to confer with the said Hawks. Then did this tradesman take upon him to talk with Hawks, but he was not his match. He asked Hawks, where in Scripture he proved that infants were baptized, thinking thereby to drive him to acknowledge the authority of the Church. But Hawks readily answered, 'Go and teach all nations, baptizing them,' &c. To which Huggard replied, 'What, shall we go teach children?' Hawks again briskly, 'Doth that word trouble you? It might be left out full well.'

\* I take it for granted that Strype had never seen the book. Its title is, "The displaying of the Protestants and sondry their Practises, with a description of divers their abuses of late frequented within their malignaunte church. Perused and set forth with thassent of authoritie, according to the order in that behalf appointed. Excusum Loudini sedibus Roberti Caly Typographi Mense Junii 1556. Cum privilegio." 16mo.

† An odd way of expressing that a tradesman of Pudding Lane was received as a guest, and treated with familiarity and confidence by the Bishop of London.



[speaking ironically, as they would have it, to save themselves the pains of teaching.] 'It is too much for you to teach.' He added, 'Is not your name Huggard? and be you not a hosier, and dwell in Pudding-lane?' And when the other had confessed it, Hawks replied, 'It should seem so, for you can better skill to eat a pudding, and make a hose, than either to answer or oppose.' With which he was in a great rage, and did chafe up and down, whereat Hawks desired some good man to take the pains to walk the gentleman, he fretted so."\*

We must remember that the "gentleman of Essex" is the reporter of his own performance, and taking him on his own ground, some may doubt whether he, or the hosier, had the best of it. If, indeed, Huggard was a hosier in Pudding-lane, for which fact I know of no other authority than that of the facetious "gentleman of Essex." But whether he was or not, it is plain that "this tradesman" was thought worthy of notice by leading men among his opponents, and it is worth while to take a specimen of his book. I fear that too much of what follows is corroborated by what we have already extracted from the statements of those on the other side.

"The ancient trade of this realm in education of youth, (before the late time replenished with all mischief,) was to yoke the same with the fear of God, in teaching the same to use prayer morning and evening, to be reverent in the church, at their first entrance into the same to make the sign of the cross in their foreheads, to make beysaunce to the magistrates, to discover their heads when they meet with men of ancient years, and of hoar hairs, according to Ovid's verses,

" 'Age in time past, was had in great price  
And to a hore head each child did arise.'

*Fast. lib. v.*

"But now clean contrary, nothing is less used than morning and evening prayer, more unreverence in the church never more frequented, nor disobedience to magistrates and aged men at no time more practised. And as for repairing to the church, [it] is counted a thing of no importance. For how can the child put that in practice which the parents themselves neglect? The parents being infected with heresy, the child must follow the same, and must do as the young crab did, whereof we read a pretty tale in *Æsop's Fables*: who being commanded of his dame not to go so crooked, but to go more straight: 'O mother,' quoth he, 'go thou before, and I will follow.' In like manner, if the parents would walk more duly in their vocation and duty, the children would do the same. But as the fathers are, so are the children. The ill life and heretical trade of the parents maketh such unhappy and disobedient children, who in the end, unless they be looked unto in time, will be the father's bane. For the child, if his

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\* *Mem. III. i. 441.*

father be a catholic, will not be ashamed to say, he hath a papist to his father, or an old doting fool to his mother. A pitiful hearing, that heresy the regent of mischief should bear such rule without correction . . . . . Here also were worthy of remembrance the correction which ought to be done to apprentices and other servants, who being noselled in liberty are not only odious to the world but also unthrifty towards their masters, and in manner become masters themselves. Whose bringing up is so lewd that they be grown to such insolence that no good man or priest passing by them in the streets can escape without mocks. But let their masters take heed, for I believe when they see their time they will mock them too in the end, hoping one day to have the spoil of their goods. Besides this their dissolute lives are such, that no regard they have at all to repair to the church upon the holy-days, but flock in clusters upon stalls, either scorning the passers by, or with their testaments utter some wise stuff of their own devise. So that prayer is seldom seen to proceed out of their graceless mouths." —p. 85.

But this paper has run to such a length, that I will only prolong it by one extract from BARLOW'S Dialogue.\* The author is perhaps too well known to require any introduction, and how far his being known should lead to his being trusted, is a question which need not be here discussed. He is not cited as an authority, and whether his graphic sketch is in all points true or not, it is worth our attention.

"Mark it then substantially in cities and towns where ye see the people most rifest and most busy to prate of the gospel, whether they be or be not as great usurers, deceivers of their neighbours, blasphemous swearers, evil speakers, and given to all vices as deeply as ever they were. This I am sure of, and dare boldly affirm, that sith the time of this new contentious learning the dread of God is greatly quenched and charitable compassion sore abated. Shall ye not see there a cock-brained courtier, that hath no more faith than a Turk, and less Christian manners than a Pagan, with lordly countenance and knavish conditions, which taking the name of God in vain, shall unreverently alledge the gospel with scoffing and scorning in reprehension of the clergy: whereas his own lewd language is so unthrifty that ye cannot espie one good point in him, except it be upon his hosen, nor one inch of honesty beside his apparel, nor scantily there one neither, being all so hacked and jagged with double weapon ready to fight, and single wit busy to brawl and chide, more like a furious tormentor of Herod than a patient disciple of Christ. Shall ye not also see there a merchant peradventure made a gentleman by promotion ere ever that he had a good yeoman's conditions; which getting his chief substance, as many do there, by usury, false deceit

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\* The full title is, "A Dialogue describing the original ground of these Lutheran factions, and many of their abuses. Compyled by Sir William Barlow chanon, late byshop of Bath. 1553."

of true people, and other wrongful ways, will take upon him to preach the gospel against the avarice of religious persons; how they, having their bare necessary food, ought to part the residue of their goods with poor people, whereas he himself hath thousands lying by him in store unoccupied, and will neither help his poor neighbour, nor scarcely give a galy halfpenny to a needy creature in extreme necessity. And at their belly-festing days, among such of their affinity which are not so wise nor well-learned as they would be seen, if it chance them to have in company some simple priest, it is a wonder to hear how he is apposed, and after that their spirits be a little kindled in gluttony, how they lash out the gospel. Then beginneth one or another with his potycarye formality, and holiday gravity, to move some subtle question, saying: 'Master parson, how say ye to such a text of Paul?' and if the priest be ignorant for lack of learning, or maketh not an answer satisfying his mind, he is mocked and jested upon with scornful derision. Then begin they to canvass the scripture among them with filling the cups, and jolly gentyl cheer, and by the time they have eaten more than enough, and have drunken too much, they be ready to wade forth in the deep mysteries of scripture, willing to be teachers of things whereof they understand not what they speak, nor what they affirm. Then are they full-armed to talk of abstinence and sober diet of the apostles, their table being furnished with sumptuous dishes and exquisite dainties; and whereas their cupboards be really garnished with costly plate, and the tables full of cups and pieces of silver and gold, then make they exclamations against the rich jewels of churches, as crosses and chalices, saying that better it were to make money of them and to be distributed unto poor people than they should perish for lack of succour. Likewise, when they be served at their solemnities with counterfeited courtesies and bowing the knee, and vailing the bonnet, having sewers and carvers after a most stately manner of service, wherein if the officers fail never so little, though it be but the setting of a saucer amiss they shall be rebuked, yet their pettish patience cannot break the honest ceremonies of the church to be laudably done, calling them foolish fantasies, and inventions of ideots. And though some of these new gospellers occupy truly and justly with their neighbours in the face of the world behaving themselves charitably, yet are they very few in comparison of the other which be railers and jesters, vicious livers and false hypocrites, without any conscience."—*Sig. L ii. b.*

These extracts, I repeat, are not given as authorities, and the reader must deduct what he thinks fit on the score of party and prejudice; the object is to illustrate the history and the spirit of the period, and in order to this we must hear both sides patiently, and become familiar with what is wrong as well as what is right.

I am, &c.

S. R. MAITLAND.

## THE BISHOP OF BANGOR'S LETTER TO MR. FABER.

SOME of the readers of the British Magazine probably will recollect the extracts given in the number for last March, from the Bishop of Bangor's Appendix to the fourth edition of his "General View of the doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism," in which his Lordship exposed some of the extraordinary blunders made by Mr. Faber in a work "which he calls" the Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration. The Bishop of Bangor's remarks, one might have supposed, Mr. Faber would have thought it wiser to leave unnoticed, unless he were willing to acknowledge their justice. He has adopted neither course: but has undertaken to answer the bishop; and in a manner which will be thought wonderful, even by those who are acquainted with Mr. Faber's methods of managing controversy. It might have been expected that Mr. Faber, if he chose to make any reply to the Bishop, would have considered it more becoming and more respectful to publish his answer in a separate form. Instead of this, however, Mr. Faber has thought proper to hook on the Bishop of Bangor's name to a controversy with which his Lordship's work had no connexion whatever, and to bring out his answer in a Postscript to a volume containing some letters of his on "Tractarian Secessions to Popery," "originally inserted in a periodical called 'The Christian's Monthly Magazine,' and since collected into a volume, and printed, as Mr. Faber informs his readers, by 'the Protestant Association.'" One does not like to call this by a hard name—but surely it can be no wonder that the Bishop of Bangor should feel "somewhat startled" at such a proceeding. What effect Mr. Faber *intended* to produce by a contrivance of this sort, one has no curiosity to inquire. The effect, —and he must have foreseen it, if he thought at all,—could be no other (as the Bishop of Bangor observes) than to lead the generality of the readers of a work intended to be popular, to look on the Bishop and Mr. Arnold "as incorrigible Tractarians," whom Mr. Faber has "demolished in a few paragraphs." Among readers capable of understanding the controversy, this procedure could only excite feelings of indignation and disgust. But for that class of readers Mr. Faber's volume was not designed. Rather it appears, from the popular form it assumes, to be intended for a description of persons whose confidence in the orthodoxy of our prelates one might have supposed a clergyman would not feel anxious to weaken. But, besides this, Mr. Faber must know perfectly well, that the subject of Tractarian Secessions to Popery had as much connexion with the controversy between the Bishop of Bangor and himself, as with the quadrature of the circle, or the history of Prester John. The

question was—at least, the question which Mr. Faber had to dispose of—was simply this, whether he had been guilty of the extraordinary blunders and inaccuracies of quotation with which the Bishop and Mr. Arnold have charged him. Attention might be diverted from the question, or a dust raised to obscure it, by dragging the discussion into a volume on *Secessions to Popery*, printed by the Protestant Association. Indeed, it will be anything but wonderful if some of Mr. Faber's readers should be led to imagine that the Bishop and Mr. Arnold are actually among the seceders. Examples of more unaccountable mistakes can readily be supplied by Mr. Faber himself. But, whatever he proposed to himself by bringing out his answer in a way so unjustifiable, his doing so has led the Bishop of Bangor to put forth a most admirable pamphlet,\* which we do trust will have the effect of convincing many how exceedingly unsafe a guide Mr. Faber is, whenever his argument in the slightest degree depends either on the fidelity of his quotations or his apprehension of the meaning of his author. Our settled conviction of the injurious tendency of his works, both on the interpretation of Holy Scripture, and on the study of ecclesiastical history, is such, that we cannot help regarding those who take the trouble of exposing the absurdity of his pretensions, as doing a service to the church. For this reason we were really thankful to read Mr. Arnold's pamphlet and the Bishop of Bangor's Appendix.

In the present pamphlet the Bishop has brought forward fresh proofs and additional examples of mistakes and incompetency. The Bishop has been forced to do so by the offensive tone which Mr. Faber assumed in his Postscript. The exposure is painful; but Mr. Faber has no one to blame but himself.

For the sake of those who may not have an opportunity of seeing the Bishop of Bangor's pamphlet, we shall make some extracts which will serve to confirm the view we have taken of Mr. Faber's competency or qualifications for discussing questions of this nature. The reader will observe that the controversy arose in this way. Mr. Faber had, in his usual precipitate manner, laid hold of a passage in Augustine, which he did not understand. Augustine was endeavouring to confute the Donatists, by showing them that, on their own premises, they must admit a conclusion which they would themselves consider absurd. This absurd conclusion, however, to which Augustine is driving his opponent, Mr. Faber has actually taken as if it were the enunciation of Augustine's own opinion, and has brought it forward as an illustration of what he imagines to be

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\* A Letter to the Rev. George Stanley Faber, in Reply to the Postscript to his Sixth Letter on Tractarian Secessions to Popery. By Christopher, Lord Bishop of Bangor.

Augustine's doctrine regarding baptismal regeneration. So that in his use of this one citation, he proved that he neither knew what Augustine's doctrine was, nor understood the meaning of the passage he cited to illustrate it. This extraordinary blunder was pointed out by Mr. Arnold. The Bishop of Bangor repeated the charge, and added, that he had examined the passage, and found that Mr. Arnold's view of it was quite correct. There are not many persons who would not be inclined, under such circumstances, to suspect that they had fallen into some mistake. The following very characteristic extracts will show in what manner Mr. Faber has received the correction.

"As I have felt it my duty to express my sentiments pretty plainly respecting the conduct of *Mr. Newman*, I may perhaps be permitted, since I may never have another opportunity, to say a few words in vindication of *myself*, touching an attack which I find has been made upon me.

"I. From a new edition of the Bishop of Bangor's *General View of the Doctrine of Regeneration*, which his Lordship was so good as to send to me, I learn that Mr. Arnold has charged me with quoting a passage from Augustine, as if it exhibited that Father's *own* doctrine; whereas it is 'but the absurd conclusion following on his *opponent's* premises.' *General View*, p. 249.

"Mr. Arnold's book I have not seen; and I thence was ignorant of the charge which he appears to have brought against me. But, as my learned episcopal friend has sanctioned the charge by his own high authority, professing, upon an examination of the passage, to have found that 'Mr. Arnold's view of it is quite correct,' the charge in question has, doubtless, acquired a measure of importance which probably it might not otherwise have possessed."—p. 8.

The reader will not fail to observe, how, with that small dexterity for which all Mr. Faber's controversial writings are so remarkable, he contrives to perplex the question by attempting to damage his opponents. What possible object could Mr. Faber have in coupling the Bishop of Bangor's name with Mr. Newman's? Can any one persuade himself that he was ignorant of the effect likely to be produced among the readers of the publications of the Protestant Association? Again, Mr. Faber says—"Mr. Arnold's book I have not seen; and I thence was ignorant of the charge which he appears to have brought against me." If he said, "I had not seen," the passage would be more intelligible. As soon as Mr. Faber learnt that Mr. Arnold had made a charge against him which the Bishop of Bangor "sanctioned by his own high authority," respect for the public not less than for the Bishop demanded that he should either submit in silence to the charge, or have made himself acquainted with Mr. Arnold's pamphlet before he attempted to answer it,

much more before he presumed to treat Mr. Arnold with a contempt which to most persons will appear simply ludicrous. But it is by no means the first time that Mr. Faber has made a boast of being ignorant of the contents of publications which he was answering with a soreness that proved how much they had annoyed him, as if he seriously believed that to say he had never seen the writings of his assailants, was sufficient to convince the world that their charges were unworthy of attention. Unless it had been his object to damage Mr. Arnold by saying, "I have not seen" his book, Mr. Faber would probably have confined his observations on Mr. Arnold to those cautious limits which such an admission would have rendered prudent. If he had seen Mr. Arnold's book, he would, most likely, have avoided the "unseemliness" of the sneer contained in the conclusion of the sentence, and have discovered that even before the Bishop of Bangor had given them "the sanction of his high authority," Mr. Arnold's observations possessed "a measure of importance" which no man who valued his literary reputation could afford to undervalue. But we must allow Mr. Faber to proceed.

"1. No person, I believe, can ever be guilty of an *intentionally* false quotation, without experiencing the impossibility of ever forgetting so shameful a transaction. Conscience will not allow Memory to sleep.

"In my *Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration*, the Work attacked, my own quotations, to say nothing of my other Works, have been very numerous; and as they were all made with perfect integrity of purpose, I certainly felt no small surprise, though not much alarm, at the charge which has thus been made against me.

"2. Being unwilling, however, to trust my memory, though internally persuaded of my correctness, I turned forthwith to the *Treatise of Augustine*, whence the *now* litigated passage had been extracted; and I found that, *if* there were any inaccuracy, it arose purely from an *unintentional misapprehension* of the drift of the author.

"At the same time, I really could *discover* no such inaccuracy as that with which Mr. Arnold appears to have charged me.

"Hence, I wrote privately to the Bishop on the subject, respectfully declining any controversy with his Lordship on the *general* question of Regeneration, by reason, both of my advanced age, and of the unseemliness of such a contest on the part of a simple Presbyter with one of the presiding Fathers of the Church. Nevertheless, in my letter, I pointed out the grounds of my belief,—that he had perhaps been a *little* too hasty in adopting the view taken by Mr. Arnold. The Bishop's reply was marked by the Christian courtesy which befits his high station; but the result of the correspondence—a result, I apprehend, not very uncommon in such matters—was, that each held to his own opinion."\*—pp. 8—10.

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\* These extracts from Mr. Faber are given from the Bishop of Bangor's pamphlet, who has prefixed to his letter "the whole of Mr. Faber's postscript."

Why does Mr. Faber construct this dilemma, and go to the trouble of building a wall to knock his head against? No one had accused him of being guilty "of an *intentionally* false quotation." He has been accused again and again of borrowing quotations from books he had never seen, and making the most humiliating blunders in his use of them. "Isaac Chizuk" is not by any means a solitary example. But it is one of the peculiarities of Mr. Faber's system of controversy to represent charges of ignorance or mistake as attacks on his moral character.

He takes up this point again in the conclusion of his postscript.

"III. I further learn from the Bishop: that Mr. Arnold has charged me with 'inaccurate translations;' but that his Lordship has not verified that charge, inasmuch as my translations are 'a part of the Work which he seldom looked into.' *Regen. in Baptism*, p. 242.

"If there be any truth in Mr. Arnold's charge; for which, I am happy to say, the Bishop does not seem inclined to stand godfather; I can simply observe, that my 'inaccurate translations' have been the result of *sheer ignorance*, not of *contrivance* *prepnese*.

"My quondam popish antagonist, I remember, Bishop Trevern of Strasburg, to wit, dishonestly charged *me* with dishonesty, touching the matter of translation in the first edition of my *Difficulties of Romanism*: for he boldly took advantage of the circumstance, that, like himself in *his own* Performance, though with a correctness and precision wherein *he* was sorely deficient, I had (for the sake of brevity) merely given *references* to the authors cited, and had not subjoined their own *original words*. This led me, in the second edition of that Work, scrupulously to place, in the margin, the *exact words* of the authors adduced: and *then* I heard no more of my false translations.

"The same plan, though transcription of Greek and Latin is not the most amusing thing in the world, was followed in every subsequent Work of a controversial nature. Among the rest, it was adopted in my *Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration*; the Work, it appears, in which, for the first time since the experiment was tried by Dr. Trevern, my translations have been specially assailed by Mr. Arnold.

"Alike obvious are the fairness and the advantage of the plan: for, without further trouble, they furnish a sufficient answer to my accuser.

"If I have perpetrated any 'inaccurate translations,' a better scholar than myself may easily rectify my *alleged* errors by the very simple process of comparing my *translations* in the text with the *originals* in the margin."—pp. 14—16.

To this the Bishop of Bangor replies in the commencement of his letter.

"My dear Sir,—On looking over the little volume which you did me the favour of presenting to me, I was rather surprised to find myself hooked into a book entitled 'Letters on Tractarian Secessions to Popery.' But I was still more astonished at the soreness which



you manifest at the simple fact that some mistakes, or supposed mistakes, in your work on *Regeneration*, had been pointed out and animadverted on by Mr. Arnold.

"In my reply to one of your letters in reference to something that had fallen from you, I told you that you were accused of neither ignorance nor dishonesty. Yet you now express yourself as if a charge of this kind had been brought against you, and a violent attack made on your literary and moral reputation.

"With respect to the alleged mistranslations, I certainly had not, for the reasons stated in my Appendix, observed them, till they were brought to my notice by Mr. Arnold. But I then lost no time in comparing the translations with the originals, and I do not hesitate to pronounce that they are palpable mistranslations."—pp. 17, 18.

In his preface, also, his Lordship has noticed this point, and we quote the passage because the Bishop, in his own calm and quiet style, is so remarkably successful in exposing Mr. Faber's peculiarities.

"Mr. Faber has lately done me the honour of presenting me with a copy of a little volume entitled '*Letters on Tractarian Secessions to Popery*,' originally inserted in a periodical called '*The Christian's Monthly Magazine*,' and since collected into a volume, and printed, as Mr. Faber informs his readers, by '*the Protestant Association*.'

"On looking into this volume, I was somewhat startled at finding that Mr. Faber had made choice of this vehicle for entering into a controversy with Mr. Arnold and myself. Such, however, is the fact. A Postscript to the sixth of these Letters is occupied with a defence of the view which he has taken of that passage of St. Augustine, and some rather angry observations on the charge of inaccurate translations.

"Mr. Faber, if I am not mistaken, is displeased with the uncere- monious manner in which I have spoken of his translations; but, I think, without reason. For I did not feel that I needed the aid of his translations: and the question, how far his quotations establish what they are intended to prove, must be settled by the original passages, and not by his translations of them.

"With respect to what I said of this charge of mistranslation, Mr. Faber has completely mistaken my meaning.

"*'I learn,'* he says, '*from the Bishop that Mr. Arnold has charged me with inaccurate translations; but that his Lordship has not verified the charge, inasmuch as my translations are a part of the work which he had seldom looked into.*'

"Mr. Faber has not learned from me that I had not verified the charge; nor do I understand how he can have drawn such an inference from my words. The natural inference is (what actually took place), that when those alleged mistranslations were brought to my notice, I did compare those passages of the translations with the originals, and satisfied myself that Mr. Arnold's strictures are well-

founded. I should not certainly have stated that Mr. Arnold had brought these mistranslations to my notice, unless I had been fully convinced that they were mistranslations.

"Mr. Faber, in the next sentence, after chuckling somewhat prematurely over the Bishop, constrains himself to make choice of an alternative, of which no one but himself has offered him the choice.

"*'If there is truth in Mr. Arnold's charge, for which, I am happy to say, the Bishop is not disposed to stand God-father, I can simply observe, that my inaccurate translations are the result of sheer ignorance, not of contrivance prepense.'*

"Such language may show that the writer is offended at the charge, but it will not render inaccurate translations accurate. If to assent to the justice of Mr. Arnold's criticisms is to stand God-father for them, I have no wish to disown my God-children."—pp. 4—6.

These extracts are useful, because they will serve to put the readers of Mr. Faber's controversial works on their guard against taking for granted the correctness of his representations regarding the statements of his opponents. Indeed, as a general rule, we should say that his accuracy can never be relied on. He puts his adversaries into false and absurd positions by misrepresenting what they have said; and then he either sets about confuting positions which he has manufactured himself—or else he appeals to the pity of his readers, and talks of his advanced age, (for he has done this for many years past,) or of attacks upon his moral character. But the main point where his readers should invariably distrust him, is his use of quotations and references. Referring to authors he has never seen, he misunderstands the sense in which they are quoted by the writer from whom he has borrowed his references. If he quotes—his quotation is likely to be garbled, or if it be not, most probably it is irrelevant. He finds a scrap of Latin—perhaps he has found it in the original author—perhaps he borrows it from some one who has quoted it at first or second hand. But equally dangerous is his management of it, wherever he may have found it. He will begin his citation in the middle of a sentence or a paragraph, and will break off before he comes to the end, stopping short without transcribing the words which would have shown his readers that he did not understand what he was quoting. If he translates, we have generally a mistranslation. Whether it be or not, it is ten to one that he has misunderstood the scope of his author, and made him say things the contrary of his known opinions. And all this is clothed in an affectation of logic, and a balancing of words and periods that would be intolerable, even if it were not coupled with such a sneering and sarcastic tone of contempt, as makes it difficult to reply to him without speaking more plainly than good natured persons like to do.

This publication of the Bishop of Bangor's will afford illus-

trations in abundance of the truth of our description, without troubling ourselves to adduce further evidence. In the preface to his letter, the Bishop says—

“But the greater part of the Postscript is taken up with an attempt to prove, in answer to Mr. Arnold's remark, that the passage quoted from Augustine (Prim. Doct., p. 60) contains that Father's own doctrine, and is not, as Mr. Arnold states, *intended by him to be the absurd conclusion by which the premiss from which it is logically deduced is sufficiently refuted*.

“Of his achievement in this controversy, Mr. Faber speaks with a degree of confidence little proportioned to his success. It is in truth somewhat marvellous, that after he had read the whole of this passage, as I suppose he has, he should not have perceived at once that the position he has taken up is untenable.

“At my time of life, I have no wish to engage in any personal controversy. But Mr. Faber has thrown down the gauntlet, and I feel myself constrained to take it up. Mr. Faber challenges Mr. Arnold and myself to show that Augustine rejected as absurd the doctrine that a *baptized unbeliever is not born of the Spirit*. I maintain that he does, in the passage before us, reject that doctrine as logically absurd in his opponent, and as untrue in itself; and that he does positively assert the contrary doctrine.”—pp. 6, 7.

The passage to which the Bishop here refers, is the second paragraph in Mr. Faber's Postscript, which commences in this manner:—

“1. Augustine, arguing against an opponent, drives him, on his own professed premises, into a sort of dilemma.

“‘One of these two matters,’ says he, ‘must of necessity be granted.

“‘Either they who only deceitfully renounce the world, are born of the Spirit, although to perdition, and not to salvation; and such also may be the case with heretics.

“‘Or, if that which is written, *The Holy Spirit of Discipline flees from a dissembler*, will bear also upon the case, that *Those, who deceitfully profess to renounce the world, are not born of the Spirit*: then a person may be baptized with water, and yet not be born of the Spirit.’

“Necesse est enim, ut unum de duobus concedatur.

“Aut illi, qui fallaciter sæculo renunciant, nascuntur de Spiritu, quamvis ad perniciem, non ad salutem: atque ita possunt et hæretici.

“Aut, si illud quod scriptum est, *Sanctus enim Spiritus discipline effugiet fictum*, etiam ad hoc valet ut *Fallaciter sæculo renunciantes non nascantur de Spiritu*: potest quis baptizari aquâ et non nasci de Spiritu. August. de Baptism. cont. Donat. lib. vi. c. 12. Oper. vol. vii. p. 63.

“2. The second part of this alternative I quoted, in my *Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration*, p. 59, 60, as expressing the opinion of Augustine: but Mr. Arnold pronounces it to be ‘the absurd conclusion following on his opponent's premises.’ ”—pp. 10, 11.

To this the Bishop gives the following reply:—

“Your book is before the public; and you have no right to be displeased with Mr. Arnold for publishing his remarks on it. As you have not read his pamphlet, all that you know of it is, that it animadverts on some mistakes in your volume. But surely we are all liable to fall into mistakes, and have no reason to be out of humour when they are detected. Unless, indeed, when seated in your critical and controversial chair, you become, like the Pope speaking *ex cathedra*, infallible. But in that case I must confess that I am guilty of the same heresy as Mr. Arnold.

“In defiance, however, of the peril of being looked on as an incorrigible heretic, I will venture to express some surprise that you should persist in maintaining that the passage quoted in page 60 of your work, represents Augustine's own opinion. Had you attended to the state of the question, or to the particular line of argument which he is here pursuing, or to the plain statement of his own real opinion which occurs in the very passage from which your extract is taken, you could scarcely have stumbled on such a strange mistake.

“In these books (*De Baptismo contra Donatistas*) Augustine is defending, in opposition to the tenet of the Donatists, the validity of heretical baptism. The principal arguments with which he presses his opponents in this and many other passages of these books, are analogical. In this manner he argues the case in the passage before us. Of the validity of the baptism of persons baptized in a sinful and impenitent state, of those, for instance, who renounced the world in words only, but not in deeds, there was no question between him and his opponents. And it must be remembered, that in their opinion valid baptism required the joint operation of the water and the Spirit. Augustine then argues, that if they allowed the validity of the baptism of such persons, they ought, by parity of reasoning, to allow the validity of heretical baptisms.

“In this sixth and in the following book, he is canvassing the opinions of the African Bishops assembled at the Council of Carthage, A.D. 255, and in the passage from which your quotation is taken, is commenting on the opinion there delivered by Nemesianus.

“Among other passages of Scripture which, as he conceived, proved the invalidity of heretical baptism, Nemesianus had alleged John iii. 5. *Et in Evangelio divinâ suâ voce Jesus Christus locutus est, dicens, 'Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aquâ et Spiritu, non potest intrare in regnum Dei.' Hic est Spiritus qui ab initio ferebatur super aquâ. Male igitur sibi quidam interpretantur ut dicant, quod per manûs impositionem Spiritum Sanctum (i. e. heretics) accipiant, et sic recipiantur, cum manifestum sit utroque Sacramento (i. e. by both baptism and imposition of hands) debere eos renasci in Ecclesiâ Catholicâ.\**

“In reply to this opinion Augustine says, *Jam vero quod Dominus*

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\* \* Concilium Carthaginense de baptizandis hæreticis. Vid. Cypriani Opera, Amstelodami, 1691, p. 231.

ait, 'Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aquâ et Spiritu, non potest intrare in regnum Dei,' quid eum adjuvet ad id quod dicat, non video. Aliud est enim, Omnis qui intrabit in regnum cœlorum prius natus est ex aquâ et Spiritu; quod Dominus dixit, et verum est: aliud autem, Omnis qui nascitur ex aquâ et Spiritu intrabit in regnum cœlorum; quod utique falsum est. Nam et Simon ille Magus natus erat ex aquâ et Spiritu, et tamen non intravit in regnum cœlorum. Sic fieri potest ut hæreticis etiam contingat. Aut si non nascitur ex Spiritu nisi qui veraci confessione mutatur, omnes qui sæculo verbis non factis renuntiant, non utique de Spiritu sed de aquâ solâ nascuntur, *qui tamen et intus teste Cypriano sunt.*†

"He then, as you observe, drives his opponent into a sort of dilemma. Necesse est enim ut unum de duobus concedatur. Aut illi qui fallaciter sæculo renuntiant nascuntur de Spiritu, quamvis ad perniciem, non ad salutem; atque idem possunt et Hæretici. Aut si illud quod scriptum est, 'Sanctus enim Spiritus disciplinæ effugerit fictum,' etiam ad hoc valet, ut fallaciter sæculo renuntiantes non nascantur de Spiritu, potest quis baptizari aquâ et non nasci de Spiritu; *et frustra Nemesianus ait, 'Neque Spiritus sine aquâ operari potest, neque aqua sine Spiritu.'*

"If you had taken the trouble of reading these few words which immediately follow your quotation, you would have seen what the absurdity is in which Augustine entangles his opponent, if he should adopt the latter alternative. He would have contradicted himself: i. e., his conclusion would have been the contradictory of his original proposition. For he had affirmed that the water cannot operate without the Spirit, nor the Spirit without the water; and consequently that a person cannot be baptized with water, and not born of the Spirit."—pp. 18—21.

Yes, if Mr. Faber had quoted the whole passage, his readers would have been saved from the mistakes, from which he might have saved himself, had he read to the end of the sentence he was transcribing, *if*, namely, it was from Augustine himself he was taking his quotation.

But Mr. Faber proceeds:—

"(1) Wherein consists the *abstract absurdity* of the doctrine, that *A mere dissembler, though baptized with water, is NOT born of the Spirit*; I freely confess myself unable to discover.

"Be the doctrine, however, *itself* absurd or not absurd, Mr. Arnold is most inaccurate in his statement of the matter. We might suppose, that the doctrine in question determined by Mr. Arnold to be *absurd*, was the *sole* conclusion which followed on the premises of Augustine's opponent: whereas, in truth, the opponent has his free choice of *two* conclusions; the former of which strikes *myself* as being absurd, while *Mr. Arnold* attaches the character of absurdity to the latter.

"(2) Such a difference is rather startling. On *my own* behalf, I

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\* \* Augustinus de Baptismo contra Donatistas, lib. vi. c. 12.

can only say, that, according to my honest impression, Augustine's dilemma offered his opponent the choice either of a *falsehood* or of a *truth*; the *falsehood* being the first part of the alternative, the *truth* being the second part of it.

"Thus viewing the passage, and supposing Augustine's object to be (as we familiarly say) the driving of his opponent into a corner, I concluded that, what I understood Augustine to offer as the *truth*, contradistinctively to the *falsehood*, was obviously Augustine's *own* opinion; and, thence, in my treatise, I quoted the second clause of the alternative accordingly.

"(3) But, unless I misapprehend the Bishop, Mr. Arnold intimates: that the quoted clause did not set forth Augustine's *own* doctrine; being all the while, nothing more respectable than "the absurd conclusion following on his *opponent's* premises."

"This is certainly very odd, and *with the entire passage before me*, quite incomprehensible: yet it might have been somewhat plausible, had Augustine never delivered *elsewhere* what was *really* his own doctrine. But such is not the case. On the contrary, Augustine, again and again, delivers AS HIS OWN, the precise doctrine which Mr. Arnold unaccountably represents as being 'the absurd conclusion from his *opponent's* premises.'"—Pp. 11, 12.

To this the Bishop replies—

"But though Mr. Arnold is speaking, as I understand him, not of an *abstract*, but of a logical absurdity, I will venture to assert, in common with Mr. Arnold, that the doctrine contained in the first branch of this dilemma is that which Augustine held, and meant to affirm as the true doctrine. This is evident even from the passage before us. For there can be no reasonable doubt that in the words, —*Aliud est enim, Omnis qui intrabit in regnum cœlorum prius nascitur ex aquâ et Spiritu; quod Dominus dixit, et verum est: aliud autem, Omnis qui nascitur ex aquâ et Spiritu intrabit in regnum cœlorum; quod utique falsum est. Nam et Simon ille Magus natus erat ex aquâ et Spiritu, et tamen non intravit in regnum Dei. Sic fieri potest ut hæreticis etiam contingat*—he is delivering his own deliberate and matured opinion. This opinion, it must be observed, he held in common with his opponents, and grounds on it, as being common to both parties, the analogical argument, that what was admitted on both sides, in the case of persons baptized in hypocrisy or unrepented sin, holds good by parity of reasoning in the case of persons baptized in heresy. Had he considered the latter branch of this dilemma true, and the former false, we are compelled to suppose, that he was so deficient in the skill and tactics of sound reasoning, as to rest the main strength of his argument against the Donatists on an opinion which he himself deemed worthless and false. For this analogical reasoning, it should be remembered, is the palmary argument which he employs in defending against the Donatists the then generally received opinion of the validity of Heretical Baptism.

"In fact, the doctrine held, and taught, by Augustine, and the

Catholic Church of his days, is briefly stated in the words which you have quoted. *Illi qui fallaciter sæculo renuntiant nascuntur de Spiritu, quamvis ad perniciem, non ad salutem.* 'They (as I have stated in my Appendix, p. 249) constantly held, that though no saving grace is communicated to hypocrites or impenitents, heretics or schismatics, in baptism, even then the Spirit is not excluded from the ordinance, but that the person so baptized is born again to a greater condemnation, and continues in that state till changed by repentance, or till he has renounced his heresy or schism. But that, in the meanwhile, he is neither illuminated, nor renewed, nor sanctified by the Holy Spirit.'

"This, whatever may be its value, was their doctrine, and the passages which you have brought forward, with a view of proving, that, in their opinion, *a person can be born again of water without being born of the Spirit*, are, with the exception of this misquotation, in harmony with this doctrine.

"Having no wish, for an obvious reason, to quote Mr. Arnold's words, I merely stated what appeared to me the substance of his remark on this quotation, not conceiving that any one, after reading the whole of the passage with a moderate degree of attention, could come to a different conclusion. But my words do not do full justice to Mr. Arnold. After citing your translation of the quoted passage, he says (p. 9,) 'The capitals are Mr. Faber's. But what he has thus seized upon, and given prominence to by a typographical artifice, is unfortunately intended by St. Augustine to be the obviously absurd conclusion by which the premiss, from which it is logically deduced, is sufficiently refuted.'

"It may be observed, by-the-bye, (though it is little more than a repetition of what has been said in another form,) that this latter alternative is the opinion neither of Augustine nor of his opponents, but the contradictory of the opinion held by them in common, which his opponent could not adopt without contradicting himself, and stultifying his own assertion. Whereas, if he adopted, as he necessarily must, the former alternative, he must then, as Augustine argues, by parity of reasoning, allow the validity of heretical baptism. In other words, he must allow, that they who are baptized in heresy, are baptized (or born again, for in the language of primitive Christianity these terms may be said to be convertible) not with water only, but with the Spirit, though not with a saving, but a pernicious effect.

"When you pronounce that Mr. Arnold is inaccurate in his statement of the matter, you do him great injustice. Mr. A. has quoted not only the little extract which you have unluckily pounced upon, but the whole passage from 'Jam vero' to 'sine Spiritu', and has added what is tantamount to what I have said.

"To understand this, we must remember, that St. Augustine held that a person who had received baptism in a sinful state was regenerated, but that this availed him nothing till he repented; and (if he had been baptized in some heretical communion with the true form of baptism) was received into the Catholic Church. Upon which, the

sacrament which he had received before to condemnation, began to avail to his salvation.'—Remarks, pp. 9, 10.

"I agree with you that the difference between Mr. Arnold and yourself is startling. But I am confident that no one who knows what Augustine's opinion on this question really is, and understands the drift of his argument, can hesitate in determining which of you is in the right.

"Mr. Arnold, when quoting this passage, marks off the two branches of the dilemma. *Necesse est enim ut unum de duobus concedatur*. 1. *Aut illi qui fallaciter sæculo renuntiant nascuntur de Spiritu, quamvis ad perniciem non ad salutem*, (which, he observes, is the true proposition,) *atque idem possunt et hæretici*. 2. *Aut si illud quod scriptum est, Spiritus Sanctus disciplinæ effugiet fictum*, etiam ad hoc valet, ut fallaciter sæculo renuntiantes non nascantur de Spiritu, potest quis baptizari aquâ et non nasci de Spiritu (which is impossible), et frustra Nemesianus ait, 'Neque Spiritus sine aquâ operari potest, neque aqua sine Spiritu.'

"Had Augustine, in this latter paragraph, intended to represent his own doctrine, and what he believed to be the true Catholic doctrine, his argument from analogy would have broken down. He does, as you say, drive his opponent into a corner, by compelling him either to admit the validity of heretical baptism, or to adopt a conclusion not only at variance with the received doctrine of the Church, but the direct contradictory of his own proposition.

"Mr. Arnold has not certainly stated the case in your words. He has not said that Augustine has left his opponent the *choice* of two conclusions; for he could scarcely think that a man has a choice, at least a free choice, left him, who is compelled to choose with his eyes open either a true or a false, a correct or an absurd conclusion. But he places the whole case fairly and fully before his readers, interposing, as was natural, his own opinion, but marking out distinctly the alternatives. How you could be so rash as to venture on this hardy and groundless charge, without having read a page of Mr. Arnold's pamphlet, is to me utterly unaccountable."—pp. 21—26.

The conclusion of the last extract we have made from Mr. Faber is referred to in one of the notes which the Bishop has attached to his letter. But, as his Lordship notices it there in connexion with his remarks on a passage in Mr. Faber's Postscript, which we have not yet quoted, we shall transcribe that first, before we proceed to quote the Bishop in reply. Mr. Faber having given a garbled extract from Augustine, and quietly talked of having the *entire passage* before him, goes on to construct one of those curious arithmetical arguments by which he has so often imposed on himself and his readers.

"The clause (as I learn from the Bishop) thus described in no very flattering terms by Mr. Arnold, stands, in my Work, the *last of seven* quotations from Augustine. Primit. Doctr. of Regener. p. 56—60. Now, of these *seven* quotations, the *six first* all propound the **SELF-SAME**



doctrine as the *last*. Whence I concluded, neither unnaturally nor unfairly (I trust): that, as the *six first* indisputably propound the doctrine of Augustine, the *last* does the same.

"Abstractedly, the doctrine *itself* may, or may not, be 'absurd:' but *this*, I submit, is not the question at present before us. For the question is: not *Whether Augustine's opinions be very wise or very foolish*; but, simply, *What is the opinion of Augustine?*

"Let the *last*, then, of my *seven* quotations be expunged, as vend-ing only, if we may believe Mr. Arnold, 'the absurd conclusion from an opponent's premises:' and what follows?

"Why, merely this.

"The remaining *six* quotations, without any corroborative aid from the *seventh*, will equally and fully demonstrate, *What was the doctrine of Augustine*: be that doctrine *itself*, abstractedly, true or false, wise or absurd, scriptural or unscriptural.

"In a word, my *seventh* quotation is purely given *ex abundanti*. It is a mere work of supererogation. We want it not as a *necessary testimony*. Let Mr. Arnold and my learned friend respectively draw their pens through it, if they please. The attack is altogether *personal*, reflecting upon my *conduct ALONE*. To my *proof*, it matters not a single straw. When the operation of expunging my *seventh* quotation shall have been performed, they will still have *six* quotations to deal with, before they can show that Augustine rejected, as 'absurd,' the doctrine: that *A baptized unbeliever is NOT born of the Spirit*.

"Nor is this the only part of their task. The quotations from Augustine do not stand insulated, as expressing the solitary opinion of a single individual. They are backed by exactly parallel quotations from Cyprian, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Jerome. Primit. Doctr. of Regen. p. 54—56. My two censors stand bound, therefore, to perform, for these three Fathers, the same service as they are pledged to perform for Augustine.

"To sum up the whole arithmetically: I give *eleven* quotations from Cyprian, Cyril, Jerome, and Augustine; *all* propounding the same doctrine, the very doctrine of our 25th Article, that *Regeneration by the Spirit does NOT attend upon outward Baptism when the Sacrament is received unworthily*. If, therefore, the *last* be given up as expressing only 'an absurd conclusion on an opponent's premises,' *ten* will still remain; clearly demonstrating, that the *very same* absurdity, if it *be* an absurdity, was maintained by four eminent Fathers of the Church."—pp. 12—14.

Just so: one from eleven and ten remain. The simplest thing in the world. Any schoolboy on the petty form can understand a demonstration so beautifully clear. The persons interested in this discussion, however, not being schoolboys now, whatever they may have been once, may not be so easily satisfied by this application of Cocker to theology. The Bishop of Bangor disposes of Mr. Faber's example of simple subtraction in the following inimitable passage:—

"Supposing the quotation to be expunged, in deference to Mr. Arnold's remark, you ask, *What then follows?*

"You answer, 'Why merely that the remaining six quotations equally and fully demonstrate what was Augustine's opinion,' and 'that the seventh quotation is merely given *ex abundanti*.'

"I answer, Why that in expunging this, you expunge the only one of your quotations which is to your purpose; the only one which, had it, as you erroneously supposed, contained Augustine's own opinion, would have been conducive to the proof of what you have undertaken to prove.

"On your *demonstration* I shall make some observations presently. But you compel me to say, that if Mr. Arnold's view of this quotation is correct, something very different from what you have alleged follows. For if a writer, when citing his authorities, shows, by a palpable misconception of a passage which goes to the very root of the question which he has undertaken to discuss, (and this, in your case, is far from being a singular instance of the misconception and misapplication of the passages which you quote,) that he has collected his materials in a hasty manner, seizing with eagerness on any passage which seemed at first sight to fall in with his theory, or that he has not made himself master of the language and opinions of the witnesses whom he brings forward, his readers cannot take his quotations on trust, and will have reason to doubt the soundness of his conclusions. Few readers, too, it should be remembered, have opportunities of consulting the original volumes, and testing the propriety and applicability of the quotations.

"Mr. Arnold, if I mistake not, saw that something more than you suppose follows from the omission of this quotation, and probably anticipated this answer to your question. With my own opinion of both the title of your volume, and of the manner in which you have attempted to make it good, you must, if you have given yourself the trouble of reading my Appendix, be already acquainted.

"You affirm, that 'supposing the seventh quotation to be expunged, the remaining six quotations from Augustine equally and fully demonstrate what was the doctrine of Augustine.'

"They do unquestionably show what that Father's doctrine was on the points of which he is speaking; a doctrine from which neither I, nor, as I conceive, Mr. Arnold, nor any person concerned in this controversy, dissent. But they do not show that he held the doctrine which you attribute to him; viz., *that Regeneration by the Spirit does not attend on outward Baptism, when the Sacrament is received unworthily*. Augustine's doctrine, whether true or false, is the reverse of this proposition, as appears from the passage immediately before us, and from other passages of his writings. In fact, this doctrine is the hinge on which his reasonings turn in this controversy with the Donatists. Nor is there one of the passages which you have quoted from his works, or from those of other Fathers, which is not either in manifest harmony with this doctrine, or, at all events, quite consistent with it. Nor is there anything in the 25th Article of our Church opposed

to, or inconsistent with it. What that article declares, is, 'that in such only as receive the Sacraments worthily, they have a wholesome (salutarem, *saving*) effect or operation; but that they that receive the same unworthily, purchase to themselves damnation, as St. Paul saith.' This statement is perfectly consistent with that of Augustine (as far as relates to the Sacrament of Baptism), that such persons are born of the Spirit, not with a saving, but a pernicious effect (*quamvis ad perniciem, non ad salutem*).

"Of this particular formula, or mode of expression, our Articles say nothing; nor am I in any way pledged to the adoption of it, though it agrees in substance with our Church's teaching, and with the opinion which I have maintained in my *General View*. What I affirm is, that it is Augustine's language, and represents Augustine's doctrine. But instead of transporting (so to speak) yourself into the fourth and fifth centuries, and entering into the scope and meaning of this Father's writings, you appear to me to have transported Augustine into the nineteenth century, and to have compelled him to hold your opinions and to speak your own language."—pp. 26—29.

Comment on this would only spoil it. No delineation of Mr. Faber's logical absurdities could be more faithful or more graphic—and of that which lies at the root of all his mistakes in his handling of the fathers—his transporting them into the nineteenth century, and compelling them to hold his opinions, and to speak his own language. As Mr. Faber is so fond of subtraction, one might venture to suggest as a problem—if all the authorities in Mr. Faber's works were examined, and those he has misquoted, misunderstood, and misrepresented, were taken away, how many would remain? But, as we have already observed, the Bishop of Bangor reverts to this argument in his notes.

"Of his own view of the passage quoted by him from Augustine (P. D. p. 60), Mr. Faber speaks with unbounded confidence. He says, 'Mr. Arnold's construction of it, *with the entire passage before us*' (which, by the way, Mr. Arnold has, and Mr. Faber has not, laid before his readers), 'is quite incomprehensible. Yet it might have been somewhat plausible had Augustine never disclosed *elsewhere* what was his real doctrine. On the contrary, Augustine again and again delivers as his own the precise doctrine which Mr. Arnold unreasonably represents as being the absurd conclusion from his opponent's premises. Of the seven quotations from Augustine, the six first propound the selfsame doctrine as the last; whence I concluded, not unnaturally nor unfairly, I trust, that as the first six indisputably propound St. Augustine's doctrine, the last does the same.'

"He goes on to say, that if this seventh quotation is expunged it will make no difference in the argument. He affirms that the attack is altogether personal, reflecting on his own conduct alone; that to his proof it matters not a straw. 'Nor is this,' he adds, 'the only part

of his censor's task. The quotations from Augustine do not stand isolated, as expressing the solitary opinion of a single individual. They are backed by exactly parallel quotations from Cyprian, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Jerome. My two censors, therefore, are bound to perform for these fathers the same services as they are pledged to perform for Augustine.'

"In reply to this over-confident tirade, I am constrained to say, that Mr. Faber's mind has been so thoroughly prepossessed with the infallible certainty of his own opinions on this question, that he has totally misconceived the language and opinions of the Fathers whom he cites as his vouchers, and that this seventh quotation, or rather misquotation, from Augustine is, as it stands in Mr. Faber's book, the only passage produced by him which gives any countenance to his doctrinal statement.

Mr. Faber maintains, that, in the opinion of the Fathers of the four first centuries, regeneration takes place before, at, or after baptism: that, as if baptism were a double sacrament intended to convey a double new birth, federal and moral, Cyprian insists upon the necessity of being born again of each sacrament, namely, water and the Spirit; and that this view of the question is affirmed by Augustine, by whom the regeneration of Simon Magus is at once asserted and denied; or, as it stands in the passage now under debate, 'that a man may be baptized with water, and not born of the Spirit.'

"In corroboration of these statements, and to show how this double ideality of regeneration was managed by the early ecclesiastics, he cites the passages from Augustine and the other Fathers to which he appeals with so much confidence.

"In answer to these statements, I venture to affirm that those Fathers neither taught nor believed that a man may be regenerated either before or after baptism, but confined their notion of regeneration to the change effected in baptism; that they held that in valid baptism the water cannot be separated from the Spirit, nor the Spirit from the water; and, consequently, as Augustine affirms in plain terms, that unworthy recipients of baptism are born not of water only, but of the Spirit, though not with a saving, but a pernicious effect; and that this theory of a double sacrament, of a twofold new birth, of the necessity of being born of each sacrament, namely, of water and of the Spirit, and of the double ideality of regeneration, is a mere creature of the imagination, grounded on a most extraordinary misapprehension of a very plain passage in a letter of Cyprian to Stephanus, Bishop of Rome.

"I have already taken notice of this strange conceit of Mr. Faber in my Appendix (p. 209). Had Mr. Faber read the whole of the passage, and attended to the question in debate between Cyprian and his opponents, he could scarcely have grounded on it this baseless theory. Nothing can be more evident than that the two sacraments of which he speaks are baptism and imposition of hands."—pp. 39—41.

This truly astonishing blunder of Mr. Faber's we noticed in

the observations formerly made when the Bishop of Bangor published the Appendix to the fourth edition of his General View. But it is very important to observe further, that Mr. Faber has here also rested his theory on a garbled extract, without leaving his general readers any mode of discovering his mistake. Having stated the question in debate between Cyprian and his opponents, the Bishop proceeds :—

“ Mr. Faber, however, has totally misapprehended the meaning of a passage which, I might almost venture to say, no other competent reader ever misunderstood, and has built upon it his strange and, I believe, quite novel theory of a double baptism and a double ideality of regeneration.

“ I shall now, as in the preceding cases, quote the passage from whence his extract is taken, that the reader may perceive at a glance that Mr. Faber has mistaken Cyprian's meaning, and that that Father is not speaking to the question on which he produces him as a witness.

“ He is informing Stephanus, Bishop of Rome, that a council had been lately held at Carthage. In quo multa quidem prolata et transacta sunt : sed de eo vel maxime tibi scribendum et cum tuâ gravitate et prudentiâ conferendum fuit, quod magis pertineat et ad sacerdotalem auctoritatem, et ad Ecclesiæ Catholicæ dignitatem pariter et unitatem, de divinæ dispensationis ordinatione venientem, eos qui sint foris extra Ecclesiam tincti, et apud hæreticos et schismaticos profanæ aquæ labe maculatos, quando ad nos et Ecclesiam quæ una est venerint baptizari oportere, eo quod parum sit iis manum imponere ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum. (Here begins Mr. Faber's quotation.) Tunc enim plene sanctificari et esse filii Dei possunt si sacramento utroque nascantur, cum scriptum sit, nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aquâ et Spiritu, non potest intrare in regnum Dei.

“ Here, again, Mr. Faber begins his quotation in the middle of a paragraph, the parts or members of which have a close and necessary dependence one on the other, and leaves his readers who do not consult the original, in utter ignorance of the state of the question. His reader will naturally come to the conclusion (at which Mr. Faber himself seems to have arrived) that Cyprian is here speaking in general terms of all baptized persons, all members of the Church, and laying it down as a certain truth that they cannot be fully sanctified and become the children of God, unless they are born again or regenerated by both sacraments ; that is, according to Mr. Faber's theory, unless they pass through a double new birth, a new birth of water and a new birth of the Spirit, a federal and a moral new birth. But no one who reads the whole passage can doubt for an instant that the persons who cannot be fully sanctified, unless born of both sacraments, are the same persons of whom he was speaking in the foregoing part of the paragraph. What he affirms is, that it is not sufficient to receive those who come from an heretical communion into the Church's communion by imposition of hands, but that they must likewise receive the Church's baptism ; because they cannot be fully sanctified, and become the

children of God, unless they are born of both sacraments ; of both these sacraments, that is, of which he had been speaking, the Church's baptism and imposition of hands. To prove the necessity of baptism in these cases, he quotes that passage of Scripture which was constantly cited by the primitive Christians in proof of that necessity. He does not, as Mr. Faber has most strangely persuaded himself, and as he would fain persuade his readers, quote John iii. 5, to prove that no man can become the child of God unless he is born both of the sacrament of water and of the sacrament of the Spirit, a notion which never entered into the mind of any primitive Christian, but to prove the necessity of the Church's baptism to persons coming from heresy into her communion, and the insufficiency of imposition of hands without baptism, because no one, unless born of water and the Spirit (*i. e.* unless baptized), can enter into the kingdom of God. For in the language and doctrine of those days, to be baptized and to be born of water and of the Spirit were considered identical, and baptism and regeneration were convertible terms.

"Cyprian then proceeds to illustrate and confirm his argument by the analogical example of Cornelius and his companions, who though the Spirit had fallen upon them, as was manifested by sensible effects, were nevertheless ordered to be baptized, that the Apostles' instructions and practice might in all things observe the law of the divine commandment and of the Gospel.

"*Baptisma autem non esse quo hæretici utuntur, neque quonquam apud eos qui Christo adversantur per gratiam Christi posse proficere, diligenter nuper expressum est in epistolâ quam ad Quintum fratrem nostrum de eâ re nuper scripsimus.*

"Enough has been said of this visionary phantasy of a double baptism and a double ideality of regeneration ; and I think I have shown that this passage of Cyprian, on which Mr. Faber lays so much stress, is altogether irrelevant to the purpose for which he has quoted it, and that the two sacraments of which that Father is speaking are not the sacrament of water and the sacrament of the Spirit, but the sacraments of baptism and of the imposition of hands."—pp. 42—45.

Having then observed that the passages Mr. Faber has quoted from Cyril contain undeniable truths, but irrelevant to the purpose for which Mr. Faber alleged them, the Bishop proceeds to notice his management of the testimony of Jerome :—

"In the passage cited from Jerome, Mr. Faber has again commenced his quotation in the middle of a paragraph, and the middle of an argument.

"In his commentary on the sixteenth chapter of Ezekiel, vv. 4, 5, Jerome says, *Sequitur—Et in aquâ non es lota ad salutem* (the word which Jerome renders *ad salutem* has been variously interpreted. In our translation it is rendered *to supple thee.*) *Infantium corpora, simul atque emittuntur ex utero, lavari solent. Ita et generatio spiritualis lavacro indiget salutari. Nullus enim mundus a sorde, nec si unius diei vita fuerit ejus : et in Psalmis legimus : In iniquitatibus conceptus*

*sum, et in delictis concepit me mater mea: secunda nativitas solvit primam nativitatem; (here begins Mr. Faber's quotation;) scriptum est enim, Nisi quis renatus est ex aqua et Spiritu, non potest intrare in regnum celorum.* Multaque sunt lavacra quæ ethnici in mysteriis suis et hæretici pollicentur; que omnes lavant, sed non lavant in salutem. Propterea additum est, *et in aqua non lota es ad salutem.* Quod quidem non solum de hæreticis sed de ecclesiasticis intelligi potest, qui non plenâ fide accipiant baptismum salutarem. De quibus dicendum est, quod acceperint aquam, sed non acceperint Spiritum: sicut et Simon ille Magus, qui pecuniâ volebat redimere gratiam Dei, baptizatus est in aquâ, sed nequaquam baptizatus est ad salutem.

"Here again Mr. Faber seems to have supposed, and will necessarily lead his reader to suppose, that Jerome has cited John iii. 5, in order to illustrate and substantiate what follows, and that this passage of that Father's Commentary affords another proof of the double identity of baptism—whereas, in fact, that text is quoted in proof of what he had been affirming in the preceding part of the sentence, the necessity of baptism, or the second birth, in order to do away with the effects of the first birth; and has no bearing whatever on the subsequent part of the passage."—pp. 46, 47.

As to the passages from Augustine, on which Mr. Faber rests so much of the weight of his argument—it turns out, of course, that having misquoted and misconceived the only one which had the slightest appearance of favouring his opinion—the rest are irrelevant to his purpose. And to make the matter still more extraordinary, Mr. Faber brings forward another passage from Augustine, in a note at the conclusion of his Postscript, and contrives, as usual, to garble his authority and to mistake its meaning. We quote the Bishop's remarks on this unlucky addition:—

"On the quotations from Augustine, on which Mr. Faber seems to rely, as forming an inductive demonstration, it is needless to make any particular observations. It has been already shown, that the first of them is irrelevant, and that Mr. Faber, by omitting to read the whole passage from which it is an extract, has entirely missed its meaning. The other quotations teach that doctrine in which all parties concerned appear to have agreed; that saving grace is not communicated to unworthy recipients: but they do not prove what Mr. Faber contends that they have demonstrated,—that, in Augustine's opinion, a person might be born of water and not born of the Spirit; or, in other words, that Regeneration by the Spirit, according to the view which he takes of Regeneration, does not attend on outward baptism when unworthily received.

"At the close of his Postscript, Mr. Faber has cited another passage from Augustine, which contains, as he seems to think, a complete answer to Mr. Arnold's remark.

"'In corroboration,' he says, 'of my statement that Mr. Arnold

has entirely mistaken the question, I may remark, that Augustine expressly rejects the first part of the alternative which he offers to his opponent.'

"*Ipsa gratia, cujus ipsa sunt Sacramenta, quæ membra corporis Christi cum suo capite regenerata sunt, non communis est omnibus. Nam et hæretici habent eundem Baptismum, et falsi fratres in communione Catholici nominis.*"

"In defiance, however, of this very positive assertion, I will undertake to show that it is not Mr. Arnold, but Mr. Faber, who has entirely mistaken the question; and that, in the passage here cited by Mr. Faber, Augustine has neither expressly nor inferentially rejected the first part of the alternative.

"Here again Mr. Faber has commenced his quotation in the middle of a sentence, beginning with a word immediately following the adversative conjunctive *sed*. But whenever this word occurs, the latter part of a sentence is necessarily balanced against and contrasted with the former. In order, then, to put the reader in possession of Augustine's doctrine, I shall quote the passage at length, beginning where, as I conceive, Mr. Faber ought to have commenced his quotation.

"Speaking of the Israelites in the wilderness, Augustine cites 1 Cor. x. 3—5.

"*Omnes quidem eundem cibum spiritalem manducaverunt, et eundem potum spiritalem biberunt, id est spiritale aliquid significantem: sed non in omnibus illis beneplacitum est Deo. Cum dicit non in omnibus, erant ergo ibi aliqui in quibus beneplacitum est Deo. Et cum essent omnibus communia Sacramenta, non communis erat omnibus gratia quæ est virtus Sacramentorum. Sicut et nunc jam revelatâ fide quæ tunc velabatur, omnibus in Patris, et Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti nomine baptizatis commune est lavacrum regenerationis, sed (here begins Mr. Faber's quotation) ipsa gratia, cujus ipsa sunt Sacramenta, quæ membra corporis Christi cum suo capite regenerata sunt, non communis est omnibus. Nam et hæretici habent eundem baptismum, et falsi fratres in communione Catholici nominis. Ergo in his recte dicitur, sed non in omnibus beneplacitum est Deo.*"—Augustini, Enarratio in Psalmum lxxvii.

"Now, I have no doubt (and I think that any one moderately acquainted with Augustine's writings connected with this topic will agree with me) that the doctrine here laid down is virtually the same as that contained in the first part of the alternative—that those who renounce the world deceitfully are born of the Spirit, though not with a saving, but with a pernicious effect. The doctrine here laid down is, that though all partake of the same Sacrament, and though the holiness and intrinsic excellence of the Sacrament itself cannot be impaired by the unworthiness of either the baptizer or the baptized, saving grace, which is the LEGITIMATE effect of Sacraments, and in which their virtue or efficient power consists, is not communicated to unworthy recipients. We are taught that the washing or laver of Regeneration (a phrase identical with being born of water and of the Spirit) is common to all; but that the grace of which they are the



Sacraments (the symbols or visible signs), by which the members of Christ's body are regenerated together with their Head, is not common to all; since heretics and false brethren partake of the same baptism with the living members of Christ's body, but do not partake of that saving grace.

"Here baptism, and the washing of Regeneration, or, in other words, being born again of water and of the Spirit, are identified by Augustine, and are spoken of as being common to all who are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. But it is affirmed with equal positiveness, that saving grace is not communicated to unworthy recipients.

"This statement is in complete accordance with the doctrine contained in the first part of the alternative offered by Augustine to his opponent, which is delivered as his own doctrine very plainly in the former part of the passage from which Mr. Faber has made his extract. But the same Father really rejects the second part of the alternative, that a person may be born of water and not born of the Spirit, as both absurd in argument, and false in itself.

"But taking the words as cited by Mr. Faber without reference to the preceding parts of the sentence or paragraph, they contain Augustine's well-known doctrine on the topic which he is discussing and the question which he is determining. But the first branch of the alternative offered to his opponent contains his no less decisive doctrine on the subject which he is then handling. Nor are these doctrines in any respect inconsistent. In the one case, he maintains that heretics and false brethren do not partake of the saving grace of regeneration; in the other, that such persons are born of the Spirit in baptism, though not with a saving, but a pernicious effect. Whereas the second branch of this alternative not only propounds an opinion contrary to Augustine's own doctrine, but is destructive of the argument with which he is pressing his opponents.

"To be baptized (with a valid baptism) and to be born of water and of the Spirit, are identical in Augustine's, but not in Mr. Faber's theory. To be born of the Spirit and to partake of saving grace are identical in Mr. Faber's theory, but not in Augustine's. But the only question before us is, as Mr. Faber justly states, what is the doctrine taught by Augustine on the subject under debate?"—pp. 48—52.

But is Mr. Faber competent to discuss such a question? Our view of the matter it is unnecessary to repeat. The Bishop of Bangor has placed Mr. Faber's merits as a theologian and his authority as a controversialist in a sufficiently clear light, if no one had ever before ventured to impugn them. To every one who opens any one of his works on any subject, we should say—Beware of trusting Mr. Faber when he professes to quote an author or to state his opinion. Mr. Faber may call this an attack on his moral character. If it be, we cannot help it. It is true, and necessary to be said, notwithstanding. He is, in truth—at least, he ought to be—a warning to controversial writers,

to remember that when they quote, they are not to expect that sensible people will take their quotations on trust, without examining whether they are fairly made, and whether they are to the purpose. There may be found elsewhere examples as shocking as Mr. Faber can supply; but for habitual carelessness and mistakes of this sort, it would be difficult, in the whole circle of English theology, to find any writer who has written so much and so laboriously, that can be compared to him;—to say nothing of the amazing tone of confidence and supercilious dogmatism with which absurdities of the most glaring sort are laid down and defended. In the first of his Lordship's notes to his Letter, the Bishop of Bangor says:—

“ I am compelled to refer to another of Mr. Arnold's remarks, in which he shows that Mr. Faber, here again beginning a quotation from Chrysostom in the middle of a sentence, makes that Father the voucher for a doctrine the reverse of that which he is laying down in this very passage. On this Mr. Arnold remarks, p. 11: ‘ *Our circumcision, I am speaking of the grace of Baptism, affords a cure free from pain, &c.* Mr. Faber means to infer the identity (in point of inward grace conferred) of Circumcision and Baptism, from the latter sacrament being called *our Circumcision*. Will it be believed that the preceding words are, “ for there (in circumcision) was both pain and suffering from what took place, and there was no other benefit from circumcision but this alone, that by this sign they (the Jews) were distinguishable and separated from other nations; but (here begins Mr. Faber's quotation) *our Circumcision, I mean the grace of Baptism, affords a painless cure, and becomes to us the bestower of ten thousand blessings, and fills us with the grace of the Spirit.*’ Is not such carelessness almost as inconceivable as it is culpable? The very form with which Mr. Faber's quotation begins (*ἡ δὲ ὑπερίπα περιτομή*) proves that in the original, the Christian Circumcision is contrasted with some other Circumcision. And yet a professed investigator of the opinions of the early Church neglects to look at what goes immediately before the passage he has seized on; and so actually attempts to prove that Circumcision (in Chrysostom's opinion) conveyed the grace of moral Regeneration, from a passage which (depreciating it even too much) expressly asserts it to have been *only a sign* by which the Jew was distinguished and separated from the Gentile,”—pp. 35, 36.

Which may serve as an additional example, to use the Bishop's words in another part of his pamphlet, “ of the careless manner in which Mr. Faber pounces on his extracts; and of the little pains which he has taken to acquaint himself with the drift and meaning of the passages which he cites.” One more instance of this sort is noticed by the Bishop of Bangor in the same note in which Mr. Faber's treatment of Chrysostom is exposed. It is the following, in which (we may always expect this, as a matter of course,) he garbles the quotation, and makes

Augustine not only propound the doctrine he is confuting, but contradict himself at the same time. Mr. Arnold had noticed the absurdity of his management of the passage already, but, besides that his observations deserve to be transcribed, the Bishop of Bangor has noticed a point which seems to have escaped the vigilance of Mr. Arnold.

"Another quotation of Mr. Faber's, on which Mr. Arnold has animadverted, is a striking specimen of the careless manner in which he sometimes makes his extracts.

"Augustine is speaking of the invisible grace communicated to true believers only. *Hujus fontis largo atque invisibili flumine lætificat Deus civitatem suam, de quâ Propheta prædixit, Fluminis impetus lætificat civitatem Dei.* Ad hunc fontem nullus extraneus, quia nullus nisi vitâ æternâ dignus, accedit. Hic est proprius Ecclesiæ Christi, cui tanto ante prophetatum est, *Fons aquæ tuæ sit tibi proprius, et nemo alienus communicet tibi.* De hac etiam Ecclesiâ et de isto fonte dicitur et in Canticis Canticorum, *Hortus conclusus, fons signatus, puteus aquæ vivæ.* Hoc vestri de visibilis Baptismi Sacramento accipientes tantum errant ut res absurdissimas fateri cogantur inviti, quod ad illum scilicet fontem qui proprius est unicæ columbæ, de quo dictum est, *Nemo alienus communicet tibi*, (here in the middle of a sentence, the sense of which is still suspended, begins Mr. Faber's quotation,) ad hortum conclusum puteumque signatum potuerit accedere Simon Magus, quem legimus a Philippo baptizatum: potuerint accedere tot ficti, de quibus gemens Cyprianus loquitur, *Sæculo verbis solis et non factis renuntiantes*: tot etiam Episcopi avari, de quibus ipse idem testatur, *Fundos insidiosis fraudibus rapientes, usuris multiplicantibus fœnus augentes.* Ista quippe in baptizatis, et baptizantibus visibili Baptismo reperiuntur. Ad illum tamen fontem proprium, cui nemo communicat alienus; ad illum fontem signatum, hoc est ad Spiritus Sancti donum, quo caritas Dei diffunditur in cordibus nostris, nullus istorum nisi mutatus accedit: ita omnino mundandus ut non sit alienus, sed sit cœlestis particeps pacis, sanctæ socius unitatis, plenus individuæ caritatis, civis Angelicæ Civitatis.—Contra Crescon. Grammat. l. 2, c. 14 and 15.

"Upon this quotation, Mr. Arnold remarks, 'Mr. Faber puts into the mouth of the same Father a theological opinion which that Saint is actually charging upon the Donatists as a monstrous absurdity, which they were forced to maintain, the words preceding Mr. F.'s quotation being, "Your party understanding this of the Sacrament of visible Baptism are so greatly mistaken, that they are compelled against their will to maintain the most absurd propositions, that forsooth to that fountain which belongs exclusively to the true dove, of which it is said, *Let no stranger be a partaker of thee*, to the garden enclosed and fountain sealed, Simon could approach," &c. This most absurd opinion, Mr. Faber, unwarned by the mood of potuerit, compels St. Augustine to maintain against his will—*To the enclosed garden and sealed well Simon Magus, whom we read to have been baptized by Philip, could approach.*'

"But besides this, in consequence of this unlucky slip, beginning his quotation in the middle of a sentence, without looking to the preceding part of it, Mr. Faber compels Augustine to contradict himself. For according to Mr. F. he first says that Simon Magus could approach the enclosed garden and the sealed well, and a few lines below he declares, that no one of those persons of whom he had been speaking, Simon Magus amidst the rest, could approach that sealed fountain till he was changed or converted."—pp. 33—35.

To expect that Mr. Faber will be induced by these exposures to reconsider the mass of absurdities which he has been publishing for more than a quarter of a century, we can scarcely hope. Faithfully executed, he might furnish the world with a curious volume of retractations. But that we can hardly look for. We notice his writings in order to guard the public from being misled by them. He has misled some. As long as his books are read, and people are found to take quotations on trust, he will continue to mislead. Such persons require to be set upon their guard. There is another class also, and to them, it is right to hold up Mr. Faber as a warning. But these are addressed in a manner so forcible and so judicious by the Bishop, that we are thankful to transcribe his Lordship's words.

"I do not venture to offer any advice to so old a controversialist as Mr. Faber. But I would recommend younger men, in the management of their controversies, not to run over the writings of the Fathers merely with a view of procuring testimonies in favour of theories and opinions, of the certainty of which they are already convinced; not to make extracts from their writings which appear at first sight to fall in with their own notions, 'hand over head,' without looking before or behind them, or acquainting themselves with the question which those writers are discussing, or the line of argument which they are pursuing; and not to suppose that quotations made from their writings without regard to these considerations are sufficient indexes of their opinions and doctrines."—p. 57.

This is advice which deserves to be written on tables of gold, or still better, to be engraven in the memory of every person who undertakes the study of theology. How much mischief Mr. Faber has done to that study by his writings—how much he has obscured the study of ecclesiastical history by his theories, his blunders, and his falsifications—how much he has darkened the meaning of Holy Scripture, and disgusted reasonable people with prophetic inquiries, by his Calendars and his Dissertations, it were vain to conjecture. Few living writers with intentions not positively mischievous, have done anything like so much injury to truth on all these subjects. Our opinion on that point is avowed. But besides this, persons who adopt this method of writing, must expect to drive men into the very ex-

treme from which they are desiring to rescue or preserve them. Such a writer contrives to arm against himself the good feeling of his readers, and to induce them to adopt the errors he denounces, from sheer pity for tenets which are treated with so much unfairness. Mr. Faber's method of managing controversy is as likely to increase the number of Tractarian secessions as to diminish them. If the school of Mr. Newman and Dr. Pusey assert a right to explain away the formularies of the Church, Mr. Faber is not the person who will convince them of the danger or dishonesty of such methods of interpretation. This point has not escaped the notice of the Bishop of Bangor.

"Mr. Faber has here put this question on a fairer issue than he has done in his work on *Regeneration*, where he has mystified it by the use of the term *Moral Regeneration*. By moral regeneration he means conversion, repentance, growth in grace, &c., which the writers of the four first centuries do not designate by the word *Regeneration*, but carefully and accurately distinguish from it: Mr. Faber affirms that, according to the primitive doctrine, men may be regenerated, born again or born of the Spirit, before, at, or after Baptism. And he proves this by citing passages which show that in the opinion of the writers they may repent, or be converted, or be renewed before or after Baptism. But these writers restrict the term *Regeneration* to the grace received on Baptism; and we have seen that his principal witness, Augustine, so far identifies *Regeneration* and *Baptism*, that he maintains that persons baptized in iniquity, Simon Magus, for instance, and those who renounce the world in words only but not in deed, are born of the Spirit, though not with a saving but a pernicious effect.

"Mr. Faber, indeed, has an expeditious and convenient way of getting rid of the difficulties that embarrass his theory. He resolves the plain and simple statements of our Liturgy, into *technical phraseology*, *official declarations*, and *generic language*. In the same manner he resolves the *prima facie* doctrine of these Fathers of the Church into the *technicality of Ecclesiastical language*, (*Primitive Doctrine*, p. 189,) and tells us (pp. 190, 191) that the necessity of a moral change was evident, (which no one, I presume, in such cases ever denied,) but that the old Ecclesiastics (he refers particularly to Jerome and Athanasius) chose rather to disguise it under the name of conversion or transmutation, (i.e. repentance,) than in all cases equally and avowedly to call it *Regeneration*: because, forsooth, in the technicality of Ecclesiastical language there was but one renovation in Baptism and not a second.

"Has it never occurred to Mr. Faber, that when he is resorting to these expedients for explaining away language sufficiently clear and simple in itself, he has pressed into his service that system of *non-natural interpretation* to which Mr. Newman and his disciples have subsequently given so much notoriety?"—pp. 37, 38.

This, indeed, is the matter of real moment in the whole discussion. The doctrines of the early Christians are parts of the history of God's providential government; and he who mystifies and obscures an inquiry on a subject of such importance, does real injury to the Church. But what constitutes that injury, is not merely the obscuring and mystification of a particular question, but the damage done to truth itself, and the perpetuation of that hateful system of controversy, which, by an ostentatious parade of second-hand references, and a crushing array of authorities,—carelessly quoted, imperfectly understood, garbled, mutilated, wrested from their context, and distorted from their scope and meaning,—has done so much to exasperate theological disputes, to perpetuate error, and to intimidate and disgust mankind in the pursuit of truth.

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## ANTIQUITIES, ETC.

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### THE CONSUETUDINARY OF ST. OSMUND,

FROM A MANUSCRIPT FORMERLY BELONGING TO ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN.

(Continued from p. 33.)

#### *De minoribus festis duplicibus.*

In aliis etiam festis minoribus duplicibus, ut in die sancti thome martiris, Annunciatione dominica, Nativitate sancti Johannis baptiste, In festo apostolorum petri et pauli. In festis sancti Michaelis et sancti Andree, potest predictus modus servicii servari; excepto quod ad primas et secundas vespervas una sola a. dicitur super psalmos, et alia incipitur in superiore gradu pro voluntate cantoris. Preterea in his festis non incensatur ad primas vespervas nisi principale altare, et ad mat. in nocturnis non incensatur altare vel chorus. Preterea ultima lectio non semper ab excellentiore legitur, sed ab excellentiore [ex] parte chori. Preterea in festo sancti michaelis et sancti andree prima lectio in prima forma legitur, secunda et tertia in ii<sup>a</sup> forma; primum et secundum Respons. in prima forma, tertium in secunda forma. Preterea nullum Resp. a tribus cantatur nisi notum. Preterea omnes a. super laudes pro dispositione rectoris in secunda forma discurrant.

Nota de ix. Resp. cantando.\*

#### *De modo exequendi ad vespervas in vigilia pasche.*

In vig. pasche ad vespervas sine regimine chori a. super psalmos a quodam canonico in superiori gradu incipitur. Similiter super

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\* This note is added in the margin by a more recent hand, probably of the 15th century.

*Magnificat* ab excellentiore ex parte chori. Post comm. uice collectæ ad vespervas dicatur, et *Ite missa est* in loco *Benedicamus*.

*De die pasce, seruitium.*

**I**n die pasce tres antiphone super psalmos eodem modo discurrant sicut tres prime in die natalis, et tres lectiones, et tria Responsoria sicut in tercio N.\* in die natalis. Preterea altare non incensatur hac die nisi ad *te deum laudamus* et *Benedictus*. In laudibus a. et cetera eodem modo discurrant ut in nocte natalis domini. In a. ad primam et ad alias horas incipiendas ideum modus qui in die natalis seruetur. Versiculos tamen ad omnes horas per totam hanc ebdomadam dicat sacerdos ante collectam. Ad secundas vespervas rectores ex parte chori conuersi ad chorum incipiant *Kyrie el.* antiphona super psalmos pro uoluntate cantoris in superiori gradu incipiatur. Gr. a duobus ex illis qui cantauerunt ad missam de superiore gradu cantetur cum eodem uersu habitu non mutato. Similiter *alleluia* a duobus ex illis qui cantauerunt ad missam de superiore gradu cantetur. Cetera omnia usque ad processionem ut in die natalis. Dicto *benedicamus* eat processio ad fontes per ostium presbiterij australe, cum cruce, ceroferarijs, turribulo, oleo, et crismate, et puero deferente librum ante sacerdotem, et omnes illi sint albis induti, preter puerum qui defert librum, qui sit in superpellicio, et sacerdotem qui similiter sit in superpellicio cum capa de serico. Rectores uero antiphonam in eundo et redeundo incipiant. Peracta processione sicut in ordinale describitur, et finita memoria de sancta maria, dicatur *Benedicamus* a duobus pueris. Ad completorium a. incipiatur a quodam in superiori gradu.

*De modo exequendi seruitium in secunda feria pasche.*

**F**eria secunda pasche a. super psalmos incipiatur in superiori gradu, lectiones et Responsoria in superiori gradu legantur, et cantentur in superpellicijs, cetera omnia ut in die pasce nisi quod ad laudes una sola a. dicitur que in superiori gradu incipitur. Post *Benedicamus* eat processio ad crucem per ostium chori occidentale, cum cruce et ceroferariis et thuribulo et puero deferente librum ante sacerdotem. Qui omnes erunt in eodem habitu quo ad vespervas, preter illum qui defert crucem in superpellicio. In statione duo de superiore gradu dicant versum ad clericos conuersi in superpellicijs. Finita processione in chorum redeant; ceteraque fiant ut supra. Ad processionem ad vespervas ad primam et ad alias horas omnia fiant ut in die pasce. Ad vespervas et ad completorium eodem modo fiant sicut in die pasce.

*De tercia et iiii<sup>a</sup> feria pasce.*

**M**odus et ordo seruicij iiii<sup>a</sup> et quarte ferie similis est per omnia seruicio huius ferie.

*De octava pasce.*

**O**ctava die pasce ad vespervas a. super psalmos in superiori gradu incipiatur pro uoluntate rectoris; a. super *magnificat* unus de

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\* In tercio N. i. e. in tertio Nocturno.

excellentiorebus ex parte chori incipiat. Cetera fiant ut in die pasce ad vespervas preter grad. et *alleluia*, et processionem. Et completorium fiat sicut in aliis dupplicibus festis ix<sup>m</sup> lectionum. Ad mat. super psalmos a. lectio et Responsoria in superpelliciis in superiori gradu discurrant, pro voluntate cantoris. In laudibus antiphone eodem modo in superiore gradu discurrant. Cetera omnia ut supra in feriis preter processionem. Ad primam et ad alias horas idem modus servetur qui in dupplicibus festis ix. lect. Ad secundas vespervas a. super psalmos et super *magnificat* incipiatur in superiore gradu pro voluntate rectoris. Cetera ad vespervas et ad completorium ut in festis dupplicibus ix. lect.

*Adaptatio in aliis festis dupplicibus in paschali tempore.*

**M**odus et ordo Serviicii huius diei servetur in annunciatione dominica, quando post pascha celebratur, et inuentione sancte crucis. Excepto quod ibi ad utrosque versus dicitur Resp. ut in dupplicibus festis ix<sup>m</sup> lectionum. Quinta vi<sup>a</sup> et vij<sup>a</sup> feria ebdomade pasce et pent. a. ad vespervas super psalmos in superiori gradu, versiculus a duobus pueris. Cetera ut in suis secundis feriis. Ad mat. a. super psalmos in superiore gradu, lectiones et Responsoria in superpelliciis dicantur. In laudibus a. in ij<sup>a</sup> forma. Cetera omnia fiant sicut ad suas primas vespervas. Ad primam et ad alias horas ut in dominicis sui temporis.

*De modo exequendi officium in ascensione domini.*

**I**n vig. ascensionis ad vespervas a. super psalmos inchoetur ab aliquo excellentiore ex parte decani; Resp. cantent tres de excellentioribus; a. super *magnificat* ab executore illius diei inchoetur. Cetera omnia ad vespervas et ad completorium ut in ceteris festis dupplicibus ix<sup>m</sup> lect. Ad mat. in antiphonis incipiendis et in lectionibus legendis, in Resp<sup>ta</sup> cantandis, idem ordo et modus servetur ut in die pasce. Ad primam et ad alias horas idem modus et ordo servetur qui oct. pasce. Excepto quod hic ad secundas vespervas Resp. cantatur a tribus de excellentioribus. Modus et ordo serviicii diei pentec. idem est per omnia qui in die ascencionis. Serviicium uero trium feriarum sequentium sequitur modum et ordinem feriarum in ebdomade [*sic*] pasce. In antiphonis incipiendis, in lectionibus legendis, in responsoriis cantandis.

*De modo exequendi officium in festo sancti thome apostoli*

**I**n vig. sancti thome apostoli ad vespervas a. super psalmos in superiore gradu pro voluntate rectoris incipiatur. Resp. duo de superiore gradu, versiculum duo pueri in superpelliciis; a. super *magnificat* in superiore gradu. *Benedicamus* duo de ii<sup>a</sup> forma. Secundum *Benedicamus* vnus puer dicat, loco nec habitu mutato. Cetera omnia ad vespervas et ad completorium ut in dominicis. Ad mat. invit. a tribus cantetur in capis sericis prima et secunda forma; a. in prima forma, tertia a subdiacono in ij<sup>a</sup> forma: quarta a diacono in eodem forma ex opposito. Quinta et deinceps in superiore gradu pro voluntate rectoris. Lectiones leguntur habitu non mutato; R. cantantur similiter habitu non mutato, excepto quod tertium, sextum et nonum



R. in superpelliciis dicantur. In laudibus a. in ij<sup>a</sup> forma hinc iude discurrant pro uoluntate rectoris ordine seruato incepto [*sic*] inchoatione ij<sup>a</sup> et iij<sup>a</sup> a<sup>o</sup>. Cetera ut ad primas uesperas. Ad primam et ad alias horas omnia fiant ut in dominicis.

*De aptatione eiusdem in aliis festis quando Invitatorium est triplex.*

**I**ste modus et ordo seruicii seruetur in omnibus festis et oct. ix. lect. quando Invit. est triplex. In die apostolorum philippi et iacobi seruetur modus et ordo quinte ferie ebdomade pasce; excepto quod hiis dicitur ad primas uesperas R. in superiore gradu et nulla fit processio. In festo sancti marri et sancti Johannis ante portam lat. et sancti barnabe apostoli quando ante pentecost. contigerit, a. super psalmos ad primas uesperas in superiore gradu. Et cetera omnia ad uesperas et ad completorium ut in festis ix. lect. quando invit. a tribus dicitur. Ad mat. a. super psalmos in superiore gradu, lectiones et R. habitu non mutato dicantur: excepto modo R. quod in superpelliciis dicitur. Cetera omnia ad mat. et ad alias horas diei ut in festis ix. lectionum aliorum apostolorum.

*De modo exequendi officium in simplicibus festis nouem lectionum.*

**I**n simplicibus uero festis ix. lect. minoribus seruetur modus et ordo seruicii domini carum simplicium habentium R. in ij<sup>a</sup> forma, excepto quod a. super psalmos et R. ad primas uesperas in superiore gradu dicuntur. In festis Sci Vincencii et sci dionisii et sci clementis et aliis uero simplicibus festis cum regimine chori a pascha usque ad pentecosten ad utrasque uesperas et ad alias horas diei omnia fiant sicut in ceteris simplicibus festis alterius temporis. Ad mat. [i<sup>a</sup>] et ii<sup>a</sup> lectio primum et secundum R. in secunda forma, iii<sup>a</sup> lectio et iij<sup>a</sup> R. in superiori gradu dicantur, habitu non mutato. Infra oct. cum regimine chori ad uesperas et ad alias horas diei sicut in festis simplicibus cum regimine chori sui temporis. Ad mat. prima et ij<sup>a</sup> lectio primum et secundum R. in ij<sup>a</sup> forma, iii<sup>a</sup> lectio et iij<sup>a</sup> R. in superiori gradu dicantur habitu non mutato. Infra oct. cum regimine chori ad uesperas et ad alias horas diei sicut in festis simplicibus cum regimine chori sui temporis. Ad mat. prima et ij<sup>a</sup> et iij<sup>a</sup> a. in prima [forma]; cetera in secunda forma. In feriis infra octavas ascensionis prima a. in prima forma, ii<sup>a</sup> et iij<sup>a</sup> in ij<sup>a</sup> forma lect. et R<sup>a</sup> ut in aliis feriis. In laudibus, ut in festis simplicibus minoribus cum regimine chori sui temporis. In dominicis autem diebus infra oct. seruetur modus et ordo seruicii qui in aliis dominicis, exceptis illis que in tabulis illarum dominicarum excipiuntur. In festis trium lectionum sine regimine chori, et in omni commemoratione beate uirginis Invit. a duobus dicitur in his, scilicet :—

*In quibus festis iiii<sup>m</sup> lectionum Invitatorium a duobus cantantur.*

**M**ense Januarii Sci Juliani episcopi et confessoris: Sce Agnetis secundo. Mense februarii Sci Blasii episcopi et martiris. Sce Juliane virginis. Sciendum autem quod si hec predicta festa infra lxx<sup>a</sup> euenerit [*sic*], Invit. erit simplex. Preterea omnia festa sine regimine chori ab oct. pasche usque ad pentecost. Invit. habent duplex. Similiter omnia talia festa que contingunt infra ebdomadam sancte trinitatis. Mense iunij Sanctorum marcellini et petri; sci bonefacij sociorumque eius; sanctorum primi et feliciani; sanctorum basilidis, Cirini, naboris et nazarii; Sanctorum viti et modesti et crescencie: marci et marcelliani, martirum; Geruasii et prothasii martirum. Translatio sancti edwardi. Johannis et Pauli.

**M**ense Julii processi et martiniani. Septem fratrum martyrum. Translatio sancti benedicti. Sancti Kenelmi regis et martiris. Septem dormientium martirum. Sci Sampsonis episcopi et martiris: [Sanctorum] feliciis, simpliciis, faustini et beatricis. Abdon et sennes. Mense augusti, Stephani pape et martiris; Oswaldi regis et martiris. Sanctorum sexti, felicissimi, et agapiti. Cyriaci sociorumque eius martirum. Thiburcij martiris. Ypoliti martiris. Rufi m. feliciis et adaucti. Mense septembris, Translatio sci cuthberti; Cipriane et iustine uirginis. Cosme et damini [*sic*] martirum. Mense octobris, Marci, Marcelliani, et apulei. Nigasij sociorumque eius. Kalixti pape et m. Vndecim milium virginum. Crispi et Crispiniani martirum. Mense nouembris sanctorum iiii<sup>m</sup> coronatorum martirum. Bricii episcopi. Aniani episcopi. Oct. sci martini episcopi. Mense decembris oct. sci andree apostoli.

*De modo benedicendi aquam in dominica in adventu, et in aliis dominicis.*

**D**ominica prima in aduentu, peractis hijs que ad capitulum pertinent, sacerdos ebdomadarius cum diacono et subdiacono textum deferente, et puero deferente thuribulum, et ceroferarijs, et acolito crucem ferente, omnibus albis indutis, et ad altare in medio presbiterij conuersis, in capa serica ad gradum chori faciat aquam benedictam, et puer qui ad aquam scribitur in tabula, in superpellicio ei subministrat tenendo sal et aquam quam benedicit, et aquam benedictam gestando; puer uero ebdomadarius lectionis ad mat. sacerdoti in libro tenendo in superpellicio ministret.

*De aspersione aque benedictæ.*

**P**eracta benedictione, Sacerdos ipse accedat ad principale altare, et ipsum circumquaque aspergat. In redeundo imprimis aspergat ministros sic ordinatos, incipiendo ab acolito, deinde ad gradum chori rediens ibidem singulos clericos ad se accedentes aspergat, incipiens a maioribus. Episcopus tamen si presens fuerit ad eum aspersio clericorum pertinet. Post aspersionem clericorum laicos in presbiterio hinc inde stantes sacerdos aspergat. Peracta aspersione [*redeat*] sacerdos ad gradum chori et ibi cum oratione ver. dicat, [*etc.*].

*De ordine processionis eadem dominica.*

**H**is itaque peractis eat processio hoc ordine. Precedat aqua. Deinde ceteri iuxta predictum ordinem sequantur. Deinde pueri et illi de secunda forma iuxta ordinem quo disponuntur in choro. Reliqui de superiori gradu eo ordine quo disponuntur in capitulo habitu non mutato. Episcopus tamen, si presens fuerit, mitram gerat et baculum, et exeat processio per ostium presbiterij septentrionale, et eat circa presbiterium. Sacerdos in eundo singula altaria aspergat. Deinde in australi latere ipsius ecclesie per fontes uenientes, procedant ante crucem, et ibi faciant stationem. Sacerdote cum suis ministris predictis in medio suo ordine stante, ita quod puer deferens aquam, et acolitus stent ad gradus ante crucem. Deinde precibus consuetis dictis chorum intrent, et sacerdos ad gradum chori dicat versiculum et orationem. Dein eat cum suis ministris ad cimiterium canonicorum aspergendo orando pro defunctis.

*Adaptatio processionis huius dominice in ceteris dominicis, cum earum exceptionibus.*

**H**ic modus et ordo processionis seruetur generaliter omnibus dominicis diebus per annum [simplicibus]. In dominicis tamen a lxx<sup>a</sup> usque ad xl<sup>a</sup> dicitur ver. post ant. in ipsa statione ad gradum ante crucem a duobus clericis de ij<sup>a</sup> forma ad populum conuersis habitu non mutato. Similiter a dominica post oct. pasche usque ad proximam dominicam ante ascensionem dicitur versus a duobus de ij<sup>a</sup> forma in superpellicijs. In ipsa uero dominica ante ascensionem dicitur a tribus de superiori gradu in superpellicijs in pulpito. Preterea in dominica palmarum processioni sunt quedam specialiter annexa : sc. quod aqua benedicitur extra chorum sicut quolibet festo duplici quod contingit die dominica. Et tertia cantata aspergitur. Deinde fit benedictio florum et frondium, et dum distribuuntur rami benedicti, preparetur feretrum cum reliquiis a quo corpus domini in pixide dependeat, et ad locum stationis a duobus clericis de secunda forma non tamen processionem sequendo, sed in locum prime stationis\* obuiam uenendo habitu non mutato deferatur, lumine in lanterna precedente. Et sic eat processio precentore incipiente a. et excellentiore sacerdote [ex]sequente officium processionis uexillis precedentibus imprimis circa claustrum, et ita exeant per portam cimiterij canonicorum usque ad locum prime stationis que fit in extrema parte orientali cymeterij laicorum ubi imprimis legitur euangelium ab ipso diacono induto ad processionem. Deinde clerici habitu non mutato conuersi ad populum ante reliquias versus cantent. Post singulos versus executor officij incipiat a. conuersus ad reliquias quam prosequatur chorus cum

*Processio omni die dominica a laze usque ad alam.*

*Processio ab oct. pasche usque ad dominicam ante ascensionem domini.*

*Processio in dominica palmarum.*

*Benedictio florum et frondium.*

*Feretrum portetur cum corpore christi in pixide.*

*Lanterna cum lumine deportatur ante feretrum.*

*Vexilla precedent processionem.*

*Hic fiat prima statio.*

*Euangelium legitur a diacono.*

*En ras venit iii. clerici ante reliquias.*

\* On the upper margin are the following words in rubric, "¶ Adhuc processio dominice palmarum."

genuflexione. Ab ipso quoque executore primo cum choro fiat genuflexio. Deinde eat processio ad locum secunde stationis precentore incipiente a. fit autem secunda statio ante ostium ubi pueri cantent *Gloria laus*. Peracta hac statione eat processio ad locum tercie stationis que fieri solet ante aliud ostium ipsius ecclesie, ex eodem latere vbi tres sacerdotes in ipso ostio habitu non mutato conuersi ad populum dicant ver. Hiis peractis eat processio ad ostium occidentale et ibi intrent sub capsula reliquiarum ex transuerso ostij eleuata, et fiat statio ante crucem, et in ipsa statione executor officij incipiat a. cruce iam discooperta et respondeat chorus cum genuflexione et sic incipiat sacerdos a. ter singulis uicibus uocem exaltando vna cum choro genuflexionem faciendo. Et post terciam inceptionem chorus eandem a. in ipsa statione totam persequatur. Qua finita intrent chorum cruce etiam super principale altare discooperta. Et sic maneat tota die discooperta.

*ija. statio.*

*vij. pueri Gloria laus.*

*iiia. statio.*

*Vnus autem.*

*sub vel . . . . . in-*

*trent.*

*ave rex.*

*Cruc super mag-*

*num altare disco-*

*operatur.*

*Modus processionis in die natalis domini.*

In die natalis domini dicta tercia eat processio circa claustrum cum tribus acolitis tres cruces deferentibus, et duobus turribulis. Deinde predicto modo procedant, tribus de superiori gradu prosam in eundo cantantibus in medio precedentibus que in ipsa statione ante crucem ab eadem [*sic*] terminetur. Cetera omnia ut prenotatum est.

(*To be continued.*)

ARCHBISHOP WARHAM'S VISITATION IN THE YEAR 1511.

(*Continued from page 40.*)

ECCLESIA DE KENNYNGTON vel KENYNGTON.

696. *Compertum est.* That Richard Ricards is a man of evil rule and malicious; also his company that he resorteth unto; insomuch that they were purposed to have slain the Vicar if he had come there where they were. And this was spoken by him and his company, and he would have done it because the Vicar would not hold with him in his lewdness.
697. *Item.* That the said Richard haunteth suspiciously the house of Thomas Hawters, and would have gone away with the said Thomas wife over the sea.
698. *Item.* He hath slain a man in the said Thomas house.
699. *Item.* The said Richard hath bet the said Thomas in his own house.

700. *Item.* That the said Richard, and Elizabeth May wife to Robert May, keep no good rule insomuch that it is suspected he hath a child by her in her husband's absence.
701. *Item.* The said Richard hath had ii. children with ii. sisters, daughters of Robert Ilkok, Elizabeth and Margery, that they confessed both.
702. *Item.* The said Richard and Alice Title, his gossip, live suspiciously together daily.
703. *Item.* The said Richard and Agnes Attwell were taken together suspiciously, and so continue.
704. *Item.* The wife of William Christoffer had been ravished by the said Richard, if one of her neighbours had not come into the shop.
705. *Item.* The said Richard is greatly charged with wife and children, and yet is a great spender at alehouses and taverns; where this money is gotten no man may devise, for he hath no rents nor doth no bodily labour.
706. *Item.* That he was wont wrongfully to accuse the honest men of the parish of treason, and was a great slanderer of them also; and now he beginneth the same because they come to Charyng at my Lord's commandment.
707. *Item.* That Thomas Fuller resorteth to his gossip's house ix. or x. years suspiciously and was commanded and sworn the contrary afore thofficial. Also he is one of the said Richard's companions, and keepeth company and riot in spending, and hath no good, nor of no substance.
708. *Item.* That Robert May, Elizabeth May, and Richard Richards, are common slanderers of their neighbours, and backbiters; insomuch that they brought up of the Vicar a grievous and ungoodly diffamation of the which he was not fawty.
709. *Item.* That the said Richard is and hath been of that condition ever, that he would not by his will suffer any priest to serve amongst them; he is so infest against priests, that he is ever talking of them and ready to say the worst against them and their order.
710. *Item.* That Thomas Monson M. Mais Clerk, and Elizabeth the wife of Robert May, live suspiciously insomuch that in a barn she provoked the young man; and said, clipping him about the middle, "Do now with me what ye will."
711. *Item.* That the said Richard suspiciously liveth with a mys at Wellis.

712. *Item.* That the said Richard would have ravished the wife of William Cristofer in her own house if Thomas Abroke had not been.
713. *Item.* That the said Richard oweth to the said church for burying his daughter in the chapel of St. Nicholas vi.s. viii.d.
714. *Item.* That John Netter of Crambroke oweth to the said church iii. marks.
715. *Item.* That Thomas Ambrose of the same parish cometh not to his parish [*sic*] at Easter, as a Christen man ought to do.
716. *Item.* That the foresaid Thomas Fuller forsaketh the church at the time of preaching, and sitteth in the church porch talking, and reasoning the words of the preaching inordinately at all houses.
717. *Item.* That Robert May, Thomas Monson, and John Pend, assaulted the Vicar and drove him into the said parish churchyard so that for them the Vicar durst not keep his vicarage nor his cure.
718. *Item.* That Thomas Fuller, Richard Ricards, and Robert May, keep evil rule at the alehouse; and the said Robert May railleth against preachers saying they will roast eggs cum statuis sanctorum.
719. *Item.* That the said Richard Ricards and his company rebuketh such as helpeth the Vicar to sing mass; in-somuch at oftentimes he would have said mass when he could get none to help him and all by his suggestion.
720. *Item.* He will not suffer the Vicar to use the churchyard as he was wont to do.
721. *Item.* That Robert May said it was as good to roast meat with the images of the Church as with other wood; all is one thing.
722. *Item.* When holy water and holy bread is given he goeth out of the church.
723. *Item.* That M. John May hath broken an obit that hath been used long season, for the which he hath ii. kine to farm to observe the said obit. He is also one that maintaineth his son against the vicar.

724. *Item.* That the will of Thomas Colt is not proved, yet his brother Robert Colt taketh upon him as executor, and spendeth the goods of the said Thomas and doth not pay his debts, nor hath no letter of administration.
725. *Item.* Thomas Ambrose was not confessed nor houseled in his parish church the last Easter nor it is not known where he had them.

[The *Acta* relating to this parish are so involved between themselves and with regard to the *Comperta*, that it is thought best to give each in the order in which they stand in the register.

On the 10th of March Richard Ricards appeared, and the articles against him having been publicly read he denied them all and singular. The Commissary assigned him the Tuesday after Corpus Christi day to clear himself with six honest men of his neighbours. The said Richard stated that he was engaged to go beyond sea to the war with master Edward Poynyngs. The Commissary enjoined him on his return to appear before the Lord Archbishop and hear his will.

On the same day Robert May, John Pende, Thomas Ambrose, Thomas Fuller, and Elizabeth May appeared and severally denied the articles objected to them. The Commissary assigned them the Tuesday after Corpus Christi day to clear themselves severally *quinta manu*. On which day they appeared, and having, with the assigned number lawfully cleared themselves, &c. (*sic*.)

On the same day John Nettare appeared and acknowledged the debt. The Commissary enjoined him to pay it before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.

On the same day John May appeared. The Commissary enjoined him to keep the obit in the said church, for which he had the two cows, according to the will of the testator.

The Churchwardens reported that Thomas Monson had gone off.

Robert Colte said that he held his brother's goods by the authority of the Official, before whom he had accounted for them.

Thomas Ambrose said that he had received the eucharist at the preceding Easter, in the church of Assheford; and that he sought a licence from the vicar, who refused it.]

#### ECCLESIA DE TENTERDEN.

726. *Compertum est.* That Aleyn Bleckynden came before the Official and swore upon a book for a testament that should have been proved that it was the true last will and whole will of one [blank] dead; and after that, came with another, and testified the same, the which was not true.

[Alanus Blachinden appeared, and stated that he had never to his knowledge sworn to the truth of two wills made by one man. And so upon his oath the Commissary dismissed him.]

727. *Item.* That James Godard withdraweth from the church xx.l. the which Thomasyn Piers bequeathed.

[He appeared and denied the debt. The Commissary assigned to the Churchwardens the Tuesday after Corpus Christi day, for proof. On which day the Churchwardens appeared and said that they did not as yet know where to find the will, and that they had no proof but that; and that they believed it to be in the hands of one John Netter. The Commissary decreed that the said John should be summoned for the Tuesday next after St. John the Baptist's Day. On which day he appeared, and the Commissary enjoined him to appear on the Tuesday next after the Feast of St. James the Apostle, to exhibit the will of the said Thomasyne Piers, and either to accept or refuse the executorship. On which day he appeared and exhibited the will, and took on him the execution. And the Commissary enjoined him to pay the legacy to the Churchwardens before the next Christmas, unless the Churchwardens and parishioners should give him more time, under pain of excommunication.]

728. *Item.* That William Gervays withdraweth liii.s. iiiii.d. of a piece of land bequeathed to the said church by William Piers.

[William Gervaise appeared, and stated that he and the Churchwardens were in treaty for the payment of the sum. The Commissary enjoined him to pay the liii.s. iv.d. to the Churchwardens before Michaelmas next, or to compound with them, under pain of excommunication.]

729. *Item.* There is in the hands of John Clerk and John Netter executors to Thomasyne Piers, for a priest to sing divine service in the said church by half an year, iii.l. vi.s. viii.d.

[The Commissary enjoined the said John Nettar to provide a chaplain to celebrate in the said church for the soul of Thomasine Piers for half a year; and that he should begin the service on the Feast of the Assumption next, under pain of excommunication.]

730. *Item.* There is many other sums of money bequeathed by the same Thomasyne as may appear more plainly by her will in the hands of John Netter, that is to say, xiii.s. iiiii.d.

[The said John was enjoined to pay the said Churchwardens all the other legacies of the said Thomasine, and especially the xiii.s. iv.d. before Michaelmas, under pain of excommunication.]

731. *Item.* That Johane Henley bequeathed iii.l. vi.s. viii.d. the which is in the hands of Edward Horden.

[He appeared and denied that he was bound to pay the legacy.



The Commissary enjoined him to pay the Churchwardens the legacy before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication, forasmuch as the Official of the Archbishop had given definitive sentence against him for the withdrawal of that legacy at the instance of the Churchwardens, &c.]

732. *Item.* That John Blechenden bequeathed to the said church, that Bartholomew Foughill keepeth in his hands, xl.s.

[Bartholomew Fowle appeared and said he owed the church xl.s. as a legacy of John Blachynden, and was prepared to pay it. The Commissary enjoined him to do so whenever the Churchwardens should require it, under pain of excommunication.]

733. *Item.* The executors of John William bequeathed to the said church lxvi.s. viii.d.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and stated that the executors of John Williams had come to agreement with them.]

734. *Item.* There is in the hands of Jamys Godard and William Hampton executors to John Duncham, for a priest to sing divine service by the space of a quarter of an year, xxxiii.s. iiiii.d.

[These executors of John Dunkham appeared, and the Commissary enjoined them to provide a chaplain to celebrate for the soul of the testator, for a quarter of a year; the service to begin from St. John the Baptist's Day, under pain of excommunication.]

735. *Item.* There is in the hands of John Hodges executor of the Testament of William Tobill, for a priest to sing divine service by the space of half a year, iiii.l. vi.s. viii.d.

[John Hodge appeared, and the Commissary enjoined him to provide a fit chaplain before the Feast of the Nativity next, to celebrate in the church during half a year, for the soul of William Tobyll, under pain of excommunication.]

736. *Item.* That Alice Raynolds was detected of heresy, and remaineth unexamined.

[The Commissary remitted Alice Reynold to the Archbishop.]

737. *Item.* That Kateryn Carder was detected of heresy and not examined.

[The same.]

738. *Item.* There is buried in the churchyard of Tenterden one Agnes Roch, which was commonly known an heretic.

[The same as to Agnes Roche.]

739. *Item.* John Frank, with divers other evil disposed persons, use in the time of divine service to be in the churchyard, communing and talking, and many other use to sit still in the church at procession time.

[John Franke appeared, and denied the article; but acknowledged that he sometimes walked in the churchyard in service time, and sometimes between matins and high mass, but not as a habit. The Commissary enjoined him to be in the church in the time of divine service, *sadend. vel ambuland.* under pain of excommunication.]

740. *Item.* John Sorell of Tenterden keepeth not his service in his parish church.

[He appeared, and was enjoined to keep his church on Sundays and holydays unless prevented by some reasonable cause, under pain of excommunication.]

741. *Item.* William Hornest took not his rights this ii. years.

[William Holnest appeared, and said that the vicar of Tenterden had refused to give him the eucharist for two years past: and on that account he went to Rye, and received it there. The Commissary enjoined him to appear on the Tuesday next after the Sunday *in albis* to exhibit a certificate of his having received the eucharist. On which day he did so, and was dismissed.]

742. *Item.* James Godard took not his rights one year.

[He appeared, and exhibited a certificate of his having received the Eucharist at the preceding Easter at Rye, and said that he was licensed by the vicar of Tenterden; and thereupon the Commissary dismissed him.]

743. *Item.* Alice, the wife of Thomas Sharpe, took not her rights by the space of ii. years.

[She appeared, and stated that she had received the Eucharist at the preceding Easter in the church of Halden, and at the Easter preceding at Rye, having each year been licensed by the vicar. Being asked why she did not live with her husband, she said she was willing to do so if her husband would receive her. The Commissary admonished her to live with her husband in future, under pain of excommunication.]

744. *Item.* William Forten took not his rights by viii. years.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and said that William Forton had left the parish, and they knew not where he was gone, because, as was said, none of his neighbours had any knowledge of his departure.]

745. *Item.* Bride Fermor and Kateryn Mannyng are vicious and suspect women of their bodies.

[Bride Fermor and Kateryn Mannyng appeared, and severally denied the charge, and said it was made out of malice. The Commissary enjoined them, and each of them, to live honestly, and avoid the company of suspected men in future, under pain of excommunication.]

#### ECCLESIA DE ROLLYNDEN *vel* ROLVENDEN.

746. *Compertum est.* That one John Baylis' wife, on Relic Sunday, went on pilgrimage to the relics; and when she came home, he asked her where she had been, and she answered at pilgrimage at the relics, for the parson declared and said, for every foot that a man or a woman set to the relics-ward, he shall have great pardon. The said John answered and said, "He said so because he will have folks money." "Nay, for the parson said," she said, "that when the church was brennyd, the silk with the relics closed, and the fire had no power on them." Then the said John said, "When I shall see them before me put between ii. faggots brenning, and they not perished, then will I believe that they been holy relics. Robert Tipp, his servant, being present.

[John Bayly appeared, and denied that he had used such language. The Commissary assigned him the Wednesday after the Sunday in the Passion of our Lord to clear himself *quarta manu*. On which day the said John appeared, not personally, but by a messenger, and the Commissary, for certain causes him moving, adjourned his purgation to the Wednesday next after Sunday *in albis*. On which day he appeared personally, with the number assigned to him, and having lawfully cleared himself, was dismissed.]

#### ECCLESIA DE BOUGHTON MALARD *vel* BOCTON MALERBE.

747. *Compertum est.* That Clary Stonnot oweth to the church, for the bequest of John Stannot her husband, iiij. nobles.

[William Cheseman appeared, and stated that he was bound to pay xxvi*s.* viii*d.* for lands purchased of John Stonnott, and prayed that a term might be assigned him for the payment of the

same. The Commissary enjoined him to pay it by equal instalments at Midsummer and Michaelmas, under pain of excommunication.]

748. *Item.* There is withdrawn 1½*d.* yearly of the lands of Thomas Humfrey.

[Thomas Humfrey appeared, and denied that he owned the lands out of which the claim arose. He acknowledged that he and his father before him had owned it, but said that during that time they had duly paid the 1½*d.* He further stated, that the land had been bought by one William Sednor, of the diocese of Chichester. As he was living out of the diocese, the Commissary remitted the matter to the Lord Archbishop.]

749. *Item.* Nicholas Pembolle, of the parish of Hegerton, is asked in the church with Isabel Dunbire, the which is within the degrees of marriage.

[Nicholas Pemyll appeared, and the Commissary enjoined him not to procure the solemnization of matrimony between himself and Isabella Dunbury, until he had obtained a sufficient dispensation, under pain of the law.]

#### ECCLESIA DE BOKTON MALAHARBE.

750. *Compertum est.* That one Mower of Hedcorne hath presumed to marry with the widow of one Latter, whom to be dead it is not knowen. The which woman also, it is said, hath made a precontract with one the son of Clerk.

[William Mower appeared, and exhibited a certificate of the death of his wife's late husband; and the Commissary dismissed him.]

#### ECCLESIA DE ASSHETISFORDE *vel* ESSHETESFORD.

751. *Compertum est.* That the mansion of the vicarage is decayed, and is like to fall down.

[Master Edward Mongeham, the vicar, appeared by Sir Richard Woodde, his proctor; whom the Commissary enjoined to do the necessary repairs before the Feast of the Assumption, unless he should obtain longer time of the Archbishop, under pain of sequestration.]

752. *Item.* One Gerdish May, of Mersham, withdraweth xxx. acres lands, called Heberds lands, xl*s.* by year, the which was wont in old time to remain to the church.

[Gervase May of the parish of Mershe appeared, and stated that the said lands had been left to the church under a condition

to be annually fulfilled, as was to be seen by the will ; and that condition not being fulfilled, he entered on the lands by right of inheritance, as he was authorized to do ; and that he was prepared to defend his title at common law ; to which the Commissary remitted him.]

753. *Item.* That Richard Ely keepeth a suspect woman in his house ; and his wife is oftentimes, and for the most part, at London.

[He appeared, and denied that he had any suspect woman in his house. He had had a maid-servant, who was then married and living with her husband. The Commissary enjoined him to avoid her company, except in public places, under pain of excommunication.]

ECCLESIA DE CRAMBROKE *vel* CAMBROOKE.

754. *Compertum est.* That Simond Lynch bequeathed to the reparation of the steeple x. marks, the which William Lynch withholdeth these three years.

[William Lynch appeared, and acknowledged the debt ; and the Commissary enjoined him to pay it before St. John the Baptist's day, provided the work towards which it was left was then begun, under pain of excommunication.]

755. *Item.* That Maister Vicar is not resident upon his vicarage oftentimes.

[Not noticed in the acta.]

756. *Item.* That Richard Bolton bequeathed first a noble to be buried in the church of Crambroke. Also v. marks to the reparations of the same church.

757. *Item.* x. marks to a priest to sing for him by the space of an year. Also iii.s. iii.d. to certain lights in the said church of the which Jamys Portrif withholdeth xl. marks of the said Richards goods.

[James Portreve appeared, and stated that he was not Richard Bolton's executor, and therefore owed nothing on his account. That if it could be proved that he had owed the said Richard anything, he would pay it. The Commissary remitted this matter to the Lord Archbishop.]

758. *Item.* That John Robert bequeathed to the said church all his rents, lands and mills that he purchased to [*sic*] Thomas Bewchynden ; and all Podislands to be mortified to a chauntery priest that should sing mass daily for him and all Christen souls, of the value of x. marks ; the which Walter Roberts the son of the said John will not fulfil.

759. *Item.* The said John Robert bequeathed to one Rauf Ben certain lands to him and his heirs for evermore to find a lamp brenning before the sacrament day and night, the which is not observed.

760. *Item.* John Robert bequeathed for vii. poor men at Cram-broke certain houses and grounds to their sustentation; every poor man to have yearly xiii.s. iiii.d. the which Walter Robert will not fulfil.

[Walter Robert appeared by William Fynche, who alleged that the said Walter was ill and in his name prayed copies of the Articles, and undertook to exhibit the answer of the said Walter on the Wednesday next after the Sunday in the Passion of our Lord. On which day he exhibited the same in writing; and the Commissary for certain causes remitted all matters concerning the said Walter Robert to the examination of the Lord Archbishop.]

761. *Item.* That Bamford's widow useth ill rule. Ely Coper's wife cometh not to church, nor taketh not her housel at Easter.

[The Churchwardens appeared and stated that they had both gone away.]

762. *Item.* Agnes Cobb bequeathed to the said church an Altar-cloth to the Altar of Saint Kateryn in the said church, the which William Tutt will not pay.

763. *Item.* John Cobb bequeathed v. marks for a priest to sing for him whereof a quarter is unserved.

[William Tutte appeared and stated that the goods of Agnes Cobb has not come into his possession because William Morlen executor of John Cobb her late husband, immediately after her death had all the things that were in her house. The Commissary admonished the Apparitor of the Deanery to cite the said William Morlen to appear on the Tuesday next after the Sunday *in albis*. On which day he appeared and stated that he had fully administered all the goods of John Cobb which had come to his hands. The Commissary enjoined him to appear on the Tuesday after the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross to give an account of his administration of those goods. On which day he did not appear; and the Commissary decreed that he should be suspended from entrance into the Church. On the xiii of May he appeared and prayed absolution, and exhibited an account; but forasmuch as it was imperfect the Commissary enjoined him to settle with the Churchwardens for the legacy of Alice Cobb before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.]

764. *Item.* The wife of John Handkoks wife [*sic*] bequeathed

ii. nobles to the church aforesaid for a chest to lay in the copes, the which Thomas Taylour will not pay.

[Thomas Taylour appeared and denied that he was the executor of Lora Hancokke or owed her money. He stated that his father, who was so old that he could not appear, was executor, with one Stephen Atkyn. But he offered himself to swear (*obtulit se jurare in animam patris sui*) and the Commissary having accepted his oath, he swore that no goods of the said Lora had come to his hands nor remained in those of his father. And so the Commissary dismissed him.]

765. *Item.* There is one called Margery Popley, that is gone from her husband, that is of ill conversation, and seldom wont to come to the church.

[The Churchwardens stated that she was dead.]

#### ECCLESIA DE HAULDEN *vel* HALDEN.

766. *Compertum est.* That John Browne bequeathed *xl.s.*, which is withdrawn by Henry Scott of Halden, for he hath the lands that was assigned for the payment of it.

[Henry Scotte acknowledged that he had bought the lands and was bound to make payment to the executors. The Commissary enjoined him to make the next payment to them in the presence of the Churchwardens, and to deliver to them *xl.s.* under pain of excommunication.]

767. *Item.* That Thomas Fowle withdraweth a penny of rent by year of the lands called Southborne, by the space of *xxx.* years.

[He appeared and denied that he detained the penny on account of Southeburn ; but said that if the Churchwardens and parishioners could prove it he would pay. The Commissary assigned them the Tuesday after Corpus Christi day for proof. On which day they did not appear, and so, &c. (*sic.*)]

768. *Item.* Stephen Dregges and Richard Peryn withholdeth *ii.d.* by year of rent called Benettslond.

[Stephen Breggs and Richard Peryn appeared, and the Commissary enjoined them to make the annual payment for Benettislonds under pain of excommunication.]

769. *Item.* That Richard Athope was commanded for breaking of the glass window to pay *vi.s. viii.d.* to amends.

[The Churchwardens stated that Richard a Thorpe had come to an agreement with them.]

(*To be continued.*)

## CORRESPONDENCE.

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The Editor begs to remind his readers that he is not responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

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## ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE APOCALYPSE.

SIR,—As it seems to be admitted on all sides that the language of the Apocalypse is partly literal and partly figurative, the question of real importance would appear to be what rule or rules we ought to follow in discriminating between literal expressions and language which is figurative; a question, the practical solution of which can alone preserve us from the opposite extravagances of metaphors transformed, by being literally understood, into monstrosities; or, on the other hand, of simple and intelligible language, perverted into nonsense or bombast. On this subject, Dr. Todd presents us with the following rule:—"Unless," he says, p. 170, "it can be shown that the literal interpretation is inconsistent with religion or with reason, or with some text of Scripture, we are bound, I conceive, to receive the sacred prophecies of God in their plain and literal sense," a sentiment, in which, according to one construction of it, nobody, I suppose, would have any indisposition to concur. For who denies that "the Sacred Scriptures," and, indeed, all other books, ought to be taken "in their plain and literal sense," when there exists no reason to the contrary? What assistance, however, is to be obtained from such a rule as this, for who ever adopted a symbolical interpretation for which he did not suppose he had a reason? And if the meaning of Dr. Todd be that the language of the Scriptures ought to be considered to be literal in all instances in which the literal interpretation is not irrational *abstractedly*, and apart from any special consideration of the meaning and connexion of the passage, the effect of his rule, so understood, would be to show that when our Divine Lord said, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up," the Jews who heard him were obliged to understand him to be speaking of the stones and timbers of the Jewish temple; it would be to show that when Jehovah promises, "I will plant in the wilderness the cedar, the shittah tree, the myrtle, and the oil tree"—he is simply to be understood as announcing his design of making a plantation of trees where none previously had existed. This rule then, I think, must be regarded as being either nugatory or erroneous, though, conversely, it is no unimportant principle to bear in mind that wherever the literal interpretation would be inconsistent with religion, reason, or any text of Scripture, there the language ought to be concluded to be figurative. But, then, quis custodiet ipsos custodes? who will tell us when the literal interpretation is contrary to reason, especially considering what very extraordinary things are about, it seems, to make their appearance on this earth of ours; as, for instance, locusts, which shall be at the same time evil spirits, which evil spirits, again, will have crowns of gold, or like gold, upon their heads, will have



faces of men and hair as women, resembling, at the same time, horses prepared for battle, armed with an iron breastplate, and having a tail like a scorpion's? Taking this as a specimen of a literal interpretation which is "not inconsistent with reason," I think it must be admitted to be difficult, at least, to say what it is. The rule, then, that I should propose, in preference, would be this:—That the language is to be considered to be figurative when a literal interpretation would introduce an idea foreign and repugnant to the class of associations connected with the subject of discourse; and literal, when, on the contrary, conveying an idea which makes a part of those associations. Thus the bowl of Mars is a metaphorical expression for his shield—the shield of Bacchus, a metaphorical expression for his bowl. Thus when Milton says in *Lycidas*—

"Lycidas is dead, dead ere his prime;  
Young Lycidas, and hath not left his peer."

With the exception of a classical in substitution for an English name, we understand the expressions to be literal; but when he says—

"We fed the same flock, by fountain, shade, and rill," &c.,

we are sensible here that the phraseology is figurative, because we know that neither Milton nor his friend were literally shepherds. We act even, to a certain limited extent, on the same common-sense principle in interpreting the Apocalypse. We none of us, for instance, fancy God and Jesus, heaven in some instances, or earth in others, to be figures, and none of us take the altar, censer, and incense, &c., of c. viii. for anything but a symbolical expression for a spiritual intercession. Here, then, I conceive, is the true principle of discrimination between the literal and symbolical language of the Book of the Apocalypse. The language is literal, when suggesting an idea belonging to the class of associations connected with the subject of discourse; it is figurative, when in the literal use of it, conveying an idea exterior, and thus repugnant to these associations. Thus, all that language in the Revelations, which, literally understood, would suppose that the ceremonial law was still in operation, or that things or persons that have passed away, existed still, is necessarily to be considered to be figurative; while those expressions, on the contrary, which stand for the actual recognised realities of the present dispensation, are as necessarily considered to be literal. Thus, again, the language is to be looked upon as being figurative when it connects sensible or secular ideas with persons or things spiritual and heavenly; and, on the other hand, is to be considered to be literal as often as it is directly declaratory of spiritual realities, such as heaven or hell, life or death, judgment or reward. Thus, when there is reason to suppose that the thing designed is moral, and the language used conveys a physical or material idea, there the expression must be concluded to be figurative; and, in general, as often as the idea intended belongs to one region of existence, and the idea expressed to a different one, then, though there should be nothing in this last abstractedly irrational, still the expression must be regarded as symbolical. It is sufficient that the language, literally taken, would be *inappropriate*, to give us a title to conclude that it is metaphorical.

In the sentiment that the Apocalypse is not a book "peculiarly full of symbols," I should think that few persons, not entangled in the web of system, would be disposed to concur. The point, however, is one which it is not necessary to dispute; for, whatever may be the actual proportion which its symbolical bear to its literal expressions, the practical question will be still, in each particular instance, whether *that* language is literal or whether it is figurative; and I know, myself, no means of deciding a question of this kind when it arises, but that afforded by the principle of discrimination which I have here imperfectly endeavoured to point out. It is impossible to illustrate and apply this principle, to any great extent, on the present occasion. I will confine myself to two cases sufficiently illustrative, I believe, of its application and importance. In accordance with it—I. The Twelve Tribes of Israel of chapter vii. can be no more regarded as a symbol than God, Jesus, the Churches, the Devil, &c., can be looked upon as being symbols; the 144,000, on the contrary, can no more be taken as a community of literal Jews, than "the altar," "the censer," "the incense" of ch. viii. can be taken as a literal altar, a literal censer, and literal incense. For, 1st, The Twelve Tribes of Israel are as much realities—as much *ideas*—of the existing dispensation, as God, Jesus, the Churches, the Devil, &c., are, and must thus, equally with them, be taken literally. Accordingly, a very little reflection will, I think, be sufficient to convince us that the integral nation of the Jews could never be chosen in the Book of the Apocalypse, as a symbolical expression for the Christian church, inasmuch as the Jewish nation *co-exists with this church, under one and the same dispensation, as a separate and opposed community*; and how should it be, in consequence, its symbol? "The Jews, the Gentiles, and the Church of God," 1 Cor. x. 32, according to the apostle, constitute the three distinct, contrasted divisions of mankind; and how should one of them, then, symbolize another? It is true that the Jewish nation, "instantly serving God day and night," under the Mosaic dispensation, in the continual round of a ceremonial worship, typified the people that "pray always;" but, then, the Jewish nation itself was not (like "the law" which "came by Moses") the mere creature of that typical and shadowy dispensation. The Jewish nation, accordingly, did not pass away, either in its national form or ecclesiastical relations, when the law of Moses passed away. It was not succeeded, on the expiration of that dispensation, like the lamb, the altar, and the priest, by something else which it previously had typified, and which naturally and necessarily took its place, under a dispensation of realities. The Jewish nation, on the contrary, was itself the great primary reality in relation to the dispensation of that "grace and truth" which "came by Jesus Christ;" and when its unbelief excluded it, for the time, from the blessing which "pertained" to it, the nation, notwithstanding, remained still—remained, moreover, as the community to which still pertained the adoption and the glory; a "great fact," making it impossible for its appellation to attach with either literal or symbolical propriety to any people but itself. The Lord Jesus might be the Lamb of the present dispensation, because the lamb was

a mere shadow, of which the Lord Jesus Christ was now the spiritual reality; but the Christian church could never similarly be the Jewish nation of the present dispensation, because the Jewish nation had a substantive existence of its own, and existed still, so that supposing that the Christian church was now, ideally, the integral nation of the Jews, we should have, in this case, the ideas of two integral Jewish nations, existing at one and the same time, on the platform of one and the same dispensation, under contradictory conditions; which, I should think, ought to be sufficient to convince us that it is a mistake to suppose that the Twelve Tribes of ch. vii. are a symbolical expression for the Christian church, and, in this case, no alternative remains but to regard them as an expression for that "Israel after the flesh" which our rule would require us to consider them as being. But, 2ndly, the same rule will require us to regard the 144,000, represented as reserved, as "the servants of God," out of the ranks of the Twelve Tribes, as being not literal, but, on the contrary, symbolical and figurative Jews. For, while the Jews, *as a community*, are among the realities of the existing dispensation, the Jews, on the contrary, as "*the servants of God*," are an idea foreign and repugnant to a dispensation in which "there is neither Jew nor Gentile, a dispensation during which "the tabernacle of David" is "fallen," and God has taken "a people for his name out of the Gentiles." In compliance with our rule, then, if these servants of God are Jews, they are not literal, but symbolical and figurative Jews—they are "the Israel of God"—"the people whom He fore-knew"—the "many coming from the east and from the west to sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of God, while the children of the kingdom are cast out." And why the Christian body should be thus symbolically represented as "a remnant saved according to the election of grace out of the Jewish nation," appears, also, very evident, inasmuch as this is exactly what the Scriptures teach us to regard the Christian church *ideally* as being. It is a community on which "the blessing of Abraham has come through Jesus Christ," an "olive tree," of which the Jews, who believe, are "the natural branches;" the Gentiles, on the contrary, grafts from the stem of a wild olive tree; the Jews, "children of the stock of Abraham"—the Gentiles, children raised up unto "the same father," but raised up as out of so many "stones," to be his children. The Gentiles made, indeed, "a part of the election" (*μερος εκλογης* Clem. Rom. 1, c. 29), but the Jews "the election itself; the Gentiles a piece (*κληρωμα*, Rom. xi. 25, comp. Matt. ix. 16) put in to supply the place of the rent made by the unbelief of the great body of the Jewish nation, but the Jews the garment itself which was thus pieced. Hence, then, this symbolical representation of the church of the existing dispensation, as a Jewish remnant. The blessing is a Jewish blessing—the blessing, therefore, of "the remnant saved according to the election of grace out of the Jewish nation."\* From

\* I just take the opportunity to remark that the LXX rendering of "the Sons of oil," Zech. iv. 14, (which Dr. Todd points out, and which I had overlooked,) *οι υιοι της πικνης*, is very confirmatory of the notion that the olive branches are, not two individual persons, but those two tribes which, at this time alone, continued to be fruitful branches of the Jewish olive tree. These translators evidently did

which it follows that the Christian church in its idea, and thus as its appropriate symbolical expression, is no other than that "remnant." Dr. Todd, indeed, p. 118, "has not thought it necessary to adduce any arguments to prove that the sealed of the tribes of Israel are members of the Jewish nation—*because* "this," he conceives, "is distinctly asserted in the prophecy." And yet, I think that the case is one in which he ought not to have considered argument as thus superfluous. For it is no less "distinctly asserted" that "a crown was given" to the rider of the first seal, and that it is "a woman" that travails in ch. xii.; and yet Dr. Todd sees nothing but a symbol in each instance. It would hardly have been out of place, then, if Dr. Todd had told us on what principle he insists so peremptorily on our understanding the 144,000 to be literal Jews, at the same time that he allows the "woman" and "the crown" to pass as symbols with ourselves. There is one thing unnoticed by Dr. Todd, and faintly adverted to by Mr. Elliott,\* which appears to me to settle the identity of this 144,000, as being the entire body of true Christians, beyond controversy; and this is, that they are expressly declared to be "the first fruits unto God and the Lamb," c. xiv. v. 4, a description utterly inappropriate and inapplicable to any except the *entire body* of true Christians. For "of his own will," says the apostle (James, i. 18) "begat He us, that we should be a kind of first fruits of his creatures"—not, then, some limited portion even of the Jewish nation, to be converted at some future period—not even all true Christians, beginning only from the days of Constantine and onward—but *us*, the general Christian body—*us* converted and constituting the church of God, during the period of the present dispensation, and while "the lump" of the Jewish nation continues hitherto unbelieving and unblest. The allusion is plainly to the institution, Lev. xxiii. 15, &c., "Ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the Sabbath from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave offering; seven Sabbaths shall be complete:

not understand the expression of "anointed" functionaries, but of branches partaking of "the root and *fatness* of the olive tree." Thus in the passage, Isaiah, v. 1, "My beloved hath a vineyard (literally) on the horn of the Son of oil." Our translators have paraphrased the clause, "a very fruitful hill," showing, I think, that the idea, in reality, conveyed in Zechariah, is not that of the official "anointing" of Zerubbabel and Joshua, but that of the ecclesiastical fruitfulness which still attached to Benjamin and Judah.

\* Beyond the point that he does *not* understand the 144,000 of the entire body of true Christians from the days of the apostles, Mr. Elliott is not very intelligible, either in his text or in his note. From his text it would appear as if he regarded this 144,000 as a first fruits, properly speaking, "the great ingathering of the millennial and better dispensation," vol. iii. p. 271, being "the lump." His note is a string of texts containing the word "first fruits"—some meaning one thing, and some another—and (strangely enough!) not including the only passage, Lev. xxiii. 15, &c., which is really to the purpose. Professor Stuart is bolder. According to him, vol. ii. p. 294, "it is not necessary that the literal meaning should be pressed—viz., that which respects precedence in point of time." He thinks it "evident that the *acceptableness* of the offering is the principal idea." What constitutes this 144,000 a "first fruits" is their "redemption from among men." "These were redeemed from among men—first fruits unto God and to the Lamb." Whatever, therefore, is "the principal idea," the persons to whom it attaches are the "redeemed from among men," and these we know to be ideally "the 'first fruits' before," as Mr. Elliott says, "the great ingathering—under the millennial and better dispensation."

even unto the morrow after the seventh Sabbath shall ye number fifty days; and ye shall offer a *new meat* offering unto the Lord. Ye shall bring out of your habitations *two wave loaves* of two tenth seals: they shall be of fine flour; they shall be *baken with leaven*; they are the *first fruits unto the Lord*." This new, *leavened*, Pentecostal offering was thus the first fruits," that offering which represented the church as under the new covenant, accepted by a God "*merciful to its unrighteousness, and its sins and iniquities remembering no more.*" Whereas, the manifestation of God made in the festival with which "the acceptable year of the Lord" commenced its course of celebrations, and which represented the personal work of the Lord Jesus, was that, on the contrary, of a God of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, every trace of leaven being to be banished, not only from the offerings, but the very habitations of the Israelites. Thus the church of this dispensation is the "two wave loaves of fine flour, baken with leaven," which are "the first fruits unto the Lord." The Lord Jesus Christ himself is "the sheaf of first fruits," Lev. xxiii. 10, of "the feast of unleavened bread;" but the church is the *leavened* offering of the first fruits of the feast of Pentecost. Hence, then, the impossibility of understanding the 144,000 of any body of persons, different from, or more limited than the entire body of true Christians, from the period of the outpouring of the spirit on the day of Pentecost, to the period of that spiritual "feast of ingathering at the end of the year," when "all Israel shall be saved." These 144,000 are "first fruits unto God and to the Lamb." How deluding a thing is system and hypothesis when it can bring learned, acute, and pious men to overlook so palpable a fact as that the persons thus described are, and can be no other than the entire body of true Christians, from the first Bishop of Jerusalem to the last saint in whose person "the fulness (*πληρωμα*) of the Gentiles shall come in."

I have not left myself space to show, as I intended,—II. That "the Gentiles" of ch. ix. and ch. xi. must be taken literally, the "Temple, altar, and them that worship therein," with the court which is without the temple, ch. xi., taken figuratively, on the contrary, as symbolical expressions;—the three first for the Christian church, ideally considered as a Jewish remnant—the last for the tabernacle of David, considered as fallen down, for the visible Jewish church, for the material temple and city of Jerusalem. These points, however, it is the less necessary to illustrate, because they bear the closest analogy to the two which have been already noticed, and could hardly be discussed without a repetition of much of the same reasoning. I content myself, accordingly, with simply noticing these, as a second exemplification of the operation of the rule for distinguishing literal and figurative language, on which I have previously insisted, and which, at the same time that the application of it would be fatal to many popular interpretations, is, I submit, notwithstanding, the true principle of discrimination, and one which, if we are sincere in our inquiries after truth, we can never allow ourselves to disregard.

NULLIUS.

## MR. ARNOLD IN REPLY TO MR. ELLIOTT.

## LETTER IV.

## THE FIRST WOE.

SIR,—I am enabled by the kindness and numismatic knowledge of Mr. Lewis, to comply with Mr. Elliott's demand, and produce a coin on which *Mars* and the *Horse* are both represented *without* the inscription *Roma*. In Millingen (*Considérations, &c.*, p. 230) there occurs the following notice of a Coin of *Cossa*, a Samnite town, now *Conza*.

“Tête de Mars barbue”

“R. COSA. Buste de Cheval”

“Æ. 5.”

He adds: “Les monnaies semblables, mais avec la légende ROMANO, qui se trouvent en grande nombre dans la Campanie, peuvent aussi avoir été passées dans cette ville.”

Since Mr. Elliott (as I gather from Mr. Lewis's obliging communication) desired the production of such a coin for his full conviction, I trust he will now allow that there is no numismatic connexion between *Rome* and the *Horse*; and that, unless he has the exegetical courage to give up the connexion altogether, he must stand upon the general fitness of the *bellator equus* to symbolize a nation of warriors.

The order of my own slow progress through Mr. Elliott's Reply leads me to the FIRST WOE; he challenges me, indeed, to consider the remaining *Seals*, but, even if I thought the challenge reasonable, I could not accept it, as I have no longer an opportunity of referring to the *Horæ*. I must also decline discussing that “accumulation of evidences” which Mr. Elliott thinks that *common sense* and *critical fairness* or fitness alike require that I should notice; such as the suitability of the symbol to represent an Arabian nation, “the locust, scorpion, horse, lion, being all zoologically Arabic,” the human features of the symbol “with the face as of men, the hair as of women, and what looked like crowns on their heads, all also answering to the bearded, moustachied, long-haired, turbaned Arabs,” &c. &c. Let the Arabian turbans be as like crowns of gold\* as Mr. Elliott pleases, it is enough for me to show, if I can show it, that no satisfactory epoch of 150 (days=) years can be pointed out, during which these scorpion-locusts “aggressively struck, injured, and tormented the men of Roman Christendom.” On Mr. Elliott's view of the structure of prophecy, such a period must be pointed out, or his interpretation of the symbol is overthrown. To find a beginning for the 150 years, he rejects A. N. 606 (the date of Mahomet's “conceiving the idea of preaching a new religion”), 609 (the date “of his first privately preaching it”), 629 (the date of “his first irruption into Syria”). The two first of these dates have certainly no claim; but the third seems to be the very point that no unprejudiced person could hesitate to fix upon, unless he preferred A. D. 622, the date of the

\* Στέφανος χρυσοί; the reading ὅμοιοι χρυσῷ no longer stands, I believe, in any critical text.

*flight from Mecca* (the Hegira), from which the *Mahometans themselves* date the beginning of their historical existence. And what is the date that Mr. Elliott adopts? A.D. 612. Why? Mahomet then "first publicly preached his new religion:" and then it was, that he first "commissioned his *Propagandists*:" then, too, Ali, when he declared, in answer to the pseudo-prophet's question, that he would be his disciple, added: "*Whosoever rises against thee, I will dash out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, rip up his belly.*" One should have thought (1) that this zealous disciple was disposed to exceed the powers given to the *scorpion-locusts*, "*that they should not kill them, but that they should be tormented five months*:" and (2), that a declaration of what *Ali* would do, preceding the actual invasion of any country of Christendom by seventeen years, was *not* the commencement of the *aggressive striking* foretold. But (replies Mr. Elliott to objection 2) (1) "apostate Christians in Arabia and along the Red Sea, suffered from the Mahometan fanaticism long before A. D. 629;" (2) Mr. Hallam, "no incompetent or partial judge, thus observes: 'These words of Mahomet's early and illustrious disciple are, as it were, a text on which the commentary expands into the whole Saracenic history.' And the Modern Universal History says, with reference to the same epoch: 'from 612, Mahomet sought to propagate his religion with all his might.'" Here is an instance of what I say is *provoking* in Mr. Elliott's dealing with authorities and arguments when he *wants* them. Mr. Hallam calls a *savage declaration* of Ali's "*a text*, as it were, on which the commentary expands into the whole Saracenic history." Does it follow from this, that the threatened persecution *began at once* in 612? When a course of historical actions is called figuratively a *commentary upon a text*, an illustration, that is, or practical working out of a principle enounced, is it implied that the commentary *began* (as a sermon does) the moment the *text was given out*? And to what does the authority of the Universal History amount? It asserts that Mahomet began to *propagate his religion* from 612. Did the *propagation of that religion* lead to *any persecution of Christians* before 629? Mr. Elliott says it *did*, instancing "apostate Christians in Arabia and along the Red Sea," who, he says, "suffered from the Mahometan fanaticism *long* (!) before A. D. 629."

Let us now see what countenance *Gibbon, Sismondi, &c.*, give to the notion, that the followers of Mahomet *aggressively struck and tormented* Roman (!) Christendom from A. D. 612 to A. D. 623.

How strange it would be to find any writer who had not practised his pen in apocalyptic interpretation, suddenly *quitting* the historians with whom he had been filling his pages, to build an assertion upon a figurative expression that says *too little* at one end and *too much* at another, (for I should have observed before, that Mr. Hallam's "commentary" on Ali's bloody "text" expands into "the *whole* Saracenic history," whereas Mr. Elliott requires that its expansion should *end* at A. D. 762), and upon an irrelevant assertion from "the Modern Universal History."

Allow me to bring Mr. Elliott back to *Gibbon* and *Sismondi*.

When *Ali* gave out the *savage text* which is so serviceable to our author, that embryo "*scorpion-locust*" was "*a youth in the four-*

teenth year of his age,"\* and "the empire he had to govern" (as Mahomet's vizir) "did not then extend over more than twenty followers."†

A. D. 613—A. D. 622.

During these nine years, Mahomet was opposed by his *tribe* (the *Koreish*), but defended by his family (the family of *Hashem*), especially by his uncle, *Abu Taleb*, who, however, "opposed every possible resistance to the spread of his doctrine."‡ "The weight and moderation of Abu Taleb eluded the violence of religious faction; the most helpless or timid of the disciples retired to Æthiopia, and the prophet withdrew himself to various places of strength in the town and country."§ At last Mahomet's death was resolved upon, and he fled with Abubeker to Medina.

To talk of any "*aggressively striking*" Roman Christendom during the ten years from 612—622, would be absurd.

A. D. 622—632. (*Gibbon*.)

At Medina, Mahomet "assumed the exercise of the regal and sacerdotal office," and his new revelations spoke in "a fiercer and more sanguinary tone, which proves that his former moderation was the effect of weakness; he was now commanded to propagate his religion by the sword, to destroy the monuments of idolatry, and to pursue the unbelieving nations of the earth."|| From this time he was regarded "not only as a prophet, but as a military sovereign. His religion assumed a different spirit; he no longer contented himself with the arts of persuasion; he assumed a tone of command,"¶ &c. "The battle of Beder" (A. D. 623) "was the commencement of his career of victory."\*\* In this their first battle, the army of "*scorpion locusts*," whose "*shapes were like unto horses prepared unto battle*," were so poor, that only two could appear on horseback in the field.†† The years from 623—627 were occupied in the subjugation of the *Jews* in Arabia; Mecca submitted in 629; the conquest of Arabia was completed between 629 and 632; and then follows in *Gibbon* the following section—"First war of the Mahometans against the Roman empire, A. D. 629, 630;" and as to any persecution of the Christians during this period, we read in *Gibbon*: "To his Christian subjects Mahomet readily granted the security of their persons, the freedom of their trade, the property of their goods, and the toleration of their worship." (!!) In the note it is observed, that Abulfeda himself, "though he owns Mahomet's regard for the Christians, (!) only mentions peace and tribute." So much for the tormenting of Roman Christendom by the Saracenic locusts from 612 to 632.

But besides the other reasons that induced Mr. Elliott to fix the beginning of his locust-woe at A. D. 612, another‡‡ is mentioned with the

\* *Gibbon*, chap. I. (p. 874.)

† *Sismondi*, 296.

‡ *Gibbon*, p. 376.

§ *Keightley's Outlines*, p. 171.

† *Sismondi*, vol. i. p. 295.

‡ *Gibbon*, p. 875.

§ *Sismondi*, p. 297.

¶ *Gibbon*, p. 877.

†† Indeed there is another still, which I will add in Mr. Elliott's own words: "Not to add the parallelism of the commencing date of the Scriptural period of the 400 years of affliction (predicted to Abraham's seed) from Ishmael's mocking laugh, as that in which was contained the spirit and germ of the subsequent persecutions of God's Israel."—(p. 30.)



utmost simplicity, as if there were nothing in it whatever to provoke a smile. "It is an epoch of commencement *agreeing well* [the italics are mine] with a notable epoch of termination!" I am well aware how this *principle of apt agreement* is the principle by which apocalyptic interpreters are mainly guided in their historical researches; but to state plainly what implies that a *good end* justifies a *bad beginning*, is surely an amusing combination of *exegetical honesty* with *exegetical blindness*. Be it that A. D. 762 is a *good time* for fixing the end of our locusts' *aggressive striking*, how does it make A. D. 612 a *good time* from which to date the beginning of their "*aggressively striking, injuring, and tormenting* the men of Roman Christendom," if that beginning precedes by *ten years* the time of *their using*, or *even having*, anything to strike with, and by *twenty* a time when we find that the leader of the locust band entertained a *regard* for Christians, granting them readily both personal security and religious toleration?

I have no objection to A. D. 762, as a date "from which war was no longer *the passion* of the Saracens," though I cannot but think the date of Charles Martel's great victory, which *changed the history of the world* (Gibbon), a far better, when their conquests are considered with reference to *Christian* nations; but since we have seen what amount of persecution (that of "apostate Christians in Arabia and along the Red Sea") is *enough* to constitute an *aggressive striking and tormenting* of Roman Christendom at the *beginning*, it is really amusing to see what is *not enough* at the *end*. Perhaps, as my pamphlet is out of print, you will allow me to quote myself:—

"To get a convenient starting-point, we are to concede that the locusts aggressively struck and tormented Christendom *seventeen years* before any Christian nation was attacked by any swarm of these Mahometan locusts; and to get a no less convenient *ending-point*, we are to concede, with equal complaisance, that 'when a swarm of 95,000 covered the heights of Scutari, informing the Empress Irene by their baleful presence of the loss of her troops and provinces'—when Haroun-al-Raschid wrote his reply to Nicephorus 'in characters of blood and fire, on the plains of Phrygia,' and 'the perfidious Greek escaped with three wounds from a field of battle overspread with *forty thousand* of his subjects;' and 'the progress of desolation by sea and land compelled him to retract his haughty defiance;'—when Crete was taken by them, friends and foes cut to pieces, the churches and mosques pillaged, and above six thousand Christians sold for slaves;—when, Sicily, too, was conquered, her bishops and clergy dragged in chains from the altar, seventeen thousand Christian captives 'transported from the sack of Tauroneium into African servitude,' and the religion and language of the Greeks eradicated (!), and fifteen thousand boys circumcised on one day;—when the Arabian squadrons attacked and pillaged a hundred and fifty towns of Calabria and Campania;—when the fleet of Saracens presumed to enter the mouth of the Tiber, violating, in the suburbs of Rome itself, churches which Goths, Vandals, and Lombards had spared;—when, I say, the very historian on whom Mr. Elliott draws so largely, describes these events

in these words, we are to concede that the locust-plague had ceased long before this! The '*intensity of the woe*,' forsooth, not the whole *woe* itself, was symbolized by a locust-plague, that was to last for 150 days."

It is in vain to hope that any *slight tormenting* of this kind can weigh down in Mr. Elliott's Apocalyptic balance the sufferings of those "apostate Christians in Arabia and the Red Sea," (for which, by the way, I have searched in vain in Gibbon,) for "Mr. Arnold omits to say" that the bloody invasions of Haroun-ar-Raschid "were *not aggressive*," and *Crete* and *Sicily* are "*detached islands* [the italics are Mr. Elliott's] of the Latin and the Greek empire." Of the 150 towns in *Calabria* and *Campania*, the entering the *Tiber*, and violating churches in the neighbourhood "of *Rome* itself," Mr. Elliott says nothing that would lead any of his readers to a knowledge that the aggressions were not confined to "*detached islands* of the Latin and the Greek empire."

I am, Sir, your obedient, humble servant,

Lyndon, Jan. 18, 1847.

T. K. ARNOLD.

#### ON THE RUBRICS IN THE BURIAL SERVICE, IN ANSWER TO THE QUERIES OF N. B.

REV. SIR,—In answer to the first of N. B.'s queries, (see *British Magazine* for January, p. 66,) allow me to say, that in the case supposed, if there be a moral certainty—if it be known, that is, on competent testimony, that the child has been baptized with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, a certificate of baptism ought not to be demanded. The church of England does not require baptism, when performed by one not in holy orders, to be repeated, considering it to be valid baptism, though unlawfully administered, and such was the practice of the ancient church.\*

I have somewhere read, I believe in the journal of the late Bishop Heber, but I have it not now to refer to, that that worthy divine, in the case of a child dying without baptism from some unavoidable circumstances, though the parents were anxious that it should be baptized, determined that in this case the wish of the parents for the baptism of the child was to be considered in the judgment of charity as baptism itself, and the child allowed Christian burial. On the principle, perhaps, that one sick, if from any just impediment, whether from extremity of sickness, or from the curate not having warning in due time, do not receive the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, yet if he truly repent, and have a lively

\* See Bingham's *Antiquities*, vol. ii. cap. 3, § 5, pp. 570 and 599. See also cap. 1, § 20, p. 548, and his *History of Lay Baptism*, especially p. 545, § 19, where he justly observes, as regards this question, that nothing has more embroiled the church, than the not distinguishing *authorized baptism* from that which is merely *valid*.

faith in Christ, he doth eat and drink the body and blood of our Saviour Christ profitably to his soul's health, although he do not receive the sacrament with his mouth.\*

In answer to his second question, I do not conceive that a clergyman has any option as to taking the corpse into the church, as the rubrics plainly direct that the psalms and lessons are to be read in the church, whither the corpse also is to be carried, and then, "when they come to the grave," the rest of the service shall be proceeded with. In cases when the parties to be interred have died of some malignant or infectious fever, I have known the corpse to be conducted, first to the grave, and there buried, the psalms and lesson being read in the church afterwards, but this is only allowable in cases of infection. And this may perhaps help us to explain what appears to be a contradiction in the rubrics,—the first rubric directing, that the priest and clerks, meeting the corpse at the entrance of the churchyard, and going before it, either into the church or towards the grave, as if the clergyman had the choice of either taking the corpse into the church, or conducting it to the grave.

But on comparing this rubric with the two rubrics already referred to, "after they are come into the church shall be read," &c., and "when they come to the grave, while the corpse," &c., I am led to the conclusion that the first rubric was meant to meet the case of infection and other emergencies, while the other rubrics clearly imply that the corpse should be taken into the church, and refer to the general practice, constitute that as the general rule, the other the exception; unless it be supposed, what appears to me an unfeeling and unnatural supposition—that the corpse be taken to the grave in the first instance, and there left, while the friends and mourners went into the church to hear the psalms and lesson read—afterwards returning to the grave to listen to the remainder of the service.

I remain, Rev. Sir, with much respect,

Your obedient servant,

*Bracewell, Gisburne, 20th Jan., 1847.*

THETA LANCASTRIENSIS.

## LETTERS OF SAINT BERNARD.

*(Continued from page 61.)*

EPIST. LXXIX.

TO ABBOT LUCAS.

He warns him that the society of women must be avoided: and tells him what should be done in the case of a brother who had fallen into sin.

1. BELOVED, thou hast given us an example of rare goodness, in that not only thou didst not despise the counsel of one inferior to thyself, but didst even thank him for it: wisely considering, not the adviser, but the advice. I bless God, that my presumption has thus called

\* See the Communion of the Sick, third rubric.

forth thanks instead of anger; and with this proof of thy great humility before me, I repeat with greater confidence my former admonition. We beseech thee, then, for the sake of that blood which was shed for souls, let not their danger, who were so dearly purchased, be lightly regarded; the great danger of the intercourse of men and women, which is wisely feared by those who in the school of God have long striven against the temptations of the devil, and from their own experience can say with the apostle, *For we are not ignorant of his devices*.<sup>1</sup> And to teach thee not to neglect this, which is not my counsel but the Apostle's, nay, rather, his clear injunction, who said, *Flee fornication*,<sup>2</sup> thou hast the instance of the disgraceful fall of that very brother about whom thou thoughtest my poor opinion worthy to be sought. Concerning whom, I marvel that thou didst inquire of me at such a distance, when there was at hand a wise man of our order, and a great friend of thy house, William, abbot of St. Theodoric. At Præmonstratum, too, I doubt not, there are men of judgment, prudent and trustworthy in the deciding of doubtful matters.

2. But since it has so pleased thee, it is for thee to consider thine own reasons; I will not refuse to speak. If our brother had been the first to avow his fault, however grave and disgraceful it were, it would have been proper to restore him after discipline, and not cast him out; and still, although the scandal of so great an evil has become otherwise known, it is necessary to attend to his case, but in a different way. For perhaps it is not expedient that he should remain longer with you; lest perchance, as thou seemest not without reason to apprehend, thy small and newly-gathered flock be tainted by him. Yet to a son, however sinful, the father's heart must not be entirely shut. I think, then, that it will be both a pious course for the father, and safe for the son, if thou seek for him a reception in one of the more distant of Norbert's houses, there to do penance under a severer discipline, and a change, not of purpose but of place, till thou seest fit to recall him. For that he should come over to our order, would, perhaps, be inexpedient for yours. And, as for what thou wrotest, that he often spoke of having our promise of receiving him if he came with permission: this he himself denied in our presence. However, if either thou likest not to send him to any of those places which I have mentioned; or if thou consentest, but he is unwilling; or while ye both consent, none is found to receive him; then either, under the necessity of the case, he must be sent with letters whithersoever he will go for the salvation of his soul, or in mercy leave must be granted to him to remain in his place; but not unless due care can be taken that no occasion will be given him of repeating or infecting others with this sin. Enough on this subject.

3. There is another matter concerning you, of which I will not fear to speak with my accustomed forwardness. I mean that mill, where the converts, who keep it, are obliged to associate with women. If my opinion is taken, one of three things will be done; either the

<sup>1</sup> 2 Cor. ii. 11.<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. vi. 18.

access of women to the mill will, in some manner or other, be entirely prevented; or the mill will be given in charge to some stranger, and not to the converts; or it will be altogether given up.

## EPIST. LXXX.

TO GUY, ABBOT OF MOLISMA.

He consoles him when suffering under a grievous injury: and warns him that retribution must be tempered with mercy.

God, who searcheth all our feelings, and inspireth whatever is good in them, knoweth how I condole with thee in this thy adversity. Yet again, when I consider, not through whom, but from whom, this trouble is sent, as much as I feel for thy present annoyance, so much do I hope soon to congratulate thee on returning prosperity; if only thou agree with me and keep a quiet mind in misfortune, with holy Job receiving patiently at the hand of God evil as well as good;<sup>1</sup> yea, with holy David, not so much feeling anger at these men, though they be thy own servants, as humbling thyself under the mighty hand of God, whose messengers doubtless they are.<sup>2</sup> However, as it is thy duty to correct them as the servants of the church committed to thy care, it is right that those wicked men should be punished for so audacious a crime, and that the damage done to the monastery be in some measure repaired out of their substance. But that thou mayest not appear rather to avenge thy own injury than to punish their fault, I beg and earnestly advise that thou shouldst be careful rather to receive less than thy right, than to take from them as much as they deserve; that mercy may rejoice against judgment,<sup>3</sup> and God be glorified by thy moderation. Thy son also, dear to us for thy sake and for his own, we warn, speaking our mind through thy mouth, not so to exceed in his just indignation as to forget the Lord's precept, when he bids us, if one smite us on the one cheek, to turn to him the other also.<sup>4</sup>

## EPIST. LXXXI.

TO GERARD, ABBOT OF PULTAVIA.

He clears himself from an unjust charge.

I do not remember writing to the Count du Nivernois any charge against thy person; nor is it true that I did. But if I have written to that prince on behalf of thy church, that I did not against thee, but for thee; having heard that he meant to visit you by thy own advice and consent, to ascertain whether those great evils which were reported of thy house were true, and by whose fault they had arisen; and that if he found anything wrong, it might be set right on the spot by his care and exertion. Now if I have taken pains to confirm by exhortation this just and pious design, I see not how thou art hereby wronged;

<sup>1</sup> Job, ii. 10.<sup>2</sup> 2 Sam. xvi. 10.<sup>3</sup> James, ii. 13.<sup>4</sup> Matt. v. 39.

for I think I did right, if from godly zeal for the Lord's house I gave counsel to him whose prudence was about to reform it. And as for thy charge against me, on the authority of scripture, for that I did not previously admonish thee—know that I have no complaint against thyself, but am endeavouring in charity to promote peace in thy church. However, thou wilt learn the truth more fully by bringing, as thou hast said, the matter before us; for which thou wilt find me here on any day of the present week.

## EPIST. LXXXII.

TO THE ABBOT OF ST. JOHN'S OF CARNOTUM.

He dissuades him from giving up his pastoral charge, and making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

1. On the subject which thou hast referred to my humble judgment, at first I resolved not to answer thee: not that I doubted what to say, but deeming it either presumptuous or superfluous to tender counsel to a discreet man. But when I considered that in doubtful matters most, if not all, wise men lean rather on the mind of others than their own, and that those who easily solve any difficulties for others are more scrupulous and hesitating in their own, I determined to break my resolution; not, as I think, without reason, but so as simply to set forth my opinion, without prejudice, to better judgments. Thou didst signify to me, if I remember aright, through Ursus, a religious man and abbot of St. Denys, that thou wast minded to leave thy country, and the house over which God's providence hath placed thee, and to go to Jerusalem, there to give up thy time to God, and live for thyself alone. Now it may certainly be expedient for one straining after perfection to leave his country, should the Lord say unto him, *Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred*;<sup>1</sup> but how it can be thy duty to throw up the charge of the souls entrusted to thee, I can in no way see. How? Doth ease from thy burden entice thee? But charity seeketh not her own.<sup>2</sup> Do the delights of quiet and leisure move thee? they will cost thee thy peace of soul. Gladly will I lose any spiritual advantage, if it cannot be had without offence; for where offence is, there, assuredly, is a loss of love; and where that is, what profit can we hope from our spiritual exercise? In a word, if each of us shall prefer his own quiet to the common good, who will be able to say—*To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain*?<sup>3</sup> Where will be the Apostle's words—*None of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself*;<sup>4</sup> and—*not seeking mine own profit, but the profit of many*?<sup>5</sup> and—*that they which live should not henceforth live for themselves, but for HIM who died for all*?<sup>6</sup>

2. But thou sayest, whence then this so great desire, if not of God? Suffer me to say what I think. *Stolen waters are sweet*;<sup>7</sup> and he who knows the wiles of the devil cannot doubt that this sweetness, bitterer

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xli. 1.<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. xiii. 5.<sup>3</sup> Phil. i. 21.<sup>4</sup> Rom. xiv. 7.<sup>5</sup> Prov. ix. 17.<sup>6</sup> 1 Cor. x. 33.<sup>7</sup> 2 Cor. v. 15.

than any wormwood, is poured into thy thirsting heart by an angel of darkness in the disguise of an angel of light. And truly who else could be the prompter of offences, the author of strife, the disturber of unity and peace, except he, the adversary of the truth, the hater of charity, the ancient foe of our kind, the enemy of the cross of Christ, the devil? He it is, by whose spite death came into the world, who now, too, hates the good which thou doest, and which he seeth; and being a liar from the beginning, lies also now, promising thee better things, which he seeth not. For when could truth gainsay that faithful saying—*Art thou bound to a wife: seek not to be loosed?*<sup>1</sup> When could charity advise an offence, which burneth when any are offended?<sup>2</sup> He it is, I say, he, that most wicked one, through envy contrary to love, through falsehood contrary to truth, mixing unreal honey with real gall, holding out the doubtful as certain, inspiring even truth as falsehood, not to give thee what thou vainly hopest, but to take from thee what thou profitably hast—he walketh about, seeking how to take the shepherd from their sheep, who will surely perish and there will be none to save, and no less to expose the shepherd to that fearful curse—*Woe unto him by whom the offence cometh.*<sup>3</sup> But I rely on that wisdom which thou hast from God, that thou wilt not be led away nor seduced by any arts of the wicked one, for the hope of an uncertain to give up a certain good, and choose a certain evil.

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EPIST. LXXXIII.

TO SIMON, ABBOT OF ST. NICHOLAS.

He consoles him in persecution, and reminds him that pious endeavours do not always succeed. He advises the proper course to be taken with his subordinates by a spiritual ruler who wishes to enforce stricter discipline.

1. Having learned, not without sympathy, from thy letters, the persecution which thou sufferest for justice' sake—although the consolation of Christ in the promise of his kingdom is sufficient for thee—still in faithfulness we offer thee what we have, both such comfort as we are able to give, and the advice which seems to us the best. For who could, without anxiety, see Peter stretching out his arms from the midst of the deep?—who, without grief, could hear the turtle-dove of Christ, not singing, but moaning, as if saying, *How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?*<sup>4</sup> Who, I say, without weeping can see Christ weeping, raising even now his eyes from the deep unto the hills, from whence cometh his help?<sup>5</sup> But we, to whom in thy humility thou lookest, we are not hills: we, too, in the valley of tears, striving with toilsome efforts against the craft of the opposing foe, and the violence of worldly malice, cry out with thee—*Our help is from the Lord, who made heaven and earth.*<sup>6</sup>

2. For all who will live godly in Christ, suffer persecution,<sup>7</sup> so that,

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. vii. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. cxxxvii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. xi. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Ps. cxxi. i.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Tim. iii. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xviii. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Ps. cxxi. 2.

though the pious will is never wanting, they cannot always do according to their good desire. For as it is the part of the impious to be ever striving against the pious designs of the good; so it is no reproach to their piety if, by reason of the multitude of the adversaries, the wishes, however just and holy, of the few are not effected. So Aaron, against his own will, yielded to the wicked clamour and tumults of the people.<sup>1</sup> So Samuel, not consenting, anointed Saul for the same people, when undutifully they asked for a king.<sup>2</sup> So David, when wishing to build the temple, yet for the enemy's wars, and because he was a man of war, was forbidden to do what he, in holiness, purposed.<sup>3</sup> In like manner, venerable father, under correction of wiser men, we counsel thee, that at this time thou so temper the rigour of what thou and thy friends intend, as to be mindful of the welfare of the weaker brethren. For these, over whom thou didst once consent to be placed in the Cluniac order, must be invited, not compelled, to a stricter life; and they who themselves wish for it must either be exhorted to condescend in charity to the less strong, as far as they can without sin; or they must be allowed to have their wish, if it may be done without offence on either side; or, at all events, they should be freely suffered to leave the society, and join some other brotherhood who are living according to their mind.

## EPIST. LXXXIV.

## TO THE SAME.

He sends back to him a monk who had left him; but advises that on his return he should be treated with more lenity and indulgence.

You perceive that it was not rashly nor unprofitably, that we detained that stray sheep of yours, contrary to our custom, and not for our benefit, but for his own and yours; and with that degree of artfulness, or rather prudent adjustment of circumstances, which might both satisfy our brother's desire for a stricter life, and your wish for his return. But this I say, not in commendation of our good will to you in this matter, which no actions of mine can sufficiently show; but that you may now be sure of what I remember telling you before, that unquiet spirits, to whom the life which they are leading suffices not, are often found to be controlled by a severer rule. You wrote word that you wished to know my opinion about the said brother after he is restored; but I thought it needless, now that he comes prepared not, as before, to exact your acquiescence, but, as is fitting, to submit himself to you in all things. With regard to the difficulties of his re-admission, which he greatly dreads, we join our prayers to his on his behalf, that they may be considerably softened, and that he may be dealt with somewhat more leniently than is usual with other fugitives. For where the effects are the same but the causes differ, our judgment must be different also. And there is a wide interval between

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xxxii. 2-4, 22-24.<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. x.<sup>3</sup> 2 Sam. vii. 1-16.



the man who leaves a monastery from fear or dislike of religion, and him who goes from one monastery to another from love and desire of the same.

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EPIST. LXXXV.

TO ABBOT WILLIAM.

He gently reproves him for complaining that his friendly offices were not met with equal warmth on his part.

To the Lord Abbot William, Brother Bernard sendeth love out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and faith unfeigned.<sup>1</sup>

1. If no man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man which is in him:<sup>2</sup> if man looketh on the outward appearance, and God alone looketh on the heart:<sup>3</sup> I cannot enough wonder how, or in what manner, thou hast been able so to weigh and distinguish between thy love and mine, as to pronounce not only for thine own heart, but for mine. For it is an error of the human mind, not only to think good evil, and evil good, to think the true false, and the converse; but also to take the certain for the doubtful, and the doubtful for the certain. It may be true, as thou sayest, that I love thee less than thou lovest me; but I am very sure that thou art not sure of it. How, then, canst thou affirm that as certain, of which thou art certainly uncertain? Strange! Paul did not trust his own judgment about himself even, when he said, *I judge not mine own self.*<sup>4</sup> Peter lamented the presumption wherewith he had deceived himself, when he boasted—*Though I should die with thee, yet will I not deny thee.*<sup>5</sup> The disciples, concerning the betrayal of the Lord, not trusting even their own consciences, answered every one of them, *Lord, is it I?*<sup>6</sup> David confessed his own self-ignorance, when he prayed and cried, *Remember not my ignorances.*<sup>7</sup> But thou, with a strange confidence, declaimest openly, not only about thine own heart, but mine, and sayest, “The more I love the less am I loved.”<sup>8</sup>

2. These are thy words: I would thou hadst not said them, for I know not whether they be not true. But if thou knowest this, whence knowest it thou?—how provest thou that thou lovest me more than I thee? Is it by what thou sayest in thy letter—namely, that those who go from us to thee take thee no token of our favour and affection? But what token, what proof of love, dost thou require?—or art thou uneasy because thou hast written often to me, and I not once to thee? But how could I think that thy mature wisdom should take pleasure in my unskilful scribblings? I knew Who it was who said, *Little children, let us not love in word, neither in tongue, but in deed and in truth.*<sup>9</sup> And when did it ever happen that thou didst need my help, and not receive it? O God, who searchest the heart and reins! sole Sun of Righteousness, illuminating the hearts of thy servants with various graces, as with rays; thou knowest, and I feel, that I love him,

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. iv. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. xxv. 7.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Tim. i. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. xxvi. 35.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Cor. xii. 15.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Sam. xvi. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Matt. xxvi. 22.

<sup>9</sup> 1 John iii. 18.

of thy gift, and for his own merits; how much I love him, thou knowest, but I know not. Thou, O Lord, who gavest it, knowest how much thou enabledst me to love him, and him to love me. How, then, can any one of us, to whom thou hast not revealed it, dare to say, "Loving more, I am loved less," unless it be that in thy light he see light,<sup>1</sup> by perceiving in the light of thy truth the fire of love with which he burns?

3. But I, O Lord, in the meantime, content to see my darkness in thy light, until thou shalt visit me sitting in darkness and the shadow of death,<sup>2</sup> and shalt make manifest the counsels of the hearts, and bring to light the hidden things of darkness,<sup>3</sup> and scatter the night so as to show light alone in thy light; I feel, indeed, that of thy gift I love him, but I see not yet in thy light whether I love him enough. For I know not if I have yet attained unto that love, than which no man hath greater, that he should lay down his life for his friends.<sup>4</sup> For who will boast of having a perfect or even a pure heart? O Lord, who lightest my lantern, by which I now see and abhor my darkness; O my God, lighten my darkness also, that I may see and rejoice in the love which is appointed for me, knowing and loving what should be loved, and how and why to love it: nor choosing that I myself should be loved except in thee, and as I ought to be loved. Woe unto me if (as I much fear) either I have been loved by him more than I deserved, or he by me less than he merits. And yet, if the better men are the more to be loved, and they are the better in that they love more, what can I say but that he loves me more, as being, surely, better than I; I him less than I should, being less able?

4. But (I speak now to thee, father) the more love there is in thee, the less shouldst thou despise my ability; because though thou lovest more than I, because more able; yet not more *than* thou art able. And I, though I love less than I ought, yet it is as much as I can; and what I can, that I have received. Draw me, then, after thee, that I may lay hold of thee, and, with thee, more abundantly receive, whereby I may more abundantly love. Why strivest thou to lay hold of me, and complainest that thou canst not, when thou hast hold of me, if thou wilt attend, and mayest still hold me whenever thou wilt, such as I am, though not such as thou hopedst. For thou seest in me something else, which I have not; thou pursuest something else, and not me; and, therefore, thou obtainest not, because I suffice not, and, as thou rightly complainest in thy letter, it is not I, but God, who willeth not that thou shouldst find in me what thou seekest. But now, if thou art pleased with the sort of trifle which I have written, speak, and I will write again; that it be an act of obedience, and so free from the charge of presumption. The little preface which thou badest be sent to thee I have not at hand; indeed, I have not yet had it copied out, thinking it unnecessary. Whatever thou mayest rightly wish for thyself or for thy friends, pious and venerable father, object of my entire friendship and respect, may He who hath given thee that wish, enable thee also to attain it accordingly.

<sup>1</sup> Ps. xxxvi. 9.<sup>2</sup> Luke i. 79.<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. iv. 5.<sup>4</sup> John xv. 13.

## EPIST. LXXXVI.

## TO THE SAME.

He sends back to him a monk who had escaped, after severely rebuking him, and directing him to be still further rebuked. He advises the abbot himself, who was thinking of a change of occupation, or retirement, to continue at his post.

Brother Bernard of Clara Vallis, to his friend sends a friend's due.

1. This form of salutation I learned from thee, who wast wont to write, "A friend sends a friend's greeting." Receive then thy due, and let my adoption of thy words be a mark of our friendship: that as our expressions are the same, our minds also may be united. I must now answer thy letter briefly, as the time allows; for it came to my hand on the morning of the Feast of the Nativity of Our Lady, whose service claimed the whole of my mind, so that I could attend to nothing else. The messenger, too, was in haste to return, and could hardly wait till the morrow, to give me time to answer as I best might after the occupations of the festival. I therefore, in the meanwhile, could only send back our fugitive brother to his place, after sharply rebuking him as one of a hard mind; for I could not retain him here without the consent of his abbot, as it is contrary to our custom. It behoves thee likewise to rebuke him severely, and require a submissive penance from him; and then comfort him by a letter on his behalf addressed to the abbot.

2. To thy inquiries about my health, I can make no more positive answer, than that I am still infirm, as before; neither less than usual, nor much more. As to my not having sent him whom I intended, the reason was, that I feared more the offence of many souls than the danger of one body. And now, to omit none of those things about which thou hast written to me, I come to thee. Thou didst desire to hear what I would wish thee to do, as one acquainted with all thy affairs. But, if I err not, were I to tell thee, neither couldst thou do it, nor could I advise it. For I wish the same that I know thou hast long wished for thyself. But I deem it right to set aside both thy wishes and mine, and to lead thee to what I believe to be God's mind concerning thee: this counsel is safe for me to give, and profitable for thee to follow. It is, that thou keep that thou hast; abide where thou art, and study to be of use to those who are under thee: shrink not from thy charge, as long as thou canst do them good; for though it will be woe to thee, if thou rule and benefit not, it will be a worse woe, if thou refuse to benefit from fear of ruling.

[The reader will excuse a misprint of a figure in the reference on p. 58, line 18, in the preceding number to Mr. Newman's Sermons. It should have been p. 528 instead of "p. 320."]

(To be continued.)

#### INFLUENCE OF THE IRISH ROMAN-CATHOLIC PRIESTS WITH GOVERNMENT.

SIR,—An allusion, in the January number of the British Magazine, to the influence which the Romish priests have with the Irish govern-

ment, and the mode in which government patronage is used to aid them in their persecution of converts to the Protestant church, recalls to my mind some circumstances which occurred a few months ago, while I was curate of Berehaven in the county of Cork.

In accordance with the provisions of the Labour Act, for the relief of the Irish poor, a new line of road was struck out by the Board of Works from Berehaven to Kenmare, and a number of labourers and stewards employed on it. Amongst the latter was a man named John Sullivan, a convert from the church of Rome to the church of Ireland of eighteen years' standing. He had been but a few days employed as steward, when the Romish priests of Berehaven having heard of his appointment, three of them called on the assistant engineer, Mr. Byrne, and imperatively demanded (as I was informed by a friend of mine who witnessed the entire scene) that he should at once dismiss John Sullivan from employment. They stated as a reason, that he had changed his religion, and thereby rendered himself so odious to the people that they would refuse to work under him, that the tools would be broken, and murder and bloodshed be the fearful results of his being retained in office. These apprehensions, Sir, were all phantoms conjured up for the occasion, for I can bear witness to the peaceable disposition of the people of Berehaven, who are not of the same intolerant spirit as their priests. In reality, the priests were afraid that the people were too well disposed towards this man; and the chief danger he had to fear was, lest the priests might bring about the fulfilment of their own predictions. My friend asserted the well known integrity of Sullivan. This they did not venture to deny, but still pressed for his dismissal. An admirable comment upon this scene was furnished at the judicial investigation which afterwards took place, and at which I myself was present, when one of the priests having detailed the grounds alleged for Sullivan's dismissal, "that he had changed his religion," another of them drily remarked,—“and a very good reason it is.” The engineer not having complied with their wish, they next, from the altars of two of their chapels, denounced any labourer who should work under Sullivan. This fulmination not having been found sufficient to coerce the labourers, the priest,—no meek and venerable ascetic, such as poetical fancies love to paint, but a stalwart strapping Irishman, famed for his dexterity in the use of the shillelah,—went, in company with his curate, to the road, and, as he passed along, he addressed the gangs of labourers in the Irish language,—“Boys, *I expect* that none of you will work under Shane Bawn.”\* This is the sworn testimony of three witnesses. One or two men withdrew from Sullivan's gang in consequence of this threat: but the desired effect was not produced. The priest, however, finding that the poor starving people still continued to work upon the roads, adopted another plan. He wrote a letter to the Board of Works, and, in a few days, a letter came down to Berehaven, from the county surveyor, commanding the instant dismissal of Sullivan. He was accordingly

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\* *Anglice*, “White John,” a nick-name given to Sullivan, on account of his dark complexion.

discharged; but he received from the engineer in charge a most satisfactory character,—“that he was the most useful man he had in his employment.” I wrote to the county surveyor to know why he was dismissed. He replied that he had acted according to his instructions. I then wrote to the Board of Works, but received no answer to my letter. My rector and myself did everything in our power to have the man reinstated; but all was in vain. We endeavoured to procure employment for other converts, some of whom were miserably destitute, but the engineer, who had not been found sufficiently compliant by the Romish priests, had been removed through their influence, and his successor dreaded the same fate. In fine, Sir, the matter was brought before the magistrates at the petty sessions; the facts were clearly proved on oath; the intimidation was evident, and the sentence was announced to be—“three months’ imprisonment” in case of a conviction being obtained. But the magistrates were afraid to convict the priest, and dismissed the complaint on the plea of varying evidence,—the culprit being allowed to go triumphantly out of court, boasting “that law was not made for such as he.”

Whatever may be said in England of the small progress of the reformation in Ireland, we, who are on the spot, know, that the Romish priests rule their people with an iron sceptre, and that the real cause of our churches not being crowded with converts is to be found in the well-grounded apprehension of relentless, never-dying persecution.

Those Englishmen, however, who blame the Protestant clergy for the comparative smallness of their success in that direction, would do well to consider, whether it is reasonable to expect the church to make very rapid progress as long as the unhappy peasantry know that their priests can reckon on the conciliating policy of government, and the fears of the county magistrates, to assist them in ruining any one who will presume to avail himself of that civil and religious liberty which the constitution professes to protect, but which, as far as the subjects of the Irish priesthood are concerned, is nothing better than a mockery and a fiction.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

ALEXANDER HALLOWELL, Curate of Bantry.

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#### THE LATE SECESSIONS IN LEEDS.

SIR,—I venture to send you the following remarks upon an event which appears to have excited an interest not likely soon to be allowed to die away. On New-year’s day, the Rev. R. G. Macmullen, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, well known as the gentleman whose Romanizing tendencies drew him into difficulties in the way of obtaining his degree in Divinity; Mr. D. H. Haigh, who had lately offered 10,000*l.* to build a church in Leeds; and Mr. T. W. Wilkinson, A.B., of Durham, joined the church of Rome, being received into that communion here by the senior priest of St. Anne’s Roman-catholic chapel in this place. Mr. Macmullen had been for some time officiating

at St. Saviour's Church, though without the bishop's licence, and the other two gentlemen were regular attendants at that church, and living with the incumbent. Such an occurrence, as might naturally be expected, produced a great deal of excitement here, particularly when it was known that the Bishop of Ripon felt it right to come over expressly to investigate matters connected with that church, and had advised the vicar, the Rev. Mr. Ward, to resign. A few days after these events had occurred, a pamphlet\* was put into my hands, written by Dr. Hook, vicar of Leeds, entitled "The Three Re-formations," to which there is a Postscript, referring to these secessions from St. Saviour's. Dr. Hook complains of great evils there which he cannot get rid of, but for which he is in no way accountable; in fact, to use his own figure, some one has "planted a hornet's nest at his garden gate." This Postscript caused me to search and reflect. I have asked again and again, Who has done this mischief? Who is properly accountable for it? Who has planted this "nest of hornets" in Leeds? I have endeavoured to put facts together, and I will now place them in your hands, that, unless you think it wrong to do so, you may make them public. Dr. Pusey is well known to the Vicar of Leeds; indeed, Dr. Hook, previous to the consecration of St. Saviour's, published the fact that there had subsisted between him and Dr. Pusey a friendship of more than a quarter of a century.† Through Dr. Pusey, an *unknown* individual made an offer to Dr. Hook to build a church in Leeds, to be called the Church of Holy Cross, or Saint Cross, to endow it, and to erect a parsonage house, provided Dr. Pusey should have the sole direction of the building, subject to the sanction of the bishop. To this, Dr. Hook agreed, and laid the first stone of the building on Holy Cross Day, attended by his curates and the choir of his church, and in the presence of a large concourse of people. On the stone was this inscription:—

" The first stone  
of Holy Cross Church,  
in the Parish of Leeds and County of York,  
was laid  
under the altar,  
in the name of a penitent,  
to the praise of the Redeemer,  
on Holy Cross Day,  
A.D. 1842.

" God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, WHEREBY the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world."

" O Saviour of the world, who by thy cross and precious blood hast redeemed us, save us and help us, we humbly beseech thee, O Lord."

" By thine agony and bloody sweat.

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\* "The Three Re-formations"—Lutheran, Roman, and Anglican. By Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., Vicar of Leeds. London: John Murray, Albemarle-street.

† Dedication to a Sermon preached at the Consecration of a Church in the Parish of Hawarden, 22nd July, 1843.

"By thy cross and passion.

"In the hour of death.

"In the day of judgment.

"Good Lord, deliver us."

"Lord, remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom."

"Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., Vicar of Leeds.

"John MacDuff Derick, of Oxford, Architect.

"John Newland Hilles, of Headingley, Builder."

—*Leeds Intelligencer*, Sept. 19th, 1842.

Such was the commencement of this unhappy affair. Dr. Hook, being perfectly acquainted with Dr. Pusey's principles, agreed to his proposal; he fell in with the wish of the *unknown* founder in giving to the church this objectionable name; he chose a day for commencing the work, which has no place among the festivals of the church of England, and is closely connected with fabulous legends and the idolatrous worship of the material cross. Dr. Hook consented that the church should be called the Church of Holy Cross, or Saint Cross, and he laid the first stone of the building on Holy Cross Day. This completed the first stage of this extraordinary and most melancholy business.

Commenced under such auspices, what could be expected? The bishop, indeed, very properly insisted that the name should be changed, but the design of the founder remained the same. After considerable delay, in consequence of some insecurity in the foundation, the church was at length completed, but was, in many of its details, so like a Romish church, that the feelings of persons in Leeds were deeply pained.

The Sedilia and the Piscina inserted in the wall, the carved oak screen of elaborate workmanship, shutting out the congregation from nearly half the church (42 feet out of 102, the whole length of the building,\*) the seats all *moveable* open benches, easily, it would seem, to be put aside in due time to make way for processions; and some stained glass windows, so exceedingly objectionable, that the bishop, who visited the church previous to the consecration, had them removed.

Such was St. Saviour's Church. However, Dr. Hook declares that with all that was done subsequent to Holy Cross Day, 1842, he is not concerned. †

We have a right, however, I think, sir, to ask, should the Vicar of Leeds have left this church to proceed without observation and remonstrance, if necessary? Events were every day occurring showing more and more plainly to the world the character of Dr. Pusey's theology, and the end of such teaching. The first stone of the church

\* "Chancel, 42 feet by 16; nave, 60 feet by 20. The seats are all in the form of moveable benches. These are all secured in their places by large pieces of cork let into the feet of the benches, which, by friction, prevents any pushing of the bench from its original position, without the application of considerable force."—*Description of the Church*. *Leeds Intelligencer*, Nov. 1st, 1845.

† "The author rejoiced in the work, although he was in no way concerned in it, after the first stone was laid. He was not consulted, directly or indirectly, during the erection of the building."—*The Three Reformations*, p. 85.

was laid in September, 1842. In the spring of 1843, Dr. Pusey preached his Sermon on the Eucharist, and was suspended for it. As time passed on, the opinions of this party developed themselves more and more. The British Critic was plain enough. They spoke out. They talked of "Protestants and other heretics," and of the Jesuits as "the most noble and glorious company of St. Ignatius." All through 1844, and the spring and summer of 1845, Mr. Newman and Dr. Pusey were publishing. The Lives of the Saints appeared, edited by Mr. Newman; and The Adaptation of Surin and Avrillon, compiled by Dr. Pusey. You, sir, did your duty; we were all warned of the nature of these principles. Meanwhile, disciples of the school, going over to Rome from time to time, kept the public in a continual state of excitement. Thus things progressed till, in August, Mr. Ward went over to the Romish church, and in the beginning of October, Mr. Newman and five other members of the university seceded, so that in the same Leeds paper that gives the account of the consecration of St. Saviour's, we have a list of twenty-seven members of the University of Oxford who had joined the church of Rome, with the names of several other persons. Surely Dr. Hook ought to have narrowly observed what Dr. Pusey was doing at St. Saviour's. But "he was in no way concerned in it after the first stone was laid." He had still the entire cure of souls in the district; St. Saviour's school is close to the church where there was divine service regularly; he might have seen the principles of the founder gradually developing themselves in the structure, and have acted accordingly; and not have waited, as it would appear he did, until the church was actually finished, before he opened his eyes to the danger.

However, on the day of the consecration, his eyes were opened. "The character of the building and the manner of some who were present at its opening" made him apprehensive, and he would not attend the consecration until, with more than two-thirds of the clergy, he had signed a protest against Romanism."

There was a circumstance, however, which might have startled him much more—nay, which ought to have made him stop then and there, and at once retrace his steps, however painful such a course might have been. There was one who refused to sign the protest which Dr. Hook had prepared against popery. That person was Dr. Pusey, —the author of the Adaptations of Surin the Jesuit, and of the Friar Avrillon, the admirer of Ignatius Loyola, the undisguised advocate of Jesuitism,—now just about to be made, legally, with Mr. Ward, Mr. E. B. Pusey, and another gentleman, trustees of the living, "with power for ever to appoint the ministers to the church, and to fill up all vacancies in their number occasioned by the resignation or death of any of the present body, or of any of them ceasing to be members of the United Church of England and Ireland."

Surely it might well have roused his worst suspicions, when Dr. Pusey, —just become, by Mr. Newman's openly joining the Church of Rome, the leader of the Romanizing party in the church,—refused to sign a protest against Romanism, which Dr. Hook and more than two-thirds

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\* "The Three Reformations," p. 85.



of the clergy present thought it necessary to sign before they attended the consecration.\*

Here, then, is another act which connects Dr. Hook with the mischief at St. Saviour's. When he had sole cure of souls he delivered up such a trust into the hands of Dr. Pusey, and went in with him, and saw the patronage, and with it the cure of thousands of his flock, in the way of being legally transferred to such hands. Surely this conduct is unaccountable, except upon the ground of Dr. Hook's belief in Dr. Pusey's unimpeachable orthodoxy, which he had before made public.

And now Dr. Hook's momentary apprehensions were set at rest. "It seemed," he writes, "for some time that our fears were unduly excited."† The church was now opened, the unusual services which immediately followed the consecration passed off quietly; Dr. Hook preached in the church, "and things were going on satisfactorily at St. Saviour's." What was the real state of things there? What was going on at St. Saviour's? I will not take up your time by detailing ceremonies such as to grieve many who went to that church—practices there witnessed such as to disturb and distress the minds of poor persons in the neighbourhood,—though these nearly emptied the church, surrounded as it is by an enormous population of poor, and though all the seats are free. I will proceed to a matter which appears to me to be one of very grave moment.

About the time of the consecration, a printed letter‡ of Dr. Pusey's was circulated here. It professed to be to one perplexed about his duties to the English church; recommended confession and absolution, and contained this paragraph:—

"For yourself individually, I should say the first thing is to prepare yourself, by praying for God's gracious help, for such a general confession as I have spoken of. If you know of no other to receive it, I am sure the Rev. — would. You could say that I commended you to him. He would be a good adviser as to rules of life. \* \* \* But the book is the book of conscience."

Now, sir, what I am going to state is not mere common report; the facts are well known to some here; which make it impossible for them to doubt but that private confessions have been received in the Protestant Church of St. Saviour's, in Leeds. The vicar of St. Saviour's is the Rev. R. Ward. Is Mr. Ward a stranger in Leeds, some one "sent from Oxford"? No; Mr. Ward was the Incumbent of Christ Church, Skipton, in this archdeaconry. He was well known to Dr. Hook, for he had been his curate at the parish church here for a considerable time. Yes; it is a fact that Mr. Ward,—whose appointment to St. Saviour's was known here long previous to the consecration, who was well known to Dr. Hook, and who was appointed one of the trustees of St. Saviour's, and the

\* It may be said, Dr. Pusey afterwards signed another protest. He did so; but it was a very different one from the first, one which even Dr. Pusey could not object to. Some of those who signed the former, however, refused to sign the latter, for a very obvious reason.

† Dr. Hook's Sermon, preached on the occasion of the consecration, Jan. 3, 1847.

‡ Reprinted and revised from the English Churchman Newspaper, No. 148.

first incumbent,—thought it right to have females coming to him singly; not in one or two, but in several instances, and remaining in the church alone with him, the doors being fastened, for a considerable time, for half-an-hour, or more, together. That Mr. Ward was engaged in hearing confession from these individuals, we have no doubt.—The attitude of the female kneeling, the clergyman standing near, the questioning, the low, murmuring, responses. But when did these things occur? Was it after St. Saviour's became a separate parish under the Leeds Vicarage Act?—when Dr. Hook had ceased to have exclusive cure of souls there? Was it within the last three or four months only? No, sir; these things were done even as far back as twelve months ago. Dr. Hook states that the clergy of St. Saviour's were then "responsible to him, and that he could have put a stop to their proceedings." (Postscript to "Lecture on the Three Reformations.") It follows, that he was responsible for the conduct of the clergy of St. Saviour's, and that he *should* have stopped their proceedings; and if he did not know, surely, considering the peculiar circumstances of the case, and his own previous suspicions, he ought to have known the real state of things at a time when St. Saviour's and the populous parish now attached to it was about to be finally and irrevocably placed in the hands of Dr. Pusey and his friends, and he might still have interposed to prevent it, by remonstrance with the proper authorities.

And now, sir, what has occurred since St. Saviour's became a vicarage, and thus, to use Dr. Hook's simile, "the hornet's nest was no longer in the garden, but at the garden-gate"?

A large gilt cross was set up in the communion-table, to the grief and dismay of many of the poor people. I have seen it; but, though the form of the gilt cross was distinct enough to me, and the clergyman who was with me, we were not allowed to examine, or come within forty feet of it, being positively forbidden to enter the closed door of the chancel. It has been publicly asserted, and remains uncontradicted, that one of the clergy from the pulpit of that church has said, "How thankful should we be, brethren, that we have such a blessed intercessor as the Virgin Mary." We learn from Dr. Hook, that from the time St. Saviour's became a separate parish—that is, from August 28th, 1846, there had been a systematic depreciation of the church of England, and a defence of the church of Rome, and that a regular system of perversion was going on.—(See Postscript, p. 2.)

Now it is very material to inquire, as Dr. Hook knew this, how was he occupied with respect to St. Saviour's all this time? He tells us, "ascertaining the character of the proceedings;" "remonstrating with the patrons of the living;" and, when warned that he had nothing to do with the parish of St. Saviour's, "venturing in reply, to observe, that he might justly complain when a hornet's nest was planted at his garden gate," and being assured that it was not a hornet's nest, but a "hive of sweet honey," waiting four months to see what kind of honey this hornet's nest would produce, and now telling us, "what the honey is, events have shown."—"The Three Reformations," Postscript, p. 2.) Surely, not a day should have been lost in stopping the evil. The

remedy was easy; for, as soon as the bishop was informed that Mr Macmullen, "carrying on a regular system of perversion," was officiating in St. Saviour's, unlicensed by his Lordship, and that Mr. Ward was allowing him to do so, he prohibited Mr. Macmullen from officiating in the diocese, and advised Mr. Ward to resign. "Charity believeth all things;" but it would, sir, be difficult for the most confiding charity, with the evidence of such facts, to believe that Dr. Hook is as little to blame in this matter, as he seems to think he is; and if it be impossible to believe it, it would be wrong to allow it.

"The hornet's nest" is here; it will, I fear, be very hard to get rid of it. The only plan, that I can see, is for Dr. Hook to persuade Dr. Pusey and the other trustees to give up the patronage of St. Saviour's altogether, and to let it be placed in the hands of the bishop of the diocese. Till this is done, there can be no security, and there will be no confidence.

And now, if I am not trespassing too much, I should like to make an observation or two upon another passage in the Postscript to Dr. Hook's pamphlet. He says, "On the present occasion, the accuser of the brethren will, doubtless, try to represent the perversion at St. Saviour's as the result of the teaching which has been prevalent in Leeds during the last ten years." Of course, Dr. Hook here speaks of his own teaching; he cannot refer to the various churches, of which there are several in Leeds, where the teaching is of a very different kind. That he means, by the teaching prevalent in Leeds for the last ten years, his own teaching, is evident from a passage in a sermon preached in his own church on the 3rd instant, which appeared immediately after in the public prints, in which he says, that "by wicked and malignant men, this affair will be so represented, as if this sin was the result of the principles *here* inculcated."

Now, notwithstanding these words, which, of course, ought to lead a Christian to pause and reflect, and notwithstanding the awful declaration, that if we attempt thus to connect these things together, we are likely to be instruments in the hands of Satan himself, I cannot but express my full persuasion that perversions such as these are the natural result of Dr. Hook's preaching; that is, if the opinions and doctrines which he preaches are the same as the opinions and doctrines which he publishes. This, of course, can only be received as opinion, (though it is the opinion of many here,) until it be proved. But what are Dr. Hook's published opinions? We have heard a great deal of the proceedings of the clergy at St. Saviour's, and we have seen their tendency; what does Dr. Hook say about such things? We find, in a printed sermon of his, p. 29,\* such things, "as touching, kneeling, crossing, holding up the hands, knocking upon the breast, and other gestures," which are mentioned in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI., placed among things indifferent, which may or may not be done with edification, and which no man should blame in another; and this the Doctor endeavours to establish by the authority of our Prayer Book, in which I think he fails. And we are told that wicked

\* "Mutual Forbearance recommended in things indifferent." A Sermon, preached in the parish of Hawarden. Third Edition, 1843.

and malignant men will say that such teaching is calculated to produce the result we have already seen.

We find persons in Leeds strongly advocating the observance of the days commonly called black-letter days, which Wheatly very properly, p. 55, calls Romish saints' days, and which have never been holy days in our church. We find persons here advocating the observance of these days—Holy Cross day, for instance. Now, on this point, also, Dr. Hook's opinion is recorded in the same sermon, p. 10. He says, "Some of our brethren observe these days in private, and even feel obliged so to do." "One man esteemeth one day above another, another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." It is an open question; let each man act according to his persuasion of what is expedient to be done. So that, according to Dr. Hook, a man may keep Holy Cross day, or the Day of the Invention of the Cross, or any other of the black-letter days which are connected with fabulous legends and idolatrous worship in the ritual of the Church of Rome—and that wicked and malignant men will say that this is teaching that leads to Rome.

Again, we find a minister of St. Saviour's very properly condemned for preaching the intercession of the Virgin Mary; and we find him and three of his hearers presently going over to the Church of Rome. But we also find Dr. Hook, in a pastoral address to young people preparing for Confirmation, teaching those young people this doctrine as the meaning of the words, "the communion of saints," in the Apostles' Creed. "I believe, O most holy Jesus, that thy saints here below have communion with thy saints above; *they praying for us in heaven*, we here on earth, celebrating their memorials, rejoicing at their bliss, giving thee thanks for their labour of love, and imitating their examples."\* And yet Dr. Hook says, that wicked and malignant men will say that such teaching has led to such consequences as we have witnessed here.

But why multiply instances? In this same tract Dr. Hook states, that the two Sacraments, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, "have the peculiar grace of imparting Christ himself, perfect man and perfect God, to the faithful."—p. 4. Is it reasonable to be surprised if the young people who are taught that such is the true doctrine of the Sacraments, should proceed somewhat further? At all events, this is clearly more akin to the phraseology and tone of Romanism than of the Church of England. In his recent pamphlet also, "The Three Reformations," Dr. Hook has used language which most English clergymen will deem deficient in caution, to speak in the most moderate terms. "Our church was reformed by learned men, but they formed their scheme, not upon argument, but upon authority."—"The Three Reformations," p. 43.) "Transubstantiation was repudiated, not from any argumentative notion of its being absurd—for some of the most erudite and acute minds have accepted it—but *simply* because it was not primitive," (*ibid.*) which seems as inconsistent with the Twenty-eighth

\* "Pastoral Advice to Young People preparing for Confirmation," by Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., Vicar of Leeds. Rivington, London; Parker, Oxford; Harrison, Leeds. 1846. p. 28.

Article, as with the declaration at the end of the Communion Service. Nor is it easy to believe that a church which asserts the authority of Holy Scripture in the manner the Church of England does, can long retain within her communion those whose minds are imbued with the maxim which Dr. Hook states in the broadest terms: "Moral tempers and dispositions will be granted to us in answer to our prayers, but not an intellectual power to decide between two opposing schemes of doctrine, which is and which is not scriptural."—(p. 33.) Those who put forward such notions, are apt to proceed farther. How much more likely will the half-informed and enthusiastic disciple be to outrun his teacher; and—when the idea has once been infused into his mind, that it is wrong to ask for grace to distinguish between truth and error—to fall a prey to those who propose to him the authority of an infallible church. Such leaven will leaven the whole lump. At least, it cannot be very surprising if it should; and if people *should* ascribe defections from the church to the teaching of those who have promulgated such principles as these, it seems rather hard to call them "wicked and malignant men."

Of Dr. Pusey's sermon on the Eucharist, we perceive the character and know the tendency. Dr. Hook took the opportunity of the publication of Dr. Pusey's sermon\* to thank him for his "unimpeachable orthodoxy," "for maintaining in the midst of a faithless and pharisaical generation the cause of true religion, and preaching the pure, unadulterated word of God;" and he adds that, by the publication of his truly evangelical sermon on the Eucharist, he has "put to silence the ignorance of foolish men."

The character of Mr. Newman's famous tract—Tract 90—is well known. Dr. Hook's deliberate opinion of that tract is published, and it is this. That in general principles, in the very principle advocated in that tract, he did agree with Mr. Newman. These are Dr. Hook's own words:—"Though I did not altogether approve of a particular tract, yet, *in general principles, in the very principle advocated by that tract*, I did agree with him; in a word, I was compelled by circumstances to act as a party-man. And in justice to one whom I am proud to call my friend, I am bound to say that Mr. Newman's Explanatory Letter to Dr. Jelf is, to my mind, perfectly satisfactory."†

But in his recent publication, Dr. Hook has identified himself with Dr. Pusey's opinions in a manner which cannot but surprise most persons. In his "Three Reformations," he takes occasion to speak of the danger of seeking instruction from "the works of authors who have written under the influence of an erroneous principle." In a note, at the end of the sentence in which these words occur, Dr. Hook says, "In the reprints of Roman-catholic books of devotion by Dr. Pusey, there is not sufficient caution in this respect. *Notwithstanding the care of the excellent editor to extract the peculiarities of Roman doctrine*, they tend evidently to encourage a Roman-catholic style of devotion."—"Three Reformations," p. 67.) Is it possible

\* Dedication of Sermon preached at the Consecration of a Church in the Parish of Hawarden. Third Edition, 1843.

† Dr. Hook's Letter to the Lord Bishop of Ripon. Second Edition, 1841.

that Dr. Hook can have read the books which he speaks of in this manner? Dr. Pusey may have extracted some Roman peculiarities. Without comparing his adaptations with the originals, it would be hard to say how much he extracted from them in the process. But he has left enough, and more than enough, of "the peculiarities of Romanism" to render it perfectly amazing how Dr. Hook could commit himself to such a commendation of his care. The one passage, which you extracted in your papers on Modern Hagiology, in which he speaks of Judas receiving the Last Supper, must make such a panegyric as Dr. Hook pronounces on his *care* "to extract the peculiarities of Roman doctrine" very remarkable.

Dr. Hook says, that by wicked and malignant men, it will be made to appear that his teaching has led to defections to Rome.\* I say, after long observation and mature deliberation, that such doctrines as these do lead to Rome, and I think I have shown these to be Dr. Hook's doctrines—doctrines which he has preached, printed, published, and circulated among the inhabitants of Leeds.

Can we be surprised that some have gone over to the church of Rome?—or when the Vicar of Leeds warns us that "more perversions will take place unless an effectual remedy be found?" No; let us hope that Dr. Hook will renounce and disavow these and all such like doctrines, and then he may hope to stop that mischief which has begun, but of which no one at present can see the end.

I have been compelled by a sense of duty to write; I hope I have done so in the spirit of charity. I can hardly expect you to admit so long a letter; but if the importance of the subject can lead you to do so, you will greatly oblige, Sir, your obedient servant,

Leeds, January 18th, 1846.

N. E.

### THE SCARCITY.

WITH whatever anxiety we may have looked forward to the meeting of Parliament, as far as business has yet proceeded, it is impossible to view the spirit by which the Legislature seems to be animated without gratification and thankfulness. An unanimity almost unparalleled in parliamentary history seems to unite men of all political theories and parties in the one grand desire to stay the hand of famine and disease in Ireland, to console the wretched, to protect the widow and the orphan, and to take the opportunity, now and at once, of laying the foundation of a better ordered and more prosperous state of things, in a country, which, for mismanagement, degradation, and misery, can scarcely find its equal in Christendom. At the same time, subscriptions on a scale of the most munificent liberality are pouring in, some for general collections—some for private funds for the

\* Dr. Hook's Sermon, preached Jan. 23rd, in Leeds Parish Church.

relief of particular districts. To this last plan we are most thankful to find the attention of several excellent persons has been directed. There can be no doubt that, generally speaking, the way to do the greatest amount of good to these poor starving people, is to place money, and food, and clothes, and seed-corn, at the disposal of the parish clergyman. He must give, as long as he has anything to give, whether he receives assistance or not. He has been always obliged to give, in a country, where, on the authorities relied on by Lord John Russell, it is plain, that a very large proportion are, in the very best of times, sunk in a degree of squalid poverty almost unknown in this country. To whom can the poor—the Protestant, the Roman Catholic, or the Presbyterian—to whom *do* they look at all times but to the parish clergyman? To him they have been accustomed to turn when the hand of sickness or affliction has been laid upon them. And if so, it is infinitely certain, that in a famine so appalling as the present, the houses of the clergy will be beset from morning till night with applications for food, and clothes, and medicine. Under these circumstances, it seems quite a duty to point out to those, who are anxious to help if they can learn how to do so most effectually, that incomparably the most judicious, and indeed the most economical, method is, to make some one parish clergyman in Ireland the channel of their bounty. The danger of all general subscriptions is, that, with every precaution that can be used, abuses will be perpetrated by the persons composing relief committees. In places where the priests have any great influence in the committee, it is impossible to say to what extent of jobbing they will proceed. Some persons may deem this language harsh or uncharitable. Such persons will do well to read Mr. Hallowell's letter in the present number. To punish and persecute converts from Romanism—to make snug births for their own friends and relations—to screen them when delinquent—there are few artifices to which they will not resort. We have already referred to the fact, which we know, from the most unquestionable authority, to be true, that they have been known and proved to have sold the relief tickets to the poor starving people. In a country circumstanced as Ireland is, we should consider that, in the great majority of districts, the presence of a Roman-catholic priest on the relief committee is quite sufficient to embarrass its proceedings, and to render it all but impossible, unless there be some very resolute and determined members on the committee, to prevent the public money or the private benevolence intrusted to their management from being grossly wasted and abused. The picture we are about to lay before our readers would appear wholly incredible did we not know that our corre-

spondent is a clergyman of unquestionable respectability and veracity. The idea of a minister of religion refusing to attend the sick and dying without being paid for it, is one at all times shocking, however familiar it may be to those acquainted with Ireland, to those who know how frequently the last moments of the dying are outraged by the squabbles and huxtering of the priest, endeavouring to extort from the relations a few more pence or shillings as the fee for administering those last rites which the poor people are taught to regard as absolutely necessary to their salvation. But surely such a famine as is now desolating Ireland would open the heart of cupidity itself. Let the following letter tell how far it has done so. The writer, we repeat, is a clergyman well known and respected, and one with whom we have been personally acquainted for many years.

Dear Sir,—It is well that some of those in England who think so very favourably of the Roman-catholic creed and clergy, should know what is going on in Ireland just now. What will they say to the fact that the Roman-catholic priest of this parish has actually refused to attend the poor people dying of sickness, brought on by want, and that simply because they have no money to give him. Several cases have occurred in my own immediate neighbourhood, in which, although sent for more than once, he refused to attend. One instance particularly, near my own gate, was most remarkable, because the poor woman's house was on the very roadside, and he passed it twice during the day. Some of the poor creatures have sent for me, but in some cases their prejudices are too deeply rooted to give way even under such aggravated circumstances. When we speak to the poor people about the priest's conduct, they seem so ashamed that they try to evade the subject altogether. This case is a more aggravated one, because the priest has amassed a great deal of money during a long number of years' residence here. Such things must produce a good effect in time. Indeed, I do trust that the present season will show many of the poor people who are their friends. Several Roman Catholics have come to church already within these few weeks, and I am sure it will spread farther.

Yours, dear Sir, very truly.

January, 1847.

Yet we happen to know, that this same priest is a member of the relief committee of the district, and a very troublesome one too. Who in his senses would dream of entrusting money into such hands? As far as the priest's conduct is concerned, it must do good. It is doing good. Our correspondent feels the effects of it already, in the increase of his spiritual duties. And for this reason, likewise, it is of the utmost importance, at such a moment, to strengthen the hands of the worn-out and distracted clergyman, and by supplying him with funds, and provisions,



and clothing, and seed, enable him to conciliate the affections of the suffering people to the Protestant church. It is, in fact, such an opportunity of doing lasting and extensive good as may never again occur.

What we would most strenuously recommend is this, that the clergy of wealthy parishes should each select some one of the most destitute parishes in Ireland, and endeavour to procure means for the clergyman there, to enable him to preserve his poor parishioners from actual death, and to assist the poorer farmers to till and sow their little plots of ground for the next season. It is surprising how much good can be done in this way, how much calamity averted, and how much suffering mitigated—and by far less an amount of money than could be imagined by any one who had not made the attempt. A letter appeared some time ago in the *Record Newspaper*, which we think deserves to be preserved, from the good sense of the plan it proposes, although it may be liable to the objection of attempting to do too many things at once.

*“To the Editor of the RECORD.*

“Sir,—I have been for some time considering how I could, most effectually, and most satisfactorily to myself, assist in relieving the sad distress in Ireland. It is a plain duty, when we hear that our fellow-men and fellow-subjects are perishing from want, to do something to help them. But any contributions that private benevolence could bestow, would be so trifling when compared with the large sums which the Government are weekly laying out in the payment of labourers, that they would hardly produce any perceptible effect, if they were given to the country at large. To meet this difficulty, it was suggested at a clerical meeting on Monday last, that, while we could do no appreciable good to the whole country, we might do much to mitigate distress, and perhaps prevent absolute starvation, in some *one* single parish. It was also thought that our valued brethren in the ministry in Ireland deserve at our hands, not only sympathy and commiseration, our fervent prayers, and love in the Lord Jesus, but also all the actual assistance that we can possibly give them in their present grievous trials. And as the number of parishes in Ireland is not very great, it was added, that it would be quite practicable that the minister of every distressed parish in Ireland should be assisted by the minister of some large and opulent parish in England.

“The plan appeared to me so simple and desirable, that I have determined to select some one parish in Ireland, having regard to the amount of the distress, the number of Protestants, and of converts from Romanism, and to send to the minister, by post, such contributions as I can raise among my own people.

“We shall receive, in return, accounts of the manner in which our money has been laid out; and if we find that what we have already sent has done good, but that more is still needed, I do trust that the

Lord will put it into his people's hearts to contribute more from time to time as there may be need. I also wish, if possible, to place at the disposal of the minister whose parish we may select, an Irish Scripture-reader, and thus provide bread for the soul as well as for the body.

"I will not enlarge on the advantages of the proposed plan; nor am I ignorant that it is liable to objections. But I feel in my own case that I must do something without delay; and that by the method proposed, I may be able at once to do some real service, even though it may be only to a small number.

"If you will publish this letter, it is probable that other clergymen may adopt the same plan; indeed, I have heard of one who has already collected money, and has been sending over ten pounds weekly to the minister of a parish in Ireland, who is thus enabled to give food daily to more than 200 persons. If others are induced to follow his example, I believe that the Irish Society of London would not refuse to be a medium of communication between the ministers of the two countries. The society might receive from clergymen in Ireland statements of the destitution of their parishes, and forward them to any English clergymen who might apply to them. Thus very much good may be done; and it may please our Heavenly Father to bring out of this severe visitation, lasting spiritual benefit to poor Ireland. The connexion between parishes may be kept up; our abundance may continue, at least in spiritual things, to be a supply to their want: a better relation may arise between the two countries: and the administration of this service may not only supply the wants of the saints, but, as St. Paul teaches us to hope in such cases, be abundant also by many thanksgivings unto God.

"I remain, Sir, yours faithfully in the Lord,

"THOMAS VORES, M.A.,

"Perpetual Curate of St. Mary's, Hastings.

"Hastings, Dec. 30, 1846."

There can be no doubt that the effect of the present famine will be to increase the *spiritual* duties of the clergy, and in some districts very probably to put it beyond the power of the incumbent to perform them. Where such results are found, it will be remembered that the incomes of the Irish clergy, in one way or another, have been so reduced, that to expect many of them to provide additional curates is out of the question. But for the present, the less of the spirit of proselytism is infused into our charity, the more good we shall do. Help the fainting clergy to "overcome evil with good"—and the result will best be left in His hands who in the midst of wrath remembereth mercy.

Another document we are anxious to lay before our readers is a letter from the Rev. Mr. Fenn, of Blackheath, whose example we have reason to believe has been followed by other clergymen—and if extensively followed, must be productive of incalculable good.

"Blackheath, January 1847.

"Dearly beloved brethren,—I am so much encouraged by the approval which many have expressed of the plan I suggested for the relief of our suffering brethren in Ireland, that I am induced to take this method of laying it more distinctly and fully before you.

"The object I propose is to enclose a small portion of the distress, and to direct our best energies to mitigate some of its most alarming symptoms; and also to suggest to other neighbourhoods and communities the advisableness of pursuing a similar course.

"I wrote to the truly excellent Bishop of Cashel, requesting him to mention the name of some clergyman living in the distressed districts, with whom I might communicate on the subject. From his lordship's answer, I extract the following passages:—'Words cannot express what I feel as to the Christian kindness that has prompted you to make the proposal you have done. The most wretched place in my diocese is Carrick-on-Suir, with 11,000 inhabitants, and more than the one-half of them actually starving, without any one to help them. There is no great landlord who owns a great part of the town. The Vicar, the Rev. Hamilton Maddan, is a truly excellent man. His income out of the parish is 47*l.* per annum. He is a man of good sense and energy. I shall be answerable that anything you send will be well applied and accounted for.'

"Immediately on receipt of the Bishop's letter, I wrote to the Rev. H. Maddan, and have received the following answer:—

"'Vicarage, Carrick-on-Suir, January 4, 1847.

"'Rev. and Dear Sir,—I received your letter yesterday, with feelings of sincere thankfulness to you, and, I trust, with deep gratitude to our God, who has put it into your heart to do something for us in our deep distress. Before I heard from the Bishop of Cashel on the subject, I hardly knew what to do for our poor people here, and prayed earnestly to the Lord to open in his own time and way some way for me to relieve them, and He has wonderfully done it. The deep distress of this country generally you are not unacquainted with. I will mention the particulars of this town, of which I am the Vicar. It is one of the poorest and, in proportion to its size, one of the most thickly inhabited towns in Ireland; it has the disadvantage of having a great number of non-resident landlords, not one having any great interest in it, few do anything for us. My income as Vicar of the Parish is not 100*l.* a-year, which obliges me daily to witness misery and distress without being able to relieve it. The population of the town is 13,000. There are 958 families in absolute want, composed at least of 4,500 individuals. Of these families, 240 are widows' families, with 480 children, without any head to look to for support, and, in the greater number of instances, without any grown-up children able to do anything. The Poor-house is so full that they are obliged to refuse admittance, and our Fever Hospital is overflowing.

"'This is the simple statement of our case here.

"'I could mention many instances of individual and family misery

which I myself see every day in the crowded lanes and hovels of the town. *The food of the people is gone.* Oatmeal and Indian meal are at such a price, that the wages, which the men employed in the public works receive (a shilling a-day), are quite unable to support a family. The men fortunate enough to be employed (for many hundreds cannot get work), are in many instances hardly able to go backwards and forwards from their wretched homes to the public works, starving themselves to try and keep their poor wives and little children alive.

“Indeed, my dear Sir, you can have no idea of it, and God grant you never may. It makes my heart bleed. Men who some months ago were strong and healthy, now reduced to skin and bone, and hardly able to go about, and the poor children looking the picture of death. Within the last week I witnessed two poor persons die from absolute want: when I heard of them it was too late to be of any use—and multitudes are fast approaching to the same state. We have opened a soup shop, where Mrs. Maddan and other ladies attend every day for three hours: it is, I trust, doing much good; the door is surrounded by hundreds of poor starving creatures, almost crushing each other to death to get one quart of soup. Our funds are very small, and we tremble to look forward. The Lord does wonderfully open the hearts of his people, and we do feel truly grateful for your kind Christian communication. May it lead to increased faith, and trust, and confidence. Don't think anything you or your kind flock may send, a trifle. We shall not think it so; however small, it will be received with the greatest gratitude, and laid out to the best advantage for our poor starving people.

“Your faithful Servant,

“H. HAMILTON MADDAN.”

“The plan I propose is, to make a weekly remittance to Mr. Maddan; to forward to the Bishop of Cashel, at the same time, an account of the sum remitted; and to read from the pulpit Mr. Maddan's acknowledgment of it, with his statement of facts.

“To insure the weekly remittance, I respectfully suggest that every family or individual appropriate a certain sum weekly;—let it be a moderate sum, adjusted according to our several ability—a sum which, if needs be, we may be able to increase. I shall be happy to take charge of these sums, or they may be deposited in boxes to be affixed near the doors of the church, to be opened by the minister and churchwardens after each service. If the sums are forwarded to me, it will be more convenient that they be sent every Monday morning, between the hours of nine and eleven. I shall wish all accounts to be examined by the churchwardens, and to be open for the inspection of the congregation.

“As to the manner of appropriating the sums remitted, I would suggest to Mr. Maddan the advisability of applying them to the relief of the most necessitous cases; especially to the relief of widows, orphans, the aged, the sick, and the infirm. By this plan it is hoped that the able-bodied will go more cheerfully to their daily labour, or

in quest of work, when they see their impotent neighbours and kinsfolk preserved from actual starvation.

I have already received subscriptions of 3d., 6d., 9d., 1s., 2s. 6d., 5s., 7s., 10s., 15s., 1l., and 2l. per week.

"I pray God to visit with his approbation this our feeble attempt to serve Him, to make our offering acceptable in the sight of our suffering brethren, and to pour down upon us more richly of the abundance of his mercy.

"I trust, beloved brethren, that you will permit me most heartily to thank you for your prompt and cheerful response to my suggestion, and to subscribe myself,

"Your faithful and affectionate pastor,

"JOS. FENN."

What may be done in this way will be best illustrated by a letter to the Rev. J. C. Crosthwaite from the Rev. Mr. Crosthwaite of Durrus, whose former letters, we are thankful to say, have not been received with indifference by the readers of the Magazine. The present letter will encourage those who have so charitably responded to his former application, to continue to assist and strengthen him in his painful duties.

My dear Brother,—I know you will agree with me respecting the importance of laying before those friends in England, who have so charitably assisted our poor people, correct details of the way in which matters are going on amongst us. We owe it, indeed, to you, also, who have pleaded our cause in the British Magazine, as well as to those who have charitably responded to your appeal.

It is Sunday evening: still, as the strange state of things which we see around us has rendered every day alike to the Irish parson, I will begin by telling you how this day has passed. It is now about six o'clock in the evening, and until this moment I have not sat down to-day since I came down stairs from my bed-room in the morning, except for a few minutes while the alms\* was being collected in church. The day began with giving out breakfast to crowds of people from two large boilers, in my yard. My own breakfast was eaten by snatches during the process, not having time enough on coming into the house even to take off my hat, before being called out again,—and so many were there waiting to be served, that they were not all served when twelve o'clock struck the hour for morning prayers. The moment service was over, I found a person waiting for me to go to see a poor woman who was very ill, and, without having time to take off my great coat or hat, I hastily ate my dinner whilst my horse was got ready, and arrangements were made for giving another meal to crowds of poor creatures again flocking round the house, with that ghastly look which we now know so well to be the look of famine, but which I never saw in any cases of poverty until this year. On my

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\* It is customary in Ireland to have a collection for the poor, every Sunday, in church, from pew to pew.

return from visiting the poor woman (whose family I found had had no second meal yesterday, and looked only to me for their second meal to-day), my yard was thronged like a market, the poor creatures getting a plentiful supply of hot, thick soup. The process is now over, and whilst waiting for the bell to summon us to evening prayers, I take my pen to give you some account of our proceedings. I must honestly say, however, that this Sunday has been the worst we have had, in consequence of about four hundred men on one of the roads in the parish having been without payment for four weeks, through a mistake made in the hurry of business by one of the officers of the Board of Works. This gentleman forgot to apply for more money from Dublin, and the works on the road were stopped for three weeks, whilst fresh arrangements were being made; and although the men have been at work during the past week, they cannot receive money until Tuesday next. The suffering has been dreadful; but, by almost superhuman exertions, I trust we shall not let one die of starvation. I have gone on the different roads, and found out in the various "gangs" of men, those who had not eaten anything for the day, and have given them money to go and buy from the nearest huxter. Some I have been obliged (from their reduced state) before now to send off the road altogether, and to feed them (and, of course, their families) for some days, as the only means of arresting the hand of death. During the past week, I have distributed, in this way, as much as 2*l.* 5*s.* in a day, in small sums to procure one or two meals;—besides quantities of hot, thick soup, given away at my own house. This day there were given out 240 quarts of soup, about twelve shillings' worth of brown bread, and also 1*l.* 11*s.* in money, in small sums, to men whom I knew to have no means of purchasing their breakfast when going to the works to-morrow. I have also sent in an order to Bantry this evening to have one pound's worth of bread ready early to-morrow morning for my messenger. This I intend to divide on the road amongst those who may be most in need. By the truck system, by pawning, and by credit, some of these poor people have struggled through the month, with the help of some little portions of seed corn, which they had hitherto in all their want contrived to spare for sowing in the ground; but many—many are for several days back only saved by my standing between them and death. No: I will not be guilty of saying so,—it is our generous English friends who have placed their hands upon the open grave and prevented these poor creatures from sinking into it. Be assured, I do not forget to tell them so. By the help of the money sent to us from England, I have purchased 120*l.* worth of Indian meal, and have sold it out to the most destitute, at a reduced price. By this help and that of one or two friends in this country, I have given out some thousands of quarts of soup during the last few weeks. By the same help, I have been enabled hitherto, in some way or another, to assist every inhabitant of this wild and wretched parish who applied to me for relief. We have made our plans for charity as much as possible reproductive: thus we have, with comparatively few exceptions, sold the Indian

meal at 2s. 4d. per stone (the price in this neighbourhood is now 3s.), and we have sold only on tickets, given by my own hand, to those whom I knew to be in want. Our soup is sold at a halfpenny a quart. Indeed, I ought not to call it soup, but thick, well-seasoned porridge, made of Indian meal and bean meal. In fact, in every way that I possibly can, I am making the most of our little funds, though these last four weeks, from the circumstance above mentioned, have been a dreadful drain upon us—one small error having thrown the whole burden of relieving the families of about 400 men upon our feeble resources. And here it may be well to mention that, even with the very best intentions, it is impossible that the Board of Works can relieve the people independently of private exertions. In proof of this, I will mention a few circumstances connected only with my own parish. On the 21st of December, I saw the engineer at a town about seven miles from here, and (as secretary of our Relief Committee in this place) I made the necessary arrangements with him for the *immediate* employment of 700 additional men in this parish, on two separate roads. The lists of the men were made out with my own hand, those for each of the roads being marked for that road, according to the engineer's printed form; they were signed in my presence by the inspecting officer, and I myself put them into the engineer's hands. The only remaining step was, to have the lists copied out by his clerk, and the men put to work the next day. *For a fortnight*, however, the press of business prevented these lists from being copied out, and, finally, I had to ride myself to the place where the engineer resides (twelve Irish miles) late on Saturday evening, and persuade him to employ the men. I laboured hard to induce him to allow the men to be employed the following Monday. I begged—I entreated, (for I knew a battle would have interposed delay,) and at last I prevailed upon him to agree that, if I would pay a man to stay up all that night, he would allow him to copy the lists in his (the engineer's) office, and I might the next day send a messenger to take them to the road before Monday. Accordingly, I paid a man five shillings for copying out the lists that night. I sent a messenger the next day (Sunday)—twelve Irish miles remember. He came back unsuccessful. Determined to gain my point, I sent another on my own horse, and he returned at eleven at night, with the answer, that the lists would be sent in the morning. Well, Monday morning came, the clerk called with the lists, and what was my dismay at finding that, after all my trouble, the transcriber had been allowed to copy them all out in one list, as if for one road; thus drawing off poor creatures to work ten miles from their homes, although they had been returned to the engineer's hands for a road within a quarter of a mile of their own doors. Of course, I at once remonstrated, but without effect. I sent to him on Friday; I sent again to him on Sunday. The Relief Committee met on Tuesday last, and wrote to him officially; but it has all been without effect. The poor creatures have still the alternative of walking ten Irish miles every morning to their work, or else lie down and die. To the

workhouse they cannot go, for it has been closed against the admission of any more applicants. The fact is, the work is complicated, and the engineers have a great deal to do. The Board of Works are anxious to remedy the slightest mistake when it is pointed out to them, but the delay of writing to Dublin and receiving an answer is so great, that considerable evil must necessarily occur, over which they have no control. I have found my letters to their secretary, Mr. Walker, attended to in the kindest manner, but I have had to write so frequently, that I have been really ashamed to make further complaints. The truth is, the system, although a wonderful piece of machinery, is not one that can be continued much longer. The country is sick of it; the poor themselves are heartily tired of it.

There has been an impression abroad that the men would not leave the government roads for any agricultural work. I can only say I have not found it so, although I understand that the system of the Board of Works has been better worked in this parish than in any for many miles around us. I could, to-morrow, obtain 500 men, if I pleased, who would gladly leave the government work on the roads to come to work with me; and I have not, during the whole of last year, and up to this moment, given more than eightpence a day wages. I could not give more. I employed on an average about thirty men; *only* those who could not obtain admission on the roads, and were trying to save the little remainder of their corn for seed, or who would have been otherwise totally destitute, and to whom eightpence a day, *regularly paid twice a week*, was a great favour. I could not afford to employ more, but hundreds would leave the roads to-morrow, and come to me gladly. The real state of the case is this: the men *must have money or food at home*. They have nothing at home on which they could live, if they employed themselves on their own little farms. The larger farmers will not give money wages, they will feed the *man* but not *his family*. That the poor people would rather have a smaller amount of payment and work harder upon it, *if employed at their own homes, I know, because I have tried it*. I have, at present, several small farmers employed in draining and subsoiling, in the very best manner, the land in which they are to sow their own corn this year. I pay them in Indian meal; and I do not pay them as much as they would receive in money on the roads, and yet they *greatly prefer* being at work at home. In fact, I only want funds to enable me to extend these arrangements. If I had help, I could draw off a large number of the poor farmers of this parish from the roads during the next two or three months, and employ them in tilling their little portions of ground for the corn crop, in a manner far better than they have ever done in any former year. Those who till their fields to my *perfect satisfaction*, I would reward with some little useful implement, such as a wheelbarrow, a crow-bar, a sledge-hammer (to break the large stones with which they are interrupted in the cultivation of their fields), or other articles, of little cost, though of great value to them, but still, as yet, beyond their means to procure. I have already in former years tried this plan, and found it



very useful. Having been forced, in consequence of the possession of a glebe of miserable land, to study the very best modes of agriculture, I am well acquainted with the minute details of the operations most required in poor Ireland, and I have a very valuable helper in my parish clerk, who is an extremely intelligent and sensible farmer, universally respected in the parish, and trustworthy, being a right good churchman and an honest man. One part of my plan would be, to offer a certain amount of premium to the man who would sow the largest extent of corn, amongst those paying equal rent; and a premium to those who would plant the largest extent of cabbage, turnips, or other green crop: this latter is of greater importance than might be generally thought, inasmuch as the people are in great danger of neglecting to sow any manured crop instead of their usual friend the potato; and in all such cases there would be no ground prepared for sowing corn *next year*. Some of these plans I am already carrying on, but my means are very small. The poor people here want encouragement to arouse and cheer them. Besides, *we want corn for seed, as there is now none here to be sold.*

We are often grieved and pained when we find some of the public papers accusing all the poor of Ireland of buying fire-arms with the money thus earned upon the roads, whilst they have their store laid by in the savings banks. Alas! the instances in *this* parish of people having money in the savings bank are few indeed! Perhaps ten—perhaps twenty, (though I have no idea of there being so many,) in a parish containing about 10,000 inhabitants. And as to fire-arms, few have such things. If there were some more guns and pistols about us, they might serve to keep in awe a few poor wretched creatures who are stealing geese from their neighbours, or pulling sheaves out of the stacks of corn for the purpose of satisfying their hunger. I doubt very much many of the stories that have been spread about fire-arms; and *where they were bought*, I do believe it was in many cases (if not in most) for purposes of defence. For in some places the evil-minded portion of the population will not starve while a neighbour has corn stacks; indeed, even in this proverbially quiet neighbourhood, the farmers are obliged closely to watch their little store.

I cannot tell you with what pleasure I have read in the British Magazine, for this month, which you have sent me, the remarks upon this subject. You need not be afraid to assert that *there were not 500 stand of arms purchased in this district of 100 miles*. Nay, I have very great doubts whether that number have been purchased by the peasantry *in the whole of Munster* during this season of want; but in that I may be mistaken. I will not undertake to answer for those whom I do not know, but if you could see what a rich treasure the box of clothes sent by your kind friend was to our poor shivering people, you would feel satisfied there was little purchasing of fire-arms *in their cases*; and if you had to visit them in their poor cabins, as I have every day, and see them lie longing for a drink, in the height of fever, or without a blanket in the attacks of dysentery that

are now so prevalent, you would be confirmed in your feeling of the wickedness of those who have mocked at their calamity and misery. I must now conclude this long letter; and am, &c.,

W. M. CROSTHWAITE.

Durrus Glebe, Bantry, Jan. 17, 1847.

Rev. J. C. Crosthwaite, Rectory, St. Mary-at-Hill,  
London.\*

Nothing can be more important than the suggestion in this letter to assist the poorest class of farmers to till and sow their ground for next season. If this is largely acted on, and an improved system of agriculture be introduced among them, the benefit must be incalculable. And the benefit will be very greatly enhanced, if the assistance is received from England, and is imparted through the hands of the clergy.

We must never forget that the Irish poor have their minds poisoned against England, not merely by the general spirit of the teaching of their priests and demagogues—but that political publications of the most wicked and inflammatory description are circulated among them in a cheap form by thousands. A systematic effort is unceasingly made to lead them to believe that England is their natural enemy, and that to rebel against England is a duty and a virtue. Some newspaper writers, ignorant of the real condition of Ireland, have dwelt largely on the recent purchases of firearms. If they were at all acquainted with the popular literature of the country, they would see that what is really surprising is, how it comes to pass that an excitable populace like the Irish, when such books are suffered to be sold and circulated all over the country, do not break out into open rebel-

\* The Rev. J. C. Crosthwaite desires to acknowledge the following sums received by him for the destitute poor in the parish of Durrus, county of Cork:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
The Lord Bishop of Bangor	10	0	0	N. Fenn, Esq. . . . .	5	5	0
George Trower, Esq. . . . .	5	0	0	Mrs. Vickers . . . . .	0	5	0
Per ditto . . . . .	26	10	0	A Friend, per Rev. G. Bellett	10	0	0
Rev. S. R. Maitland . . . . .	5	0	0	W. Lawson, Esq. . . . .	1	0	0
Messrs. Phillips and Graves	5	0	0	Rev. J. O. W. Haweis . . . . .	1	0	0
Robert Steven, Esq. . . . .	5	0	0	Rev. R. Mayo . . . . .	11	0	0
W. Peek, Esq. . . . .	1	0	0	C. Rivington, Esq. . . . .	5	5	0
J. Peek, Esq. . . . .	1	1	0	Mrs. Strong . . . . .	5	0	0
R. Habersfield, jun., Esq. . . . .	3	3	0	Mrs. Cheap . . . . .	1	10	0
Miss Sterry . . . . .	2	0	0	A Friend, per ditto . . . . .	5	0	0
W. W. . . . .	5	0	0	F. Fenn, Esq. . . . .	2	2	0
A Friend, per ditto . . . . .	1	0	0	Mrs. Hoare . . . . .	5	0	0
D. G., per ditto . . . . .	5	0	0	Mrs. Johnson . . . . .	0	5	0
H. S. Northcote, Esq. . . . .	10	0	0	Miss Mortlock . . . . .	10	0	0
Anonymous . . . . .	1	0	0	Mr. Isleton . . . . .	0	5	0
T. W. Wing, Esq. . . . .	1	0	0	Mrs. Corbet . . . . .	0	10	0
Miss M. Hart . . . . .	3	0	0	Rev. W. M. Heald . . . . .	5	0	0
Friends, per F. Rivington, Esq.	5	10	0	Rev. J. Jebb . . . . .	2	0	0
T. Cockburn, Esq. . . . .	5	0	0				

lion. A pamphlet has lately been published in Dublin—"Signs of the Times, extracted from the Dublin University Magazine for January 1847," which is extremely deserving of the serious attention of every person connected with the government of the empire. In it are given several extracts from a series of works now in publication, entitled "The National Library for Ireland." We shall transcribe two or three passages, which will serve to illustrate the spirit of the dominant party among the Irish Roman Catholics—that party into whose hands all the educational measures of the English government and legislature for several years past have been directed to intrust the education and instruction of the poor of Ireland.

The first passage we shall transcribe is an extract from a volume called "The Rising of Ninety-Eight"—meaning the rebellion of 1798—and this is the strain in which the oath of the United Irishmen, as the rebels called themselves, is panegyricized:

"Here, no doubt, the reader will not fail to observe the great spirit of fairness and toleration which distinguished the oath of the United Irishmen from that of the United Englishmen in former times. In the United Irish oath, there is not one word said about swearing any English or foreigners to obey the Irish. Every native Irishman is simply called on to make a natural, grateful, and religious vow before the great, good, and just God, to love his own fellow-countrymen, and serve his native land. Moreover, no Englishman, Scotchman, Welshman, German, Dutchman, Hanoverian, or any other beggarly foreigner, was ever compelled by the United Irishmen to perjure himself by taking an unnatural blasphemous oath to obey the Irish—for is it not blasphemous to swear before God, against the very land which he allowed one to be born in? The English in former times, on the contrary, never had such a fair form of oath as that of the United Irishmen. Formerly, the English ruffians, after first murdering, burning, robbing, and ravishing the greater part of the unoffending Irish, used then, like loyal, merciful, and religious enemies, present on the sword's point an oath of allegiance, to be quickly swallowed down by the remainder of the natives. By this compulsory oath, a true-blooded Irishman was obliged to swear, against his grain, to obey or serve some tyrannical fellow or other, called king of England, no matter who he might chance to be. Thus, descendants of our old native Irish kings—men with the pure blood of such heroes as Niall the Grand (the triumphant invader of Britain and Gaul), or old Brian Boru (the Dane-smasher), coursing through their veins—have been compelled, by rapacious and blood-thirsty Englishmen, to swear, what?—yes, gracious Heaven! to swear to obey a whole parcel of murdering mongrels and wicked foreigners, such as James Stuart, a Scotchman, who robbed all the Ulster Irish of their tenant-right, and was moreover addicted to dark and unnatural crimes; or William of Orange, who robbed and butchered the Irish, made and broke the

treaty of Limerick, and murdered the Scotch clan M'Donald, in the valley of Glencoe; or George Guelphs, the Hanoverian, who murdered Count Konigsmark, and kept the Irish as slaves under penal laws so infamous, that if they at present existed, the Irish millions would be justified in rising up like men, which unfortunately they were not numerous enough to do in the penal times."

Of a similar character is the following :—

" Strange to say, although the English had, with all the business habits of their nation, been most industriously employed, for about six hundred years, in robbing, ravishing, murdering, exterminating, exiling, torturing, starving, and brutalizing the Irish, still the descendants of that unfortunate people, the United Irishmen, who had as yet escaped the general fate of their ancestors, felt not the least gratitude to the English, who are always ready enough to preach the text of ' Love your enemies ' to the Irish, but will never practise such text themselves. Let us picture to ourselves a figure of Britannia, dressed in scarlet, like a harlot of Babylon, standing on the bleeding corpse of Erin, with a bloody sword in one hand, while she is rifling the pocket of her victim with the other, and exclaiming all the time — ' Love your enemies ; ' ' Be grateful ! ' What a blasphemous farce ! It was not thus that the Heavenly Saviour preached the doctrines of peace and philanthropic brotherhood to his disciples."

Can any one be surprised at the murders and assassinations which defile the soil of a country in which such truly diabolical books are circulated among the poor.

In the following passage the poor Irish are taught to regard the French as their friends, united with them in the common bond of hatred to England.

" While those English villains, and the Irish parliament conspirators in their pay, were oppressing and plotting against the Irish nation, a French fleet and army of liberation appeared off the Irish coasts. So leaving this frightful scene of domestic corruption and foreign tyranny just described, we must now take a glance at the foreign policy of Ireland, and the negotiations and alliances which the United Irish leaders, in their wisdom, thought fit to form between the Irish and the French, who may be called kindred nations, since they are both of Celtic race, and are equally remarkable for their military spirit, gaiety, politeness, love of glory, strong passion for liberty or native governments, and dislike of English tyranny and ambition, which never rests, but is always unjustly invading the freedom and possessions of other countries."

The observations of the writer of the article in the Dublin University Magazine on these works, under the present lamentable and unchristian system of national education in Ireland, are well deserving of attention. Having shown that the Bible

is not only a prohibited book in the government schools, but that even the Scripture Extracts, drawn up by the Irish Commissioners of Education, are not suffered to be used in more than nine-tenths of the schools under the patronage of the Romish priests;—and likewise, that in the south and west the government schools are instruments of popery, and in the north of Ireland are exclusively Presbyterian, the author proceeds to make the following remarks:—

“ Our object is not, at present, to discuss the merits of the Irish National Education question, but to put our readers in full possession of the precise mental condition of a vast majority of the population, and their aptitude or inaptitude to be influenced by publications, a brief sample of which is to be found in the preceding pages.

“ The Roman-catholic priests and the national schoolmasters are now, wherever the Popish religion predominates, the appointed instructors of the people. Every one who has bestowed any serious thought upon the working of an educational system, knows that the books which are read are of little consequence compared with those by whom they are taught. *As are the schoolmasters, so will be the schools.* The personal influence of the former will always determine the character of the latter, for good or for evil. And the best system of instruction that ever was devised, under the conduct of a teacher perverted by the errors, and infected by the spirit, of Irish Romanism, will but reflect those errors, and propagate that spirit in the vast majority of those over whom his influence extends.

“ What, therefore, is the amount of what has been done, and is doing, for enlightening the masses of the Irish people? They are just fitted and prepared for the demagogue, who impresses upon them as a sacred duty, to labour for the overthrow of an heretical church, and to strive, with all their might and main, for the exaltation of the Roman-catholic religion, and the independence of Ireland! They are no longer, it is true, an *unlettered* people. They can read. But their reading is almost confined to those productions which taint their morals, and sap their allegiance. By what is done for them the raw material is just wrought into that state in which it may be most readily converted to purposes of sedition. The cotton is saturated with the inflammable fluid, which will soon render it one of the most dangerous of combustibles. This is all clear gain to the pestilent disturber. So far from being ‘let or hindered,’ he is aided in his designs, by what has been done for giving the people just so much knowledge as may enable them to imbibe and to propagate his lessons of treason. ‘The National Library’ is the natural adjunct to ‘the National Schools.’ The lives of the traitors who figured in the late rebellion will be eagerly read, where the word of God is interdicted. The teacher, who is the active agent of the priest, a collector of the O’Connell tribute, and a contributor to the repeal rent, will not, by his comments, very materially counteract the impressions which are made upon susceptible minds by the most glaring misstatements of

facts, and the most slanderous and envenomed misrepresentations. And what the effect of this must be, can be but very imperfectly understood by those who do not know the ardent temperament of the Irish, and their passionate devotion to objects which have once become dear to them, from their supposed subserviency to the renown or the well-being of their native land.

"In each of the volumes which compose the 'National Library,' there are one hundred and forty closely-printed pages. They are published monthly, and are sold for so low a price as *four-pence* each. Fifteen thousand are struck off as a first impression; and the proprietors are content to lose five thousand before any profit begins to be made. The impression does not remain upon hands more than a few days, and is carried by flying stationers to all parts of Ireland. It is not, therefore, rash to affirm, that the principles which these works inculcate, and the views they advocate, are, or will be, in a very short time, the views and the principles of a vast majority of the Romish population."

These are matters of no trifling moment to the stability of the empire itself. We are firmly convinced that the Irish system of national education is as injurious to British connexion as it is to the Protestant religion—and thankful should we be in these times—when it is no longer considered discreditable for a politician to change his opinions on a great question—if some of its admirers could be induced to reconsider the subject.

But our present object is to alleviate the sufferings of this calamitous season. The Queen's letter will be issued soon after these observations are given to the public—and we have thought it might be considered advisable to furnish the clergy with some letters and documents which have appeared in the Irish newspapers—chiefly in the paper published in Cork. With these extracts this article shall be concluded; and sincerely we trust, that before another month has passed, we may have more cheering accounts to lay before our readers.

The following is taken from a statement furnished by the manager of the Skibbereen bank to the reporter of the *Cork Constitution*.

"To feed this immense population in the absence of the potato would require very large imports of flour. There were no means of providing, and even if corn were sent into the country in sufficient quantities, there was no means of grinding it, for there are but three flour mills in the entire district—the Reinmeen and Skibbereen—capable of grinding 150 bags a day, and the Bantry mills, which could work about 30 bags. Supplies of food, therefore, not being in the country, the result was famine and death, without the most remote chance of averting them.

"The misery in some of the most densely populated parishes, and

these, unfortunately, have fewest resident gentry, is horrifying. In the parish of Skull, containing 17,314 human beings, the deaths have increased on the average of the past week to twenty-five a-day, while those who yet remain are suffering from diarrhoea and dropsy, brought on by cold and want of food; in fact, if the inhabitants of this parish, Kilmoe and Caherah, were all sent adrift in the Atlantic upon a raft, they could not be more destitute or helpless than they are at the present moment. Potatoes they have none—corn food is beyond their reach—the domestic fowl have long since disappeared—the pigs are banished completely—the cows and sheep which were here and there to be seen have been disposed of or stolen and eaten—the dogs and cats have either died of hunger, or have been turned to the use of human beings, to meet the dreadful cravings of empty stomachs.

“The same may be said of the other parishes—the cause being the same, the effect is similar; and in proof of this, I need merely mention that the dead are taken to the grave unattended by friends or relations. In fact, daily cases become known of the husband, wife, or child lying dead for days on the same sop of straw, with the starving relatives.

“I have myself seen such cases in the town of Skibbereen. This evening I was called from my hotel by Mr. Macarthy Downing, and was taken to a house in the North-street. It was a miserable abode. There sat by the hearth, crouching to a flickering ember of turf, a wretched child, about twelve years of age, alongside whom, on a sop of straw, without covering, lay the dead body of her brother. He expired on Tuesday night, and she and her mother lay alongside the corpse for two nights and two days. In answer to my inquiries, she stated she had not tasted food since Wednesday evening, and that her mother had eaten nothing since the morning of that day, and that the mother had gone out as soon as night came on (Saturday) to beg for something.

“Previous to this, I visited the Windmill-hill, where there is a large population. The first hut I entered, I found a young woman stretched on the hearthstone, endeavouring to get a little warmth from the ashes. In the corner lay an unfortunate man labouring under diarrhoea, alongside of whom lay a wretched child. A lighting splinter of bog-wood having been brought in, the child turned round, and fixing his glazed eyes upon me, gave a tremulous scream, and as he fainted off, muttered ‘I’m hungry,’ while the unfortunate father moaned with pain and affliction. I no sooner retired from this scene than I was surrounded by over thirty wretched creatures, all beseeching me to enter their abodes—one saying her husband died yesterday; another, his wife died awhile ago; another, his father was just expiring, that they were all starving, and so on. I went into about six hovels, and each exhibited a more horrible spectacle than the other. I at last tore myself from them, and rushed into my hotel, where I was followed by a number of unfortunate creatures, who crowded round the door until midnight, expecting I might have been enabled to relieve or advise them.

"Last Monday, it was reported to the police that a man, named Charles M'Carthy, was lying dead for some days in his hut on the Windmill-hill. On going there, they found the corpse on the earthen floor, and his three daughters lying at either side in fever. He had been dead since the Friday previous.

"On Tuesday, a man and his wife, named Nagle, living at Coolbuy, in the parish of Caheragh, were found dead, and their two daughters and son lying on the same straw in fever.

"It is of daily occurrence to see the mother carrying the corpse of her child, or the husband that of his wife, unattended by any other person, to the grave. Friday last, a young woman was found drawing the remains of her father along the road on a door, to lay him in his grave at Abbeystowry.

"In a conversation I had with the manager of the National Bank in this town, he mentioned he had a large quantity of specie in his coffers; and I asked him, was that prudent under present circumstances. His reply was, 'I had some fears two or three months ago, when the people were robust and energetic, but now I have none. They are physically dead. They are incapable of exertion. They are so paralyzed and so dejected, that you never see two of them together. The bodies are so emaciated—their spirits so broken—their intellects so weakened, that neither father nor son converse together, but with an idiotic gaze view each other's skeleton forms. Under these circumstances, there is no conspiracy—there can be none, and therefore I am quite at ease in respect to the safety of the property in my charge.'

"It is declared by those who have the means of best judging, that one-half the population of these baronies will be in their graves before the month of April next, while any persons fortunate enough to have reserved a little means, are making preparations to emigrate by the spring ships.

"All through this country agriculture is completely neglected, and the prospects of the next winter are at least equally bad.

"Subscriptions having been sent to Mr. M'Carthy Downing to distribute on the land of South Reen, in reference to which Mr. Cummins had written a letter to the Duke of Wellington, and letters having been received by Mr. Welply from England, requesting to ascertain whether the facts stated therein were not exaggerated, these gentlemen, accompanied by the Rev. James Molony, Roman-catholic clergyman, visited the locality on Thursday last, and made a most minute examination of the state of the inhabitants, the result of which was, that the statement of Mr. Cummins was found to fall short in giving the full and real state of wretchedness to which they have been reduced, and upon which a statement will be made by these gentlemen.

To this statement we subjoin that laid before Sir George Grey, by the clergy of the district, with some documents they have appended in corroboration of their memorial.



*"Facts and Documents, relative to the Distress in Skibbereen, laid before Sir George Grey, Bart., Secretary of State.*

*"Cork Constitution, Oct. 15.*

"Jeremiah Hegarty, found dead on the road within a mile of Skibbereen. Evidence of Mary Driscoll, daughter of deceased. He took a little breakfast on Saturday morning of barley stirabout, and immediately after left to go to work. He did not eat enough, but ate all he got, for none of us had enough. We are nine in family, not including the infant at my breast. We had only three pints of barley meal between the entire of us; my young child at the breast eat nothing or drank nothing that morning. I had no drink to give it—it was the only thing we ate since the Thursday before. On Thursday we had nothing for dinner but about a quarter of a weight (a weight is twenty-one pounds) of crahanes, small potatoes. We had a little barley, about a barrel, and God help us, we could not eat any more of that same, as the landlord put a cross upon it. Deceased returned home after work in the evening, he had no sickness. He complained on Friday of being hungry; both my father and my husband were working eight days and got no money for it. The landlord wanted to keep the barley for the last rent. The rent was 2*l.* 17*s.* It was John Collins and Corly Buckley that put the cross on the barley—they are bailiffs. We used to take the barley by stealth from the heap, though C. Buckley, the bailiff, told us sometimes to be eating of it till the landlord would come. We owed 10*s.* to Mr. M'C. for the seed of the barley, and we would sooner all of us die of starvation than not pay it. Since a fortnight passed there was not one of us ate enough any day. My father had no bed, he slept on straw on the floor, covered with a bit of packing or canvas that covers about goods in the shops.

"John Harrington—Deceased also said, he did not eat a bit since Thursday. Asked him whether his son-in-law had not anything to give him, he said not, but that they had a little barley which they took privately away and eat, as the landlord's agent had marked it. The last words deceased said to me were:—'If we are not paid, I'll die'—I am myself nine days at work and am not yet paid since I got work. I could not live only for charity I received.

"Verdict.—We find that deceased, Jeremiah Hegarty, had met his death in consequence of a want of sufficient sustenance for many days previous to his decease, and that this want of sustenance was occasioned by his not having been paid his wages on the public work, where he was employed, for eight days previous to the time of his death."—*Cork Constitution, Nov. 5, 1846.*

"An inquest was held on Monday, before F. Baldwin, Coroner, in the Court-house of Skibbereen, on the body of Denis M'Kennedy, a labourer on one of the public works, who was reported to have died of hunger.

"Joan M'Kennedy, wife of deceased.—He died on Saturday three weeks. He was working at the Caheragh road, up to the day he died. On Thursday morning he had nothing to eat; on the night

before, she boiled one head of cabbage she got from a neighbour, and with that, she had for her entire family, five in number, about a pint of flour. On Wednesday morning, she had nothing to give them. On Tuesday, they had about half-a-weight of potatoes, they got from a neighbour. On Monday, they had nothing at all to eat; from Sunday to Thursday morning, she had for the support of her entire family, only half-a-weight of potatoes, small, black, bad, a pint of meal, and a head of cabbage. On Saturday morning, she sent him for breakfast less than a pint of flour baked, but it was too late; before it arrived, he was dead.

"Jeremiah Donovan, Steward on Caheragh road since the 5th of October last, had had deceased working in his gang all that time; saw deceased on the morning of his death leave his work and go to the ditch side; seeing him stop so long there, he went to him and desired him to return to his work. He replied—How can a man work without food, a man like me, that ate nothing since yesterday morning? He did not resume work; witness seeing him weak, handed him a bit of bread; he took it in his hand, and was putting it to his mouth, when it fell from him. Shortly after, he fell back, and in two or three hours he died. His pay was 8d. a-day. Deponent himself has got no pay yet.

"Dr. Dore opened the abdomen and chest, ascertained the cause to be starvation, found no disease that would account for it; found no food in the stomach; saw hundreds of dead bodies, but never saw one so attenuated as that; the man, from forty to fifty years old.

"P. Donovan.—The body was the most attenuated he ever saw, there was scarcely a vestige of omentum, so complete was the absorption of adipose matter; from the flaccid, empty, and blanched condition of the intestines, he was clearly of opinion that he died of starvation.

"Verdict.—We find that deceased, Denis M'Kennedy, died of starvation, caused by the gross neglect of the Board of Works."

"Alleged deaths by starvation.—Three inquests held in one day. Letter from one of the Jurors. The inquests were postponed, and not completed when we left Skibbereen. An account of the verdict has arrived.

"In company with eleven other jurors, I went to the parish of Castlehaven, to view the body of a man exhumed for a post-mortem examination. He appeared a good deal reduced from want of food. The Doctor said his lungs were so much diseased, he died from that cause; the observations of by-standers went to state, that the poor fellow had been obliged to work up to his knees in water, daily, for some time before his death.

"From thence we proceeded to Letter, to view the body of a man not interred; he was a complete skeleton, the bones were actually starting through the skin; it was stated, that he was used to walk five miles daily to work, and was depending for subsistence, on cabbage, or any such matter he could procure to afford him one meal a day; three weeks' wages were due to him at the time of his death.

"It was the decided opinion of all present that he died from abso-

lute starvation. We subscribed to buy a coffin. From thence we proceeded to the chapel-yard, at Skibbereen, to view the body of a young man ; he also appeared greatly reduced, from want of food, but as there were no witnesses present, we could not ascertain any particulars respecting him as yet ; but so far as we could judge from appearance, he, as well as the other two parties, appeared to have had their deaths greatly accelerated, if not mainly caused, by actual want of the meanest description of food.

" I remain, dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

" JOHN NASH WRIGHT.

" To the Rev. C. Caulfeild, Nov. 25, 1846."

" Verdict in these three cases.

" We find that the deceased, Michael M'Carthy died of disease of the lungs, accelerated by cold and want of food.

" We find that deceased, James Purcel, died at Letter, for want of food, occasioned by his not having received the fortnight's wages due to him on the Adrisgle road, under the Board of Works.

" Remark of a juror.

" Two of the jury were for finding wilful murder against the Board of Works.

" We find that deceased, Denis Bohane, died on the 11th inst., on the road of Dishane, from want of food, occasioned by his not having received the fortnight's wages due to him on the Tragumina road.

" The Coroner proceeded to hold an inquest at Glandore ; the man was unable to procure any work or food, and he expired of hunger.

" On Thursday, the 25th, a report was made to the constabulary, that a man had died of starvation, the previous night, a short distance from Skibbereen."

*" Letter from Dr. Hadden, Skibbereen.*

" On visiting a poor family at Rineen, on Friday last, my attention was attracted by a poor emaciated girl, coming within a few feet of the house. They were afraid to allow the child near them, least she might convey the infection. After this introduction, I visited the family, and found the father, mother, and two children ill, in the same bed, of fever ; the little girl who first attracted my attention, with a younger child, sat by the bedside, and had only that morning left the same bed, and were not even then recovered from fever. On feeling the poor woman's pulse, I found the hands were crusted with wet flour, and having inquired the reason, was told that she had made a little cake to supply the wants of their children, who were recovering. The woman daily expected her confinement.

" The Doctor procured relief and a blanket, from a lady, for them. I saw her on Saturday, and found the fever making progress, and again on Sunday, and feel ashamed to mention the events which had occurred—labour came on, no one to aid but her husband, and he in fever also—no midwife, no female would come to the plague house, nor any one to go for medical aid. It was almost by accident Dr. Hadden knew of her case. With all this, there was a complete want of every-

thing, food, drink, fire, and clothing, till supplied by a charitable lady, who sent a boat with a temporary supply of all these things.

"There is a clergyman (only one out of many) who is obliged to supply with food forty-six families. There are (and the number must increase) now 162 persons daily supplied with soup from his house; his means are small, and his own family large; yet, if compelled to withdraw this supply, the greater number must very soon perish.

"Another clergyman supplies sixty persons three days in the week with soup; he cannot very long afford to do so, and then the poor must perish by famine.

"We bring forward the following case in our knowledge. Denis Leahy, lived in Lick, nearly eighty years of age, employed on public work, but dismissed a month since with one hundred others, the road being completed; no work since, and we know not how he existed. He died in his house; for two days and nights there was no food in the house; had a wife, a son, and two grandchildren; not one of these, as far as can be ascertained, tasted any food for two days and nights before the old man died. He perished on Monday, 23rd, and was buried on the 25th, by subscription of a few shillings. There was no inquest, nor was this extremity of distress known to any, except a few neighbours, almost equally destitute.

"A child of William Wholahone died at Dromig, and so great was the destitution of the parents, that they buried it without a coffin; they lived for twelve years in the place; not strangers passing through.

"On the island of Sherkin, many are now living entirely on salt fish; this compels them to drink so much water, that disease attacks them. There are 1300 inhabitants. The majority are in great want. On Cape Clear, which contains about the same number, sea-weed is becoming one of the ordinary articles of food. Nothing can be more heart-rending than their tales of distress.

"There is a soup kitchen supported by voluntary contributions, feeding daily about 400 persons, though only established a very short time. The soup is only given to those who have tickets from subscribers.

"The inadequacy of public works will be seen from the following statement of a clergyman, regarding his own parish:—

"The population 6000—of these, 1931, supported chiefly by the potato, are now destitute of food. Of these, 500 have employment on public works; the remainder are destitute; the wages, 8d. a-day, not being now sufficient, at the present price of provisions, to sustain more than the labourer himself. In two months hence, 2000 of the remaining 4069 now living on corn (usually sold to pay rent) will be quite destitute; this supply will not afford them food for a longer period, and all similarly situated must perish. Yet there is no violence—no angry feeling—but thankfulness for any assistance.

"The state of the poor-house, compared with that of the same period last year, affords another most melancholy proof of the destitution of the people. The following is an extract of the account of the clerk of the union:—

The number of pauper inmates on 21st Nov. 1846	889
The house built to accommodate	800.
The number in Fever Hospital, on 21st Nov.	148
The number in the Infirmary	129
The Fever Hospital has only	40 beds.
They are three and four in a bed.	
The number of deaths up to 23rd from 1st Nov.	52
Died on the 24th	4
Died on the 25th	11
	—
Deaths to Nov. 25th	67
Number of inmates in 1845, Nov. 21st	273
Number of deaths in whole month	1
In Infirmary	40
In Fever Hospital	0
Number of applicants on 23rd Nov. 1845	5
Number of applicants on 21st Nov. 1846	85

The deaths on particular days during November, 1846, in which greatest number died—

1846, November 1	7
„ „ 7	6
„ „ 16	9
„ „ 19	6
„ „ 25	11

“To prevent alarm, the coffins for the dead are not now sent through the town, but by another route.” \* \* \* \*

— “Skibbereen, Nov. 27, 1846.

“P.S.—A private letter states, yesterday, there were 13 deaths in the poorhouse, and 12 the day before. I was told to-day that the work has all been stopped about this place. There were 40 men quietly begging about the town to-day for a morsel of food. One of Joanna's children died last night; another poor woman was here to-day whose husband and child were dead and laid out on the same door.”

The next extract is a letter from Mr. Tuckey, the rector of Drimoleague, in the same county.

“To the Editor of the CORK CONSTITUTION.

“Drimoleague, Dec. 30, 1846.

“Sir,—In addition to the general statements of my friend Mr. Robinson, respecting the destitution of this and a neighbouring parish, which appeared in your paper of yesterday, I beg to send you a few particulars, requesting you will give them also a place.

“This district, comprising the parishes of West Drinagh and Drimoleague, contains a population of about 9000 inhabitants, of whom it is no exaggeration to say that at the very least 6000 are utterly destitute of any means of subsistence beyond what is afforded by charity,

and occasional employment on the public roads. On these about 900 men and boys (and sometimes even women) are engaged. In connexion with this I may here mention, that a new disease has appeared in the country, which, as it most usually attacks those employed on roads, has by some been termed '*the road disease*.' It is plainly the result of extreme hardship, cold, and deficient or unwholesome food; it is attended with dropsical symptoms. There is scarcely a family in the parish that has not been visited by it, and even where it has not proved fatal, it has laid numbers for weeks together on their comfortless beds. When such cases occur, young girls come frequently asking to get work in the place of their fathers or brothers, who are either sick or dead. The number of funerals that pass our house far exceeds that of any former period in our recollection. They are, in fact, so common, that few seem to give them a passing thought, and they are almost unattended, save by the immediate friends of the deceased person. Death has become so familiar a guest in our wretched cottages, that what are considered almost *sacred* customs in the meanest house of mourning in Ireland are neglected or forgotten. A gentleman told me the other day, that in the course of the last week he had gone into the cabin of a woman whom he had long known to be in extreme want: he found the house deserted and the woman lying dead in a corner. He said he had no doubt she had died of starvation.

"There are many poor widows in this district with large young families, and their number is continually on the increase; one came to-day to my house to ask for relief; she has six daughters, the eldest only ten years old. She had in a bag about half a tea-cupful of flour, and begged for a little more to add to it to boil for her children's supper when she went home in the evening. Another came to ask that her daughter, a girl of 12, might get work on a road; her second child had been for two years confined to bed, and her husband had been so for five years before his death. This man had once been a farmer, and comparatively comfortable, but was now in absolute want both of food and clothing. Another came asking that her son, a little boy, might get work. The poor child appeared as if after a long fit of illness. One of my family, remarking his pale, emaciated countenance, inquired whether he had been ill; the poor mother wept, and said it was want of food had reduced him to the state he was in; she had four daughters beside this child, and no means of supporting them.

"Several have fainted in my own house on getting something to eat or drink, and many are entirely dependent on a little soup they get here every day. They are thankful for almost anything. A poor man came to-day soliciting work: he asked leave to warm himself at the fire, and while doing so, observing a pot with hot water standing by the fireside, he asked if it was *fish-water*, and if it was, begged for a drink of it, saying 'anything hot would be good.' When he and others who were with him got a little bread, they were most grateful; indeed, nothing can exceed the gratitude they all manifest for the smallest relief; a few turnips to make a drink for a sick person, or

even the promise of work at a future time, seems such an unexpected favour, that they depart loading us with blessings.

"A poor woman, whom we know well, told us a few hours since, that her husband, who is employed on a road, (but whose earnings are quite inadequate to the support of a large family,) went to his work this morning crying like a child, he felt so weak. She said she knew they would not have him long to labour for them.

"I might multiply such cases, Mr. Editor, far beyond either your space or your patience. The history of one day is the history of every other, in the scenes of misery which it presents; and I trust, under such circumstances, it will not be deemed unreasonable, if we solicit a share of that benevolence which the present exigencies of our country have called forth. We would not divert one feeling of sympathy or one farthing of pecuniary assistance from neighbouring districts, whose claims are already before the public. All we ask is, that the fountain which is sending forth its streams for their relief, may extend a portion of its benefits to us also. Our remote situation, and other local circumstances, may prevent our distress from being as fully known as that of others; but the distress exists in an equal degree, exhibiting the same frightful features of famine, and nakedness, and disease, and DEATH.—I am, Mr. Editor, truly yours,

"THOMAS TUCKEY, Rector of Drimoleague.

"Since writing the above, a party of about sixty men have been at the house, seeking some assistance, as they would get no work on the roads. They sent a message to the family, *not to be alarmed, as they did not come to do any harm*, but that they were in great distress, and must starve unless they got work. I am glad to bear this testimony to the general forbearance of these poor people, notwithstanding the extremity of their distress. . . . T. T."

The Editor of the *Cork Constitution* very properly adds,

"May we ask, are the owners of property in this district doing their duty? Are they aware of the scenes described in this melancholy letter? Have they been told that fellow-creatures are fainting through weakness and dying through starvation? and will they leave the burden to be borne by the clergy, whom the sufferings that they witness are almost driving to distraction? We are sure they will not; but we put the questions in order to apprise them of the necessity for their *immediate* interference."

The following, however, gives an instance of an Irish land-owner acting in the manner becoming his responsibilities at such a season of calamity.

"To the Editor of the CORK CONSTITUTION.

"Dear Sir,—Although the Earl of Bandon's property in this parish is not in his own hands, still the poor have not been neglected or forgotten amongst the numerous claims upon his Lordship's kindness.

"In addition to his usual contributions towards the support of our

school and dispensary, we have to acknowledge the receipt, during the past year, of 10*l.* to our Relief Committee; 10*l.* towards improving the road near our Court-house; and 10*l.* towards building a Sand Quay.

"Besides these sums, his Lordship has spent 100*l.* in building a school-house in a very wild part of the parish, fully 30*l.* of which passed into the hands of the labourers of the neighbourhood. In addition to these acts of generosity, instead of the annual Christmas dinner to the children of the parish school, his lordship has this year sent double the usual amount, to be spent in a way more suited to their present wants, and the children are now receiving a comfortable breakfast every day, which will continue for some weeks—no trifling relief to parents as well as children, in the present season of sad want.

"Yours, dear Sir, very truly,

"WM. M. CROSTHWAITE.

"Durrus Glebe."

The remaining letters will speak for themselves.

"THE PARISH OF CLONDROHID.

"Be good to the Poor,  
As God gives thee store."—GEO. HERBERT.

"To the Editor of the CORK CONSTITUTION.

"Dear Sir,—The annual distribution of blankets to the poor in Clondrohid has taken place. It is said by many that the pawn-offices in the neighbouring town must be full of blankets, so many are given here annually. This impression may do harm, if not corrected. A few words on the point will suffice:—The blankets given out on Monday last amounted to 66. The pauper population of the parish amounts to 3500. There are besides many small farmers whose condition is *little* if *at all* better than that of the labourers. Mr. Crofton's agent keeps in Cork, to give to the tenants as they go in, the 52 blankets erroneously announced as having been received by me.

"He who objects to the distribution of warm clothing to the poor in winter, has never been in a country hovel. He knows nothing of the privations they endure, to whose toil we owe, under Providence, the bread we eat. Silent suffering speaks more eloquently to the feeling heart than the most clamorous solicitation; and such is the present posture of the people here. The poor in parishes like this (wild, mountainous, undrained, ill-cultivated, destitute of gentry) always suffer; but *this* year, their condition defies description. For more than fourteen weeks they have had no food of their own, (their potatoes were planted late, and early blighted.) There are not gentry to employ them. The farmers have generally dismissed their labourers, finding it difficult to feed themselves. The poor are without food and without money. True, some are employed under the Board of Works, but the wretched pittance received for a day's toil (I do not pronounce if large wages are *earned*) does not feed the labourer, much less his housefull of children, and when sickness is the poor man's guest, does not buy 'the drink' for the sufferers. A man showed me the other.



day a shilling received for *five* days' work, and 'how' said he, 'will that feed my family?' On Friday morning, a woman came to say two of her sons, who had received labour-tickets the day before, (she has eight in family,) had just fainted from hunger. To-day a woman asked 'if women were employed on the roads, for her father, who had a labour-ticket, was sick, and she had no brother, only five sisters.' To *numbers*, relief under the Board of Works will come too late, (I do not blame the laborious officers employed by the Board.) The frame, weakened by long fasting, will yield to the effects of the severe weather, and influenza, if no more dreadful malady, will close in death the patiently endured sufferings of the peasantry. Yet while their own strength ebbs away, and their children pine before them, their neighbour's goods are sacred in their eyes. They are a people that deserve all the exertions that can be made for them, and if sustained efforts are not made for their relief, it is the sober conviction of my mind that hundreds in this parish will perish by famine. The parish of Clondrohid is nine miles by seven in extent. We are about to set up two boilers, and shall put into them the best materials the small fund at our disposal will allow of. If any of your readers have realized the truth of that Scripture—'it is more blessed to give than to receive'—if, when surrounded with all the comforts and luxuries wealth can give, the thought rises in their minds, 'how fare the poor this bitter weather on the bleak hill-side, or by the dreary swamp?' then let their hearts yearn for the wretched in Clondrohid, and, denying themselves some long-coveted purchase, let them become, as it were, fellow-workers with God, in blessing their afflicted Christian brethren—in feeding the hungry, and in supplying the sick with some of the comforts their condition needs. Contributions to the Clondrohid soup fund will be gratefully acknowledged by John Pearson, of Mountcross, Esq., Macroom.

"My appeal in behalf of upwards of 8500 famishing men, women, and children, will, I feel assured, be responded to by some of your readers.—Yours very truly,

J. T. KYLE.

"Clondrohid Rectory, Jan. 3, 1847."

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*"To the Editor of the CORK CONSTITUTION.*

"Ballydehob, Dec. 31, 1846.

"Dear Sir,—Would you have the kindness to insert in your next publication the following acknowledgment—viz.,

"The Rev. John Triphook acknowledges the receipt of the following sums for the relief of the destitute in the *Eastern Division* of the parish of Skull:—The Earl of Bandon, 5*l.*; Mrs. Green, 1*l.*; the Misses Turnley, 2*l.*; Miss L. Hepenstal, 2*l.*; from a Friend in Bath, 2*l.* by S. H.; from a friend in Bandon, by S. H., 5*s.*

"Should you think it desirable to publish the following facts, which I had this evening on the authority of our dispensary physician, who attended on the inquests, they are at your service.

"One was on the body of a poor man, the father of two children, one aged six, the other three years. His mother died about a month

since from sheer want of the common necessities of life. With difficulty the poor fellow procured as much money as purchased a coffin for her, by begging from the neighbours. In the course of a short time he began himself to sink under the effects of starvation, and was found dead in his bed. The discovery was made by the two poor children coming into the village of Skull, crying, and saying they were hungry, and their daddy would not speak to *them these two days, and he was cold as a flag.*

"The other inquest was on the body of a poor woman and her child, who both died in the cabin of a pauper in nearly equal destitution with themselves. The doctor assured me there was scarcely any trace of food in the stomachs of either mother or child; the body of the former presenting a shocking spectacle—the nose, lips, and breast being *partially devoured by rats*, and the legs of the child nibbled and gnawed by those vermin. He further added, that the wretched surviving inmate of the cabin was reduced to such a state of debility by want of food, that had the rats attacked her, he verily believed she would have been able to make little or no exertion to *drive them away*. I may observe that the inquests were held on the bodies this day, but the deaths took place on or about Christmas-eve.

"I remain, Mr. Editor, your obedient servant,

"JOHN TRIPHOOK, Clk."

*"To the Editor of the CORK CONSTITUTION.*

"Dispensary House, Crookhaven, Jan. 11, 1847.

"Sir,—The distress in this parish is, I am sure, much greater than any other in Ireland, being twenty-five miles west of Skibbereen; it is an ascertained fact, that the farther west, the greater the distress. Every morsel eaten here has to be brought either from Cork, seventy miles, or Skibbereen, twenty-five; from the latter place the refuse articles are sent at an advanced price of 40 per cent., and I may say all we know of the poor-house is its heavy taxation. True, there is a committee styled the West Carbery Relief Committee, but Skibbereen absorbs it all; though surrounded by numerous gentry, and filled with wealthy shopkeepers. Your columns abound with cases of real distress, yet I cannot refrain from mentioning some of the many that occurred in this parish within the last few days.

"Yesterday morning, a fine boy was found dead from starvation on the mountain, half eaten by pigs or dogs. I have myself reason to know that one family ate the cabin dog. A poor fellow had to leave work this day and go home, contented to die. I went to visit a poor fellow a few days since: he had a request to make; it was that I would give him a coffin. The deaths arising from starvation are now about seven a day, whilst in most houses there are two or three in fever. About one hundred have already died of starvation, and five times that number must immediately follow. As for getting up a subscription for a soup kitchen, that most desirable of all objects, it is in this place out of the question, as we have scarcely any resident gentry, and those long since well drained, as a single landed proprietor

did not receive out of this parish forty pounds rent. I have often to break in the doors of the cabins : I find the entire family not able to move ; it is a common thing to find the dead, the dying, and the living in the same bed. The population was 8000, yet in the memory of the oldest person a murder was never committed, there was never a case of manslaughter, never a man hanged, and I believe not three transported. If it is a crime to purchase a gun or pistol, we are all innocent ; yet those who had them in olden times used them faithfully.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"JAMES McCORMICK, M.D."

"To the Editor of the CORK CONSTITUTION.

"Castlehaven Rectory, Skibbereen, Jan. 13, 1847.

"Sir,—The courtesy which you have shown to many of my clerical brethren, in giving insertion to their communications relative to the awful destitution in their several parishes, emboldens me to address a few lines to you on the all-absorbing subject which now occupies public attention. My object in doing so is not to establish a claim for my parish to the peculiar consideration of the benevolent, for I believe that now it seems to be generally understood that all this district is involved in one common ruin, and that the scenes so fully portrayed by Mr. Cummins may find a parallel in every locality ; in fact, that every parish has its South Reen, where famine and pestilence are making havoc of the inhabitants. With reference to the destitution around me, I may say that, having exercised my ministry in this part of the country during the periods of the two cholera visitations, I never witnessed, even in those dreadful days, anything which could bear a comparison with the horrors of the present time. The sufferings of the people are now far more intense and protracted, the *deaths far more frequent*, and, in addition to this, hope seems to have died in the hearts of the survivors.

"But, Sir, it is needless to enter into details. Enough has been made known, through the agency of the Press, as well as by private communications, to put the public in possession of the fact, that the Southern and Western districts of Ireland are at this moment overwhelmed in the extremity of wretchedness. My object is to call upon you, who have manifested such consideration for these afflicted districts, to exercise the influence you possess in laying before the public such measures as may prevent the *perpetuation* of the calamities under which we are now suffering. I speak with reference to the *ensuing year*. In what I am about to suggest, I do not lay claim to originality. The same idea must have presented itself to every thinking mind. Every one must see the infatuation of persevering in the system of giving employment *on the roads* to the starving people at this critical period of the year. I, in common with many others, raise the warning voice to discontinue these roads—roads admitted to be worse than useless, inasmuch as the best land is in many instances sacrificed to them. Let the population be immediately turned into the fields—let

the money now lavished on these absurd works, which to future generations will cause an endless subject of inquiry as to their possible object, be given to the poor farmers to *till their own ground*. In carrying out this plan, a valuation might be struck for entitling the farmer to such consideration. A holding under six or eight pounds might be deemed a sufficient criterion of the farmer's necessities. But more than this will be required. There is not a farmer of this standing in the county, or even possessing a much higher interest in the land, who could at this moment pay for one stone of seed. Let government be implored to come to their aid. I believe the landlords, however willing they may be, to be in many instances utterly unable to assist their poor tenantry. And, Sir, if government withhold this boon, what must be the prospects of the *coming year*? If the lands remain uncultivated, who must not tremble to contemplate the results, for if it be famine this year, it must be in the next the utter destruction of the people? This is a subject which cannot be too often or too prominently put forward. The precious seed time is coming fast, but in this vast parish, and I believe the remark is universally applicable, nothing is doing—there is no preparation for manuring the lands, no plough is employed, in fact the energies of the population appear paralysed.

"Sir, when I daily witness such indications of apathy or despair around me, humble as is my position, I cannot be silent. I would implore of all who have the welfare of their fellow-creatures at heart, to exert themselves at this momentous crisis, and by the recommendation of some such measures as I have touched upon, to impress upon all those in authority the absolute necessity of speedily arresting the evil in its course, and preventing the increase of misery already intolerable. The introduction of seed could be easily effected through Commissariat depots in various localities, and whilst by means of them the poorer farmers were supplied gratuitously, the wealthier, who, generally speaking, *are equally in need of seed*, might make their purchases, and then we might look forward in hope that a good and merciful God will withdraw his chastening hand, and bless the land with an abundant harvest.

"I have already trespassed too much on your space, but before I conclude, I would make a remark respecting the cultivation of the *potato*. Many persons seem to despair of this species of food being again brought to perfection in this country. I cannot enter into their views; it is true that this root has failed for two successive years, but would it be an argument that because cholera once devastated the land, we must expect it every year? There have been, moreover, from time to time, partial failures of wheat and other grain; but another year has seen the same lands teeming with harvest. But further, the climate of this country has evidently undergone a great change this winter. We have had *severe frosts*, to which for the last two years we had been strangers. These frosts may tend much to the purifying of the earth from noxious vapours, and the destruction of animalculæ—at least, I think that there we have no grounds for despair of our ever seeing again that favourite food of the poor, which

is so much missed even by their wealthy neighbours, and which, under due restrictions, would tend so much to the comfort of all classes. I should be sorry to think that, to *some extent, at least*, their cultivation should not be again ventured on—for after all that has been said or written in dispraise of the potato, I am very sure we should all warmly welcome its appearance again.

“I am, Sir, your humble servant,

“CHARLES BUSHÉ, Rector of Castlehaven.”

To these affecting letters we add the following appeal from a Ladies' Committee in the county of Cork, for supplying Indian meal to the poor.

“THE DUNMANWAY INDIAN MEAL LADIES COMMITTEE.

“*Patronesses.*

“Right Honourable Lady Carbery.

“Mrs. Major-General Shuldham.

“The Christian Ladies of England are earnestly called upon by their Irish sisters to assist them in ‘saving alive in famine the perishing people of Ireland.’ The Irish are not regardless of their country’s misery, and they have done what they could to relieve it; but so widespread and so total is the destitution, that it is beyond their power to remove it. In former times, the Irish cottier was ready to divide his last meal with the hungry, and the best potato in the bowl was reserved for the widow and the fatherless; but now there is not one to divide—the daily morsel is consumed at once, and he has nothing left to save the perishing neighbour from dying at his door. Fever and other deadly diseases have set in on famine, and unless we can procure foreign aid, Ireland must soon be one wide field of the dying and the dead.

“If you, dear lady, into whose kind hands these papers may be placed would make a collection of sums, however small, among friends and neighbours, and transmit it by Post-office Order on the Cork Post-office, to any of the undersigned Committee, who will gratefully acknowledge them, such aid will save many lives. When were the Ladies of England appealed to in vain?

“Miss MARTHA D. COX, The Manor House,  
Dunmanway, County of Cork.

“Miss KATHERINE A. COX, ditto.

“Miss HARRIET SHULDHAM, Dunmanway.

“Miss ELLEN JAGOE, Dunmanway.

“Miss ANNA MARIA GALBRAITH, Dunmanway.

“January 1st, 1847.”

# THE BRITISH MAGAZINE.

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MARCH 1, 1847.

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## ORIGINAL PAPERS.

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### ANCIENT CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS OF A CITY PARISH.

WHEN Mr. Nichols published in 1797 his "Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Antient Times in England, in the Fifteenth Century, deduced from the Accompts of Churchwardens, and other Documents, collected from various parts of the Kingdom, with Explanatory Notes," amongst other materials, he printed large extracts from the churchwardens' accounts of the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, London. These, he informs us in his preface, had been submitted to the Society of Antiquaries, Dr. Griffith, "late rector of the said church," having indulged his friend Mr. Gough with the perusal of them. Mr. Nichols states that these accompts "are unparalleled in their kind, and also, in point of time (1427), beyond any we have yet heard of." Whether Dr. Griffith had the custody of the ancient books of St. Andrew Hubbard,—the parish united to St. Mary-at-Hill,—I do not know, but they appear to me to contain so much matter deserving of transcription, that I have for some time wished to lay extracts of them before the readers of the British Magazine. The accounts of St. Mary-at-Hill parish commence at a date somewhat earlier. They begin with the year 1427: at least, the earliest account *dated* is in the fifth year of King Henry the Sixth.\* This account is carried through three years, and is fol-

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\* The volume commences in the middle of an account. But one leaf remains, containing items of money received, divided into quarterly accounts in the following order: "Midsomer. Michelmesse. Cristemasse. Anno viii<sup>o</sup> Mydsomer. Michelmesse. Cristemasse. Anno ix<sup>o</sup> Mydsomer."—which is all that is left. This account seems to belong to the reign of Henry the Fifth, who began his reign on the 31st of March, and if so, it contains the receipts during the years 1419, 1420, and 1421. This leaf is followed by receipts, in a different hand, occupying a single page, the back of which is blank. Then follows the account for 1427.

lowed by an inventory taken in May, 1492. But there then occurs an hiatus of several years, there being no account between 1430 and 1477, the next account beginning at Michaelmas in the 17th year of Edward the Fourth. The accounts of the parish of St. Andrew Hubbard, however, though they begin somewhat later, are more perfect. They commence with the year 1454, and proceed regularly from one churchwarden to another, to a very late period. They are written on paper, and contained in two folio volumes. The first volume reaches from 1454 to 1524; the second from 1525 to 1621.

Of course, it is needless to remark that the entries in these accounts are of great value to the student of English antiquities. The price of labour and materials, local customs, as well as many points relating to the furniture and service of the church, derive considerable light from the particulars incidentally detailed. The specimen now submitted to the public is complete as far as it goes. It contains the whole of the accounts given, and not extracts from them. Whether that plan shall be pursued hereafter will be a matter for consideration as we proceed. Some words in explanation are added in brackets.

*St. Mary-at-Hill, London,  
January, 1847.*

JOHN C. CROSTHWAITE.

This is the Accompt of John Manewe and Richard Jones late Wardens of the Rentes and Goodes of the Chirch of Seint Andrewes Huberd beside Estchep of London made fro the fest of Cristmas the xxxij yere of the regne of kyng henry the sixt vnto the fest of Cristmas the xxxv yere which is by ij yerres. [From Christmas, 1454, to Christmas, 1456.]

#### Resceites.

First they accompt by hem receiued yn the Box whan they come yn to their office . . . . . iij<sup>li</sup>. xij<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>. ob. q<sup>d</sup>.

#### The Rent.

Item, receiued of John Walker for the hous that he occupieth by ii yere after v. mark by yere . . . . . vj<sup>li</sup>. xij<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>.

#### Knelles pyttes and bequests.

Item, receiued of John Reynolds wyf . . . . .	x <sup>s</sup>
Item, receiued of John Manewe . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> . iiij <sup>d</sup>
Item, receiued of ——— wyf . . . . .	x <sup>s</sup>
Item, receiued of Thomas More . . . . .	iii <sup>s</sup> . iiij <sup>d</sup>

Summa, xxvj<sup>li</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>.

Quarterages and houselyng siluer.

Item, receiued by viij termes for quarterages . . . . . lvij<sup>s</sup> xj<sup>d</sup>.  
 Item, receiued for houselyng siluer vppon two Ester dayes . . . . . xxij<sup>s</sup> i<sup>d</sup>. ob.  
 Summa, iij<sup>li</sup>. xij<sup>d</sup>. ob.

Resceites toward the makynge of the cloth for the Rode Lofte.

Item, receiued of Nicholas Honyes Suster . . . . . vi<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.  
 Item, gadered yn the Chirch on palmesonday . . . . . vi<sup>s</sup>.  
 Summa, xij<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.

Things solde.

Item, receiued for xx<sup>li</sup>. olde peans the lb. ij<sup>d</sup>. . . . . iij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>.  
 Summa iij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>.  
 Summa totalis receiued, xvi<sup>li</sup>. ix<sup>s</sup> v<sup>d</sup>. q<sup>r</sup>.

Discharge.

Paiementes made by the seid wardeins withyn the tyme of this accompte.

For the Rent.

First, paid to Seynt Marispitell for quitrent goyng oute  
 of Walkers hous by ij yere the yere viij<sup>s</sup>. Summa, xvi<sup>s</sup>.  
 Item, paid for the Obitt of Julyan Fayrchere by ij yere . . . . . xv<sup>s</sup> ij<sup>d</sup>. ob.  
 Item, paid to a preest syngyng for the same Julyan by  
 iij termes . . . . . v<sup>li</sup>.  
 Summa, vj<sup>li</sup>. xj<sup>s</sup> ij<sup>d</sup>. ob.

Paiementes touching the Chirch.

First, paid to the wexchaundeler for wex for the Beme  
 and the paschall withyn the tyme of this accompte . . . . . xxij<sup>s</sup> vij<sup>d</sup>.  
 Item, paid for amending of Aubes and setting on of  
 parures . . . . . vi<sup>d</sup>. ob.  
 Item, paid for wasching of Auterclothes towails aubes  
 Amytes and Surplices and for Scouryng of Candel-  
 stikks and of the Bolles of the Beme at Diverse tymes . . . . . v<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.  
 Item, payed for makynge of the Basyn with the Lampe . . . . . xij<sup>d</sup>.  
 Item, payed for lamp Oyle . . . . . vi<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.  
 Item, payed for talugh candells . . . . . ij<sup>s</sup> i<sup>d</sup>.  
 Item, paid for this Boke and A nother Boke for the  
 Chirch . . . . . ij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>.  
 Item, paid for byndyng of a precessionarie . . . . . xi<sup>d</sup>.  
 Item, paid for Clapes and Corses of the grete Boke . . . . . iij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>.  
 Item, paid for amending & repairing of Bokes . . . . . xvi<sup>d</sup>.  
 Item, paid for amending of Copes . . . . . iij<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.  
 Item, paid for amending of the pax . . . . . v<sup>d</sup>.  
 Item, paid for v Candilstikkes of Laton . . . . . viij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>.  
 Summa, iij<sup>li</sup>. xxj<sup>d</sup>. ob.



## Reparacion of the Chirch.

Item, paied for tyling vppon the Chirch roof . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> ix <sup>d</sup>
Item, paied for iij Saks lyme to the same . . .	vi <sup>d</sup>
Item, paied for nails and latth . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup>
Item, paied for amending of a pewe . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup>
Item, paied for paving aboute the funte . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>s</sup>
Item, paied for Stoppyng of the Beme yn the rode lofte . .	iiij <sup>s</sup>
Item, paied for pavyng of the pament yn the stretes rounde aboute the Chirch . . .	xxxi <sup>s</sup>
Item, paied for caryng away of dung & robous [rubbish]	xij <sup>s</sup>
Summa, xxxix <sup>s</sup> x <sup>d</sup>	

## Reparacion of the Belles and the Steple.

Item, paied for a rope to the lytell Bell . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> ob.
Item, paied for makyng of a Beme and a newe Bell whele and amending of the other Belles . . .	x <sup>s</sup>
Item, paied for lede and nails to the steple . . .	v <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>s</sup>
Item, paied for Ryngyng the Belles for iij myndes . .	xij <sup>s</sup>
Summa, xvi <sup>s</sup> xi <sup>s</sup> ob.	

## Allowaunces.

Item, allowed to Walker yn paying the Rent . . .	viiij <sup>s</sup>
Item, paied for Coles on Ester Eve . . .	ij <sup>s</sup>
Item, paied for flagges . . .	ij <sup>s</sup>
Item, paied for makyng writing and engrosyng up of this Accompt . . .	xvi <sup>s</sup>
Summa, ij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>s</sup>	

## Paiementes made for the Rode lofte clothe.

Item, paied for newe clothe for the same . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> vi <sup>d</sup>
Item, paied for steynyng of the same clothe . . .	xxiiij <sup>s</sup>
Summa, xxviiij <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>	

Summa totalis paied, xiiij<sup>s</sup> ix<sup>s</sup> ob.And so remayneth in the Box, xlviiij<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>s</sup> ob. q<sup>s</sup>.

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This is the accompte of Michell Harrys and of Tyso Jocklers late Wardeyns of the Rentes and goodes of the Church of seinte Andrewes Huberd beside Estchepe of London made from the feste of the Annunciacionn of oure lady in the yere xxxv<sup>s</sup> of the Regne of kynge Harry the sixt vnto the feste of oure Lady Annunciacionn the xxxvj<sup>s</sup> of the said kynge that is a yere. [From Lady Day 1457 to Lady Day 1458.]

## Resceyttes.

Furste they accompte by them resceyved in the box whan they cam in there office . . . xlviiij<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>s</sup> ob. q<sup>s</sup>

## The Rente.

Item, resceyved of John Walker for the hous that he occupieth for a hole yere . . . . . iij<sup>l</sup> vi<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.

## Knelles pyttes and byquestes.

Item, resceyved for beryinge of Isbell the purser . . . . . vi<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.

Item, resceyved of Willm. Granger for beryinge of his wyfe . . . . . vi<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.

Item, resceyved of Symkyn Tapser for beryinge of Nycholas Honyis wyfe . . . . . x<sup>s</sup>.

Item, resceyved of hym for the bequeste of Nycholas Honyis wyfe . . . . . vi<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.

Item, resceyved of the payntier at seint Marget Patyns, for beringe of Nycholas Honyis Suster . . . . . vi<sup>s</sup>.

Item, resceyved of the wyfe of Stonehous for bequeste of serteyn persones and for all other thinges and Dwete . . . . . vi<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.

Item, resceyved of Salomon James for beringe of his wyfe . . . . . x<sup>s</sup>.

Item, resceyved of the said Salomon for Alys Pedes . . . . . xx<sup>s</sup>.

Summa, liij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>.

## Quarterages and houselyng Silvir.

Item, resceyved be iij termes for quarterages in the Chirche . . . . . xxxi<sup>s</sup> v<sup>d</sup>.

Item, resceyved for houselynge money vpon i Ester day . . . . . viij<sup>s</sup> v<sup>d</sup> ob.

Summa, xxxix<sup>s</sup> x<sup>s</sup> ob.

## Resceyving for avallys of the Church.

Item, resceyvynge for a booke of lawe of a preste . . . . . xl<sup>s</sup>.

Item, resceyved of Stone for a nolde quaire . . . . . xii<sup>s</sup>.

Item, resceyved on Seint Andrewis day in May for money gadered at the church dure . . . . . iij<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.

Item, resceyved of Margaret the fruterer for standynge at the church dure . . . . . vj<sup>d</sup>.

Item, Willm. Alhed gave to the amending of the beste cope in the church . . . . . viij<sup>s</sup>.

Summa, xliij<sup>s</sup> x<sup>s</sup>.

Summa totalis resceyved, xij<sup>l</sup> xiiij<sup>s</sup> v<sup>d</sup> q<sup>s</sup>.

## Dyscharge.

Payementes made be the seide Wardeins within tyme of theyre accompte.

## For the Rente.

Furste, paid to Seint Maryspytell for quyterent goyinge oute of Walkers hous for a hole yere . . . . . viij<sup>s</sup>.

Item, paid for the Obyte of Julyan Fayrchere for a yere . . . . . ix<sup>s</sup>.

Item, paid to serten preistes syngyng for the said Julyan Fayrchere for a quarter & halfe . . . . . xlix<sup>s</sup> vi<sup>d</sup>.

Summa, iij<sup>l</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup>.

Paiementes touchyng to the Church of seint Andrewe.

Furste, paid to the wexchaundler for wex for the Beme and the Paschall and other lyghttes within the tyme of this accompte.	Summa	xviiij <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for wassyng of diuers Syrpulys and other cloths longgyng to the Church at diuers tymys		ij <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid for the refressyng and amending of the beste Cope		ix <sup>s</sup> iij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid for amending of the Censer & giltyng		xv <sup>s</sup> x <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid for a Crysmatory of tynne		ij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, paid for a dysch of laton for the paschall		iiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, paid for scowryng of the Candelstykkys, and of the Bolles of the Beme light and for rattes beytte		ii <sup>s</sup> ob.
Paied for Tallowe Candells for the church		xviiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for hemmyng of the newe stayngnyg clothe and hookes & a skyn of parchment to amende the legent and paper and for coolys [coals]		xij <sup>s</sup> ob.
Item, for v galonns of lamp oyle		v <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for a lampe		viiij <sup>s</sup> .

Summa, ijij<sup>s</sup> ij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>.

Reparacionn in the Chirch and in the Steple.

Item, for a Rope for a Paskall, and for a rope for the litel belle, and a Rope for the grete belle		xvi <sup>s</sup> ob.
Item, paid for ryngyng of the belles for ij myndes		xij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, paid to Symkyn Tapiser for a holy waterstyke		iiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, paid to a fownder for a mending of the grete bel		xij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, leyinge of iiij Stones vpon serten boorels in the church		vi <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid for amending of diuers pewys in the church		v <sup>d</sup> .
Summa, x <sup>s</sup> iij <sup>d</sup> ob.		

Reparacionn in Walkeris house.

Item, paid for ij <sup>s</sup> Sackes of lyme		iiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for a mason for a day and halfe and his man and sonde for the Chymney		xxij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for Tyle Scherdes for the Chymney		ij <sup>s</sup> .
Summa, ij <sup>s</sup> iij <sup>d</sup> .		

Allowaunces.

Item, allowed to Walker in paying of the Rent		iiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, paid to ii <sup>s</sup> prestis in ernyst		ii <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for the wretyng of this accompte		xij <sup>s</sup> .

Summa, xviiij<sup>s</sup>.

Summa totalis paid, vijij<sup>s</sup> ij<sup>s</sup> xj ob.

So remayneth clere to the church with the money that is in the Box.

Summa totalis dwe, v<sup>s</sup> xi<sup>s</sup> v<sup>d</sup> ob. q<sup>ua</sup>.

This ys the accompte of Michell Harrys and of Willm. Granger late Wardeynis of the Rentes and Goodes of the Church of seinte Andrewes Huberd beside Estechepe of London made from the feste of the Annunciacionn of oure lady in the yere xxxvj<sup>o</sup> of the Reigne of King Henry the Sixt vnto the feste of oure lady the Annunciacionn the xxxviii<sup>o</sup> of the saide kyng that is to say for ii yerys. [From Lady Day, 1458, to Lady Day, 1460.]

Resceyttes.

Furste, they accompt by theme receyved in the Box whan they cam in to their office . . . summa v<sup>l</sup> xi<sup>l</sup> v<sup>d</sup> ob. q<sup>ua</sup>

The Rente.

Item, receyved of John Walker for the hous that he occupieth by ij yere after v marke by yere . . . sum. vi<sup>l</sup> xij<sup>l</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

Knelles Pyttes and Bequestes.

Item, Resceyved of John Barry for the pytte and the knelle of the wyfe of Stonehovs . . . . .	vi <sup>l</sup> viij .
Item, receyved of Ric. Hangcokis wyfe for a knelle for her husbände . . . . .	ij <sup>l</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Item, receyved of Elen Armorer of her hosband bequest . . . . .	xii <sup>d</sup>
Item, receyved of Robt. Barbour for wastyng of ij lib. wex of the Torchis at berlinge of his wyfe . . . . .	xij <sup>d</sup>
Item, Resceyved for wastyng of ij <sup>o</sup> torches at Wetherleis Dirige . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup>

Summa, xij<sup>l</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

Quarterages and hovselyng sluir.

Item, receyved on ij <sup>o</sup> Ester days for hovselyng money . . . . .	xviij <sup>l</sup> ij <sup>d</sup> ob.
Item, receyved in the church for viij quarterages . . . . .	lv <sup>l</sup> i <sup>d</sup>
Summa, iiij <sup>l</sup> xij <sup>l</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> ob.	

Gaderinge of money for Dyghtyng and boordyng of Steple.

Item, my lady Combe gave there to the werke therof . . . . .	xx <sup>l</sup>
Item, gadered in the church of seint Andrew at diuers tymes of the peple of the parische for the werke of the saide steple . . . . .	summa, xliij <sup>l</sup> vii <sup>d</sup> ob.
Item, receyved in gadering at the church durre. . . . .	ii <sup>l</sup> v <sup>d</sup> ob.
Item, Resceyved of John Clerk for olde bordes of the steple . . . . .	iiij <sup>l</sup> ob.
Item, receyved of Margaret Kene for sitting at the Church dure . . . . .	vj <sup>d</sup>
Summa, iiij <sup>l</sup> viij <sup>l</sup> xj <sup>d</sup>	
Summa totalis Resceyved, xix <sup>l</sup> xviij <sup>l</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> q <sup>ua</sup>	

## Dyscharge.

Payementes made by the saide Wardeynys within the tyme of this accompte.

## For the Rente.

Furste, they paiede to seint mary Spittel for quite Rent. goyinge ovt of Walkers hovse be ij <sup>o</sup> yere the yere viij <sup>a</sup> .	xvi <sup>a</sup>
Item, paied for the Obyte of Julyane Fairchere be ij <sup>o</sup> yere	xviii <sup>a</sup> xi <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paiede to diuers prestes for synggyng for the same Julyane Fairchere by iij termes . . . . .	v <sup>ll</sup>
Summa, vi <sup>ll</sup> xiiij <sup>a</sup> xi <sup>d</sup> .	

## Paiementes tōvchinge the church of seint Andrewe.

Furste, paiede to the wexchaundler for wex for the Beme and the paschall and other lightes within the tyme of this accompte . . . . .	xxiiij <sup>a</sup> vi <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for wassyng of Sirpullis and Avtar cloths at diuers tymes . . . . .	iiij <sup>a</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paied for scowringe of Candelstykys and of the Bolles of the Beme at diuers tymes and Colys . . . .	xx <sup>d</sup> .
Item, Cartynge away dungge and Rovbous at diuers tymes and amending of a deske and for the amending of the Sepulcre tymbre and makynge clene of the churchawe	xvi <sup>d</sup> ob.
Item, for naillys for the Canapy a gens [against] Corpus Christi day. And for garlandes & flagges and pack threde, and amending of the newe pewe in the church with newe-hengges . . . . .	xi <sup>d</sup> ob.
Item, for amending of the Senser of laton and of the Senser of Siluir and mending of the Corporas . . . .	xvij <sup>d</sup> ob.
Item, for vij ellys and quarter of lynyn clothes for iij rochetts for the quere with the makynge . . . . .	iiij <sup>a</sup> ix <sup>d</sup> ob.
Item, for amending of the Canapy and Cuttyng of the tre in the churchaw and for flaggs & garlandes . . . .	xii <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for Talowe Candell for the Church . . . . .	iii <sup>a</sup> vii <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paied to Rogger Champney for lamp oyle . . . .	ix <sup>a</sup> .
Item, paied to Granger to Content the bying of a torche .	xvii <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paied for dringkyng to the clerkes vpon ij <sup>o</sup> seint Andrewes day for Synggyng . . . . .	xiiij <sup>d</sup> .
Summa, liiiij <sup>a</sup> vj <sup>d</sup> .	

## Reparacion of the Church.

Item, paiede to a Tyler for Tyling vpon the Church iij days and for a laborer and for Tiles and pynnes & lyme	summa, viij <sup>a</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paiede to Barnard, for a key to the chuchawe durre and for a lok & a key for the charnel hovse & for a key for the Church durre . . . . .	xviiij <sup>d</sup> .

Item, paid to a laborer for dightyng of the Churchawe	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for amending of the masse booke & byndyng of the legent boke . . . . .	xvij <sup>d</sup> .
Summa, xi <sup>s</sup> x <sup>d</sup> .	

Reparacionn of the Belles and the Steple.

Item, paid to Barnard the Smyth for amending of the belle . . . . .	x <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for Ropes for the litil belle and the Almes belle . . . . .	xvi <sup>d</sup> . ob.
Item, for Rynggyng of Belles for ij myndes . . . . .	vij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid to a man at Algate for Bawderyks and for amending of serten Bawderyks for the belles . . . . .	xxii <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid to a Mason for leying of the Stone ouer the wyfe of Stonehous . . . . .	vij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid to a man for a mendyng of the Clocke, . . . . .	vij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid to the Belmaker for Chaungynge of the litil Belle in the Steple, at ij <sup>s</sup> tymes weight and all, Summa, . . . . .	vij <sup>s</sup> . vij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to Thomas Greyis man for amending of the grete Belles and for amending of the Corporas ouer the hy avtar . . . . .	ii <sup>s</sup> j <sup>d</sup> .
Summa, xv <sup>s</sup> ix <sup>d</sup> . ob.	

Reparacion and bordyng of the Steple newe and ledyng.

Item, paid to John Carpynter for bordyng newe of the Steple and Tymbre and for his honde, and for all maner nailles . . . . .	iiij <sup>li</sup> . xiiij <sup>s</sup> . iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to Barnard the Smyth for x doggs of Iryn for the steple weying lxx lb ye lb i <sup>d</sup> . ob. . . . .	vij <sup>s</sup> . ix <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to hym for makyng of the Spendel for the fane . . . . .	x <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid to Kerby the plomer for newe lede and for the chaungyng of the lede and Carrage . . . . .	xlvj <sup>s</sup> . i <sup>d</sup> .
Summa, vii <sup>li</sup> . ix <sup>d</sup> .	

Allowaunces.

Item, allowed to John Walker in payinge of the Rente . . . . .	vij <sup>s</sup> . d.
Item, for the wretyng of these accompte . . . . .	xij <sup>d</sup> .
Summa totalis paid, xvij <sup>li</sup> . vij <sup>s</sup> . vij <sup>d</sup> . ob.	

So remaynyth clere in money to the Church in the Box  
xxix<sup>s</sup>. vij<sup>d</sup>. ob. q<sup>ua</sup>.

Item, mor we Resceyved in the Church at Estren for hosselyng money . . . . .	vij <sup>s</sup> . q <sup>ua</sup> .
Summa, xxxvij <sup>s</sup> . vij <sup>d</sup> .	

Costys don in the Church.

Item, for wassyng of the Church gere & sirpulis . . . . .	v <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for a Rope for the litil bel . . . . .	vij <sup>d</sup> .

Item, for scovring of the candelstyks and other gere . . .	xvj <sup>d</sup> .
Item, cartying away of dungke ovt of the Churchawe . . .	v <sup>d</sup>
Item, paied to sir Harry for syngyng her at ester weke . . .	ii <sup>d</sup>
Item, paied to the wex Chaundler for the light in the losfe and for the paskall and tenebris candells and other light abovte the fovnnte . . . . .	xiiij <sup>d</sup> x <sup>d</sup>
Summa of the costs amounteth xvij <sup>d</sup> vij <sup>d</sup>	

So Remayneth clere in to the box in the xxiiij day of April in the yere  
xxxviiij<sup>o</sup> of kynge Henry the Sixt.

Summa, xix<sup>d</sup> i<sup>d</sup>

The wiche xix<sup>d</sup> i<sup>d</sup> and i barr of Siluir was deliuered to Willm. Halhede  
& to Symkyn Tapser the daye above seide at the comyng in to her  
offyse.

## ESSAYS ON SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

NO. XV.

GARDINER, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

THE will of Henry VIII., under which Somerset and his colleagues took the reins of government, has been suspected of being a forgery. Whether it was, or was not, it is certain that it did not contain the name of Gardiner, who might have been expected to be one of the persons in whose hands the king would place the responsibility of government; and it is equally certain that, whether that omission was made by actually fabricating a will, or by the king either spontaneously or through persuasion or management, or by any other means, it was highly agreeable to the Somerset party. Gardiner, however far he might have gone in the way of reformation, was, after all, an "unclubbable man," who would not go heartily into the measures which they intended to pursue, and they did not wish to be troubled with him. Perhaps it would be plainer and truer to say, they meant to put him down.

But let us look at the history of the matter so far as it is recorded; and, in the first place, at the reasons popularly assigned for this omission. It is said that at the time of Henry VIII.'s death, and long before, Gardiner was out of favour with the king. If we look at the testimony on which Gardiner was deposed from his see, we find the Lord Paget stating that the bishop was "the man at that time whom the said Lord Paget believeth his majesty abhorred more than any man in his realm: which he declared greivously at sundry times, to the said lord against

the said bishop; ever naming him with such terms as the said Lord Paget is sorry to name. And the said Lord Paget thinketh that divers of the gentlemen of the privy chamber are able to depose the same."\* On the same occasion, the Earl of Wiltshire said that he had "heard the late king of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, declare his misliking of the said Bishop of Winchester sundry times.† The Lord Riche, too, "saith that he hath heard divers times of sundry persons, whose names he remembereth not, that King Henry the Eighth did think the said bishop not to be well pleased with the proceedings of the realm in matters of religion; and therefore this deponent hath heard say, that the said late king did mislike the said bishop."‡ If that were the case, one would think there should not be much doubt about the matter; for Henry was not usually ambiguous in his conduct to a disgraced favourite. He was one "who," as Burnet says, "never hated nor ruined anybody by halves."§ But when and why was the king displeased with him?

The earliest reason that I find assigned is his conduct in "the persecution at Windsor," under the Six Articles, in the year 1543. Even Fox distinctly states, that up to that time, Gardiner was in high favour and power. Indeed, he begins his account of the Windsor business by saying, "When the time drew nigh that the king's majesty (who was newly married to that good and virtuous lady, Katherine Parr) should make his progress abroad, the aforesaid Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, had so compassed his matters, that *no man bare so great a swing about the king as he did.*"|| This is very plain and very important information; and it would be much more so if it came from a writer who could be better depended on; but such as it is, we must take it with us in our inquiry.

I do not indeed see why the origination of the Windsor persecution is attributed to Gardiner in particular, rather than to the rest of the council. They were informed that Anthony Peerson was preaching strange doctrine and distributing unlawful books, and sent an order for a search. Forbidden books were found, and Peerson, with three others, named Testwood, Filmer, and Marbeck, were condemned to be burned. Gardiner went to the king and begged the life of one, and the other three were executed. Fox tells us, that the king riding one day in Guildford Park, and "seeing the Sheriff with Sir Humfrey Foster sitting on their horsebacks together, he called unto them,

\* Fox, vol. VI. p. 164.

† Ibid. p. 173.

‡ Ibid. p. 176. The depositions of the Earl of Bedford, p. 181, and Sir Ed. Carne, p. 185, may be consulted, but are not worth quoting, except for the fact that the latter of all men could not depose to the fact.

§ Hist. of Ref. I. 331.

|| Fox, vol. V. p. 486.



and asked of them how his laws were executed at Windsor. Then they, beseeching his grace of pardon, told him plainly, that in all their lives they never sat on matter under his grace's authority that went so much against their consciences as the death of these men did; and up and told his grace so pitiful a tale of the casting away of these poor men, that the king, turning his horse's head to depart from them, said, 'Alas! poor innocents.' After this," adds the historian; "the king withdrew his favour from the Bishop of Winchester."\* This is rather too strong even for Strype, who dilutes it into, "observing how Winchester was the great agent in all this, never liked him after."†

Another cause assigned for the king's dislike of Gardiner is, the suspicion of his fidelity, which arose out of the affair of Germain Gardiner, the bishop's secretary, who was convicted and executed as a traitor, for his practices with the court of Rome. "Germain Gardiner," says Strype, "was, a year after" [that is, in 1544] "hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor, for denying the king's supremacy. And the Bishop of Winchester, after this, never had favour or regard of the king more." (*Cran.* i. 176.) This is of course slaying the slain, for he had told us the year before that the king "never liked him after" the matter of Windsor. But here he outruns his usual authority, Fox, who gives the story in a manner somewhat different. He says—"Upon the detection of this Germain Gardiner, being secretary to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, his kinsman, it seemed to some, and so was also insinuated unto the king, not to be unlike, but that the said Germain neither would nor durst ever attempt any such matter of popery without some setting on or consent of the bishop, he being so near unto him, and to all his secrets, as he was. Whereby the king began somewhat more to smell and misdoubt the doings of the bishop; but yet the bishop so covertly and clearly conveyed his matters, playing under the board, after his wonted fetches, in such sort that (I cannot tell how) *he still kept in with the king*, to the great inquietation of the public state of the realm, and especially of Christ's church."‡ It is curious to see how quietly, and I am quite willing to add unconsciously, some writers contradict themselves, and how easily their self-contradictions pass off with their readers, if only a few pages intervene; but when the passages are placed in juxtaposition, and one tries to imagine the facts, what a puzzle they make.

Following the order of time, we ought here to notice a fact which goes far to prove that all the foregoing pretence of the

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\* Fox, vol. V. p. 496.

† Cran. I. 158.

‡ Fox, vol. V. p. 526.

king's dislike of the bishop is false. As late as the year 1545, Gardiner was ambassador to the emperor. Bishop Burnet tells us that "Cranmer had, at this time, almost prevailed with the king to make some further steps in a reformation. But Gardiner, who was then ambassador in the emperor's court, being advertised of it, wrote to the king, that the emperor would certainly join with France against him, if he made any further innovation in religion. This diverted the king from it."\* This was doing a good deal for a man disliked and mistrusted: one who had been proved to be a false knave, and got very near to be thought so. The Bishop of Norwich, too, deposed that after this deponent was sent ambassador in residence to the emperor, the Bishop of Winchester was sent over with commission, in which the Bishop of Norwich and Sir Edward Carne (who, as I have already stated, was afterwards unable to speak particularly to the point which we have in hand) were joined, to treat with the emperor and the French ambassador, "wherein the said bishop was the chief doer, and chief in estimation."† Another proof that the bishop was employed in public business transpires incidentally in a letter which he wrote to the Protector, after the king's death. It is dated, "At the Fleet, the 14th of October," 1547. "In which matter," he says, "I was very much troubled, even this time twelvemonth, when I was in commission with my Lord Great Master and the Earl of Southampton, for altering the Court of Augmentations."‡ So that at least as late as October, 1546, Gardiner was occupying a place of credit and confidence. Whether that was a little before or a little after the circumstances which I proceed to state I do not know, and it is not material; but I suppose that what here follows was the more recent of the two.

The third occurrence which is said to have alienated the king from Gardiner, is one which, even if that were the case, contains unanswerable evidence that up to the time when it occurred, the bishop must have enjoyed, in a high degree, the royal favour and confidence. Indeed, the story, as it is popularly told, is one of those which pass current without any strict examination, and are rendered more and more probable by being (perhaps I ought to say, instinctively) smoothed and softened in some small degree by each writer, as he repeats them. Perhaps every man who really believes a story which contains some improbabilities, is liable to soften it in the relation, not merely as an

\* Hist. of Ref. vol. I. 317.

† Fox, vol. VI. p. 190. This the Bishop of Norwich deposed, in answer to the IVth article. It is curious that in Sir Edward Carne's deposition that article is entirely passed over, (p. 185,) and indeed he does not seem to have been examined upon it. See p. 136.

‡ Fox, vol. VI. p. 44.

apology for his own belief, or to conciliate the belief of others, but because the little matters dropped, or the explanatory suggestions inserted, have been put out, or put in, during the process of his own reception of the story; so that the story really exists in his mind in the modified form in which he hands it over to the next relater, that he may take his turn at probablizing, and pass it on. Such writers are not to be charged with anything like intentional falsehood; but that they are in fact the cause of much misconception, and mistake of facts, and therefore of all the false reasoning and false philosophy that is built on such false imaginations, is beyond all doubt. It is only by tracing stories back that we can judge how far they have been subjected to this process. The reader, who for the first time meets with an anecdote in its hundredth edition, and its most mitigated and swallowable form, may very naturally receive it in simple good faith, without the least idea that if he were to strip it down to its foundation facts and authorities, it would show itself to be an incredible and barefaced lie.

The story, however, with which we are concerned at present, as forming the third reason why Bishop Gardiner was abhorred by Henry VIII., and which may be found in Fox (vol. V., p. 583, &c.), is, as to its facts, (if they are facts,) pretty much as follows:—At the time of the king's last illness, Queen Katherine Parr was, and indeed from the time of her marriage had been, a decided favourer of the Reformation. This, of course, excited the jealousy, and fear, and malice, of the Popish party in general, and of Gardiner in particular; and it was determined to get her put to death. She had been in the habit of arguing with the king on religious subjects, and he had taken it well, "until, at the last, by reason of his sore leg, (the anguish whereof began more and more to increase,) he waxed sickly, and therewithal froward and difficult to be pleased." He had left off his custom of going to visit her, and she used from time to time, either being sent for or having found that it would be agreeable, to go to see him. On one occasion of this kind, we are told, she found the disgraced and abhorred (or, to say the least, the mistrusted and disliked) Gardiner, who seems, nevertheless, to have been either so much at home in his royal master's chamber, or else under such orders from him, that he outstaid her Majesty. "At this visitation," says Fox, "*chanced* the Bishop of Winchester aforementioned to be present, and also at the queen's taking her leave."\* She seems to have been urging the king "zealously to proceed in the reformation of the

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\* No doubt it was a mere matter of chance who was in the king's chamber, the companion of the froward patient in his anguish, at the time when his royal consort came to visit him.

church," and to have been startled at his somewhat testily changing the conversation. But he showed her no sign of anger; and, "after other pleasant talk, she for that time took her leave of his majesty; who, after his manner, bidding her 'Farewell, sweetheart,' (for that was his usual term to the queen,) licensed her to depart."

As soon as the queen was gone, however, Henry gave vent to his impatience, and opened his mind to the *mistrusted* and *detested* bishop. "The king, immediately upon her departure from him, used these or like words, [one wonders who reported them.] 'A good hearing,' quoth he, 'it is when women become such clerks; and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old days to be taught by my wife.'"

It was, perhaps, as strange that the king should say all this to the most "abhorred" of all his subjects, as it was that the "abhorred" should be in such a place at such a time to hear it; but how incomparably (may not one say, incredibly?) strange does it seem, that the disliked and mistrusted bishop should have had the boldness, especially at a time when the irritable king was already in anger, to enter on a long oration, wound up with a plain warning to his majesty, how perilous a matter it was "to cherish a serpent within his own bosom." Whatever we may think of Gardiner in other respects, we must (unless his enemies have belied him) give him credit for singular boldness and straightforward honesty. He might be (and no one is more convinced than I am that he actually was) most decidedly and fearfully wrong in being a papist—in believing many of the doctrines, and following many of the practices, of popery; but surely, if he knew that the queen was "bold (being, indeed, become very zealous toward the gospel, and the professors thereof) frankly to debate with the king touching religion, and therein flatly to discover herself; oftentimes, wishing, exhorting, and persuading the king, that as he had, to the glory of God, and his eternal fame, begun a good and a godly work in banishing that monstrous idol of Rome, so he would thoroughly perfect and finish the same, cleansing and purging his Church of England clean from the dregs thereof, wherein as yet remained great superstition,"—if he also knew that "besides the virtues of the mind, she was endued with very rare gifts of nature, as singular beauty, favour, and comely personage, being things wherein the king was greatly delighted: and so enjoyed she the king's favour, to the great likelihood of the setting at large of the gospel within this realm at that time,"—if, I say, he knew this, and feared and hated it, as he must have done, was it not a good honest step thus, in the presence of other courtiers, to denounce the queen to the king as a "serpent"? Imagine

a disgraced favourite, standing up before a tyrant in anguish with a sore leg, and saying all this of his consort, who "so enjoyed his favour," that notwithstanding a momentary irritation, (and that concealed from herself,) he had not only left her head on her shoulders, but had "knit up all arguments with gentle words and loving countenance," and dismissed her, "after other pleasant talk," with, "Farewell, sweetheart!"

Strange, however, as the whole of such a scene must have been, the effect, we are told, was, that on the spot the king gave a commandment, "with warrant, to certain of them,\* made for that purpose, to consult together about the drawing of certain articles against the queen, wherein her life might be touched." Having obtained this warrant, it is said, the popish party used all means, good and bad, to obtain evidence against the queen; but, as they could "not upon the sudden, but by means, deal with her," they determined first to attack, on the ground of the Six Articles, "some of the ladies whom they knew to be great with her," and they selected Lady Herbert, Lady Lane, and Lady Tyrwit, all of her privy chamber. It was thought that in searching their coffers and closets, something might be found that would criminate the queen, whom they might then instantly seize and carry off in a barge by night to the Tower. The king "was forthwith made privy unto the device by Winchester and Wriothesly, and his consent thereto demanded; who, (belike to prove the bishop's malice, how far it would presume,) like a wise, politic prince, was contented dissemblingly to give his consent, and to allow of every circumstance; knowing, notwithstanding, in the end, what he would do."

I find it somewhat difficult to imagine that a "wise, politic prince," (indeed, any but a fool or a madman,) and most especially such a man as Henry, should be so absurd as to act thus. But if the king's conduct was strange, that of the queen was at least equally absurd. Though she had been "somewhat amazed" at the way in which the king took her discourse on the occasion already mentioned, yet she continued her "accustomed manner" of talking to his majesty on the subject, which so irritated him; and he wishing "to try out the uttermost of Winchester's fetches, suffered her to say what she pleased without contradiction. Just, however, before what Fox calls "Winchester's final date," the king disclosed the matter to one of his physicians, "either Dr. Wendy or else Owen, but rather Wendy, as is supposed;" at the same time "charging him withal, upon peril of his life, not to utter it to any creature living." Happily for the queen, the councillor who had charge of the bill of arti-

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\* That is, I presume, of "them of that sect there present." One would like to know who they were.

cles, drawn up on purpose that "her life might be touched," and signed with the king's own hand, carried it about him so negligently that it dropped from his bosom, and, being picked up by a godly person, was carried to the queen. Her majesty knowing probably that she was liable to be called to account for transgressions of the law which have not been particularly recorded, (though we know enough to account for her being in some alarm,) "fell incontinent into a great melancholy and agony, bewailing and taking on in such sort as was lamentable to see." The successor of Anne Boleyn might well have trembled, even if she had known herself to be perfectly innocent.

However, the king hearing of her illness, sent his physicians, and among the rest Dr. Wendy; who of course understood the case better than any of the others, and who could not, though at the peril of his life, refrain from letting his patient know something of the secret which had been confided to him. His prescription was, "somewhat to frame and conform herself unto the king's mind, saying, he did not doubt but if she would do so, and show her humble submission unto him, she should find him gracious and favourable unto her." The king having soon after visited her, and behaved with kindness, the queen determined to follow Dr. Wendy's advice. She resolved to return his majesty's visit; having first, with more prudence than she had shown in her previous conduct, taken one very proper precaution;—"the queen remembering with herself the words that Master Wendy had said unto her, devised how, by some good opportunity, she might repair to the king's presence. And so, *first commanding her ladies to convey away their books which were against the law*, the next night following, after supper, she (waited upon only by the Lady Herbert her sister, and the Lady Lane, who carried the candle before her) went unto the king's bed-chamber, whom she found sitting and talking with certain gentlemen of his chamber. He welcomed her very courteously, and proceeding "to enter into talk of religion," she lost no time in making a full abjuration, and humble apology, and assuring his majesty that if she had ever appeared to differ from him it had been not so much to maintain opinion, as to pass away the time of his majesty's sickness, and to gain some instruction from his majesty's learned discourse; "wherein," she added, "I assure your majesty I have not missed any part of my desire."\*

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\* Every reader of what Fox calls in his margin "The Queen's politic submission to the King" must hope that the unhappy woman did not disgrace herself by the false and fulsome oration which he has put in her mouth. But I trust the reader bears in mind that I am not relating what I believe to be true, but only telling a tale as it is told to me, in the hope that by the discussion of it truth may be elicited. With this view we must, in the first instance, take it as it stands.

This dissimulation and flattery, was, we are told (somewhat inconsistently) successful. It seems as if the instinct to which I have already alluded, must have led Fox into very absurd self-contradiction. He had, I suppose, a sort of feeling when he was writing, that "before they departed the place, the king . . . had given commandment with warrant," &c., which made him after the word "king," insert the parenthesis "(to see belike what they would do.)" And to do the same in telling us afterwards that the king's intention was "(belike to prove the bishop's malice, how far it would presume.)" The reader must, of course, forget all this, and its meaning, before he gets to Fox's ejaculation, "Now then, God be thanked! the king's mind was *clean altered*, and he detested in his heart (as afterwards he plainly showed) this tragical practice of those cruel Caiaphases," who, however, knowing nothing "of the king's *well-reformed* mind," were intending to have carried the queen to the Tower the very next day.

On the afternoon of that morrow, and just as the appointed hour drew on, the king went to walk in the garden, and sent for the queen, who came attended by the three ladies whose arrest was to have been the prelude to her own. Happily, however, for them, though the unlawful books were hidden, that part of the plan had been abandoned. But there they were, taking the air with the king and queen, and two gentlemen of the bed-chamber, "when suddenly in the midst of their mirth,\* the hour determined being come, in cometh the lord chancellor into the garden with forty of the king's guards at his heels, with purpose indeed to have taken the queen, together with the three ladies aforesaid, whom they had before purposed to apprehend alone, even then unto the Tower." The king, however, had a little private conversation with his chancellor, of which the only words recorded are, "knave, yea, arrant knave, beast and fool;" and then sent him about his business. The queen, in real or pretended ignorance of the nature of the chancellor's offence, pleaded for him; and as Fox says, "by God's only blessing," (perhaps impartial truth might have required him rather to say, by falsehood, flattery, and the influence which she had over the king's affections, if he had any,) she "happily for that time and ever, escaped the dangerous snares of her bloody and cruel enemies for the gospel's sake."

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\* Imagine the *mirth* of such a party. The king with his sore leg, and the fullest conviction that either the queen by his side was a damnable heretic, or his chancellor who was coming to fetch her to gaol, a "knave, beast, and fool." The queen, intensely pondering Dr. Wendy's prescription, and every now and then involuntarily feeling whether her head was on her shoulders. Her ladies with consciences burdened by a load of unlawful books, and the broken Act of Six Articles. Surely anything like genuine mirth must have been limited to the two unmindful gentlemen of the bedchamber; but perhaps their innocent gambols diverted the others.

"One has, however," says a writer in the *Biographia Britannica*, "some reason to wonder, that when John Bale wrote his article of Queen Katherine Parre, in which he celebrates her learning, piety, and zeal for true religion, at the time all parties were living, and when anything against the Bishop of Winchester would have been well received, he should say nothing of this iniquitous contrivance. (Bale, Script. edit. 1548, 4to, fol. 238.) Nor is it less strange that when matter was sought much further back to charge him with, this should not be remembered in the proceedings at his deprivation under the succeeding reign."—*Art. Gardiner*, p. 2104.

These few plain and sensible words seem to me quite sufficient to settle one's opinion as to the truth of a story which has, beside these considerations, such very suspicious marks of falsehood and absurdity. If it had been true, would not John Bale, or the Lord Paget, have alluded to it? for no doubt they did sometimes speak truth to serve their purposes. Or if it was *at that time* a popular lie (even suppose it a known, contradicted, confuted lie) where would you have found two men more unscrupulous in using such a thing, or more particularly and personally hostile to Gardiner?

The reader will, however, bear in mind that, so far as the object of this particular essay is concerned, I am under no temptation to decide against the story. If it is false, it may add another to many cautions which those who read the works of party writers are sure to get in the course of their studies; but for our present inquiry it is just nothing at all. If, on the other hand, it is true, it shows (beside some other things which I may perhaps hereafter find occasion to notice) that up to a very late period of Henry's reign, Bishop Gardiner was about the person, and shared the confidence of his royal master, and was on very familiar terms with him. This, too, I hope to corroborate by other evidence of a different kind. In the meantime,

I am, &c.

S. R. MAITLAND.



## ANTIQUITIES, ETC.

THE CONSUETUDINARY OF ST. OSMUND,  
FROM A MANUSCRIPT FORMERLY BELONGING TO ST. PATRICK'S  
CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN.

(Continued from p. 167.)

*Adaptatio eiusdem in aliis festis dupplicibus ix. lect.*

**M**odus processionis hujus dici\* locum habet in omnibus festis dupplicibus ix. lectionum per annum que ex sua solempnitate processionem habent, exceptis quod in aliis prosa non dicitur; et excepta purificatione beate marie, tunc enim dum tertia canitur executor officii sollempni apparatu se induat, et omnes eius ministri sicut ad executionem misse. Tertia dominica idem sacerdos cum suis ministris ad altare processionaliter incedat, et cereos ante altare benedicat, et aqua benedicta aspergat. Deinde thurificet; hijs peractis in stallo suo se recipiat dum cerei distribuuntur. Cereis distributis, eat processio more predicto, et in statione ante crucem tres de superiore gradu versum dicant in pulpito conuersi ad populum, habitu non mutato. Cetera ut supra.

*Ordinacio processionis in die pasce.*

**D**ie pasce eodem modo fiat processio sicut in die natalis excepto quod die pasche dicitur versus in pulpito sicut in die purificationis. In oct. pasce eodem modo fit processio sicut in ceteris dominicis diebus preter habitum, et excepto quod hac die dicitur versus in pulpito sicut in die pasce.

*In die ascensionis ordo processionis.*

**I**n die ascensionis ordinetur processio sicut in die pasce excepto quod hac die vexilla processione procedunt; prius leo; deinde minora vexilla per ordinem, ultimo loco draco. Deinde inter subdiaconum et turribulum duo de ij: forma capsulam reliquiarum in cappis sericis deferant. Ipse quoque diaconus eo die reliquias deferat pro dispositione sacristarum. Preterea hac die procedat processio per medium chori et exit per ostium ecclesie occidentale procedendo in septentrionale latere circuendo extrinsecus totam ecclesiam et atrium, et predictum ostium in die dominica palmarum intrat. Cetera ut in die natali domini.

*In die pentecostes ordo processionis.*

**I**n die pentecostes ordinatur processio sicut in die natalis domini. Precedit autem usque in atrium sicut in dominica palmarum, et ita sine statione procedit et intrat per ostium ecclesie occidentale.

*In capite Jeiunij.*

**I**n capite ieiunij post cinerum susceptionem eat processio per medium chori ad ostium ecclesie australe, excellentioribus precedentibus,

\* *Hujus diei scilicet diei natalis Domini.*

precedente vexillo cilicineo. Deinde episcopus uel executor officij penitentes singillatim per manus eiciat ministerio archidiaconorum; si episcopus presens fuerit. Qvibus eiectis, redeat processio ordine solito processionum seruato.

*De processione feriarum per xlmam.*

**P**reterea sciendum quod per totam xlmam, usque ad cenam domini iiij<sup>a</sup> et vj<sup>a</sup> feria ebdomade solet fieri processio ad altare per ordinem. Primo die ad altare sancti martini. Deinde ad cetera per ordinem, nisi festum ix lectionum impediatur. Qvarta itaque feria prime ebdomade xl<sup>ma</sup> cantata nona ante inchoationem misse eat processio sed sine cruce per ostium presbiterii ad altare sancte martini. Sacerdos cum suis ministris in albis. Deinde cantato responsorio clerici, ordine quo in choro ordinantur, se prosternant, ita quod sacerdos ad gradum altaris cum diacono a dextris et subdiacono a sinistris suam faciat prosternationem cum *kyrie el.* et psal. *miserere*. Finitis precibus stando dicat orationem. Qva finita, et cantata letania a duobus de ij<sup>a</sup> forma, usque ad *sancta maria ora pro nobis* et habitu non mutato, processio presbiterium circueundo per ostium chori occidentale chorum intret; predictis duobus ad gradum chori letaniam terminantibus et sacerdos cum suis ministris abscedat nulla oratione dicta. Eodem modo et ordine fit processio qualibet sexta feria per xl<sup>ma</sup>.

*De processione in cena domini.*

**I**n cena domini, nona cantata, eat processio ad ostium ecclesie sicut in capite ieiunij, sintque presentes in atrio ecclesie penitentes. Deinde si episcopus adest, principalis archidiaconus ex parte penitentium extra ostium lectionem legat in capa serica, que non legatur episcopo absente. Finita lectione incipiat a. bis, continuo. Deinde diaconus ex parte penitentium dicat, *Flectamus genua* in albis; et diaconus ex parte episcopi dicat *leuate* in simili habitu, et ita fiat tribus uicibus. Deinde penitentes singillatim per manus episcopus restituat ecclesie ministeris archidiaconorum. Qvibus peractis processio more solito in chorum redeat.

*Processio in vigilia pasce.*

**I**n vigilia pasce, congregatis clericis in choro executor officij in capa serica, diaconus dalmatica, subdiaconus tunica induatur cum ministris suis sine lumine in cereis et igne in thurribulo, quodam de j<sup>a</sup> forma in superpellicio cereum illuminandum in hasta quadam deferente et processionem precedente post aque latorem per medium chori et ad fontes nouum ignem benedicendum processionaliter eat, choro sequente, precedentibus excellentioribus et ad columpnam ex parte australi ignem benedicat. Quo peracto solito more redeat processio in chorum duobus de ij<sup>a</sup> forma cantantibus in superpellicijs, *Inuentor rutili*.\*

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\* This hymn or *prosa* begins thus:—

Inuentor rutili  
Dux bone luminis,  
Qui certis vicibus  
Tempora dividis,

Merso sole chaos  
Ingruit horridum,  
Lumen redde tuis  
Christe fidelibus.

See the "Processionale ad vsum insignis ecclesie Sarum."—Lond. 1555, fol. lxxv. 6.

*Processio ante mat. in die pasce.*

**I**n die pasce ante mat. duo excellentiores presbiteri in superpelliciis crucem de sepulcro tollant. Qui eam per ostium australe presbiterii incedentes et per medium chori regredientes cum thuribulo et ceroferariis precedentibus ad altare sancti martini canentes deferant. Deinde dicta oratione cum versiculo ab excellentiore sacerdote ibi inchoentur mat. post debitam campanarum pulsationem.

*Eadem die processio ad fontes.*

**F**inita septiformi letania que a septem primis in superpelliciis dicatur, in medio chori et quinquipartita letania a quinque diaconis de ij<sup>a</sup> forma similiter in medio chori inchoata in superpelliciis ad prolacionem *sancta maria ora pro nobis*, eat processio ad fontes duobus diaconis de ij<sup>a</sup> forma in albis oleum et crisma deferentibus inter subdiaconum et turribulum pariter incedentibus.\* Cereus quoque benedicendis fontibus necessarius processionem precedat accensus, qui a quodam de i<sup>a</sup> forma in superpellicio deferatur, et exeat processio per ostium presbiterii [australi], et in australi ecclesie latere procedens, ad fontes veniat. Finita letania executor officii conuersus ad orientem fontibus benedicendis assistat, ministris ordinate circumstantibus; sc. a dextris iuxta sacerdotem stet diaconus. Subdiaconus a sinistris. Qui fert crisma stet iuxta diaconum. Qui autem oleum stet iuxta subdiaconum. Qui uero crucem desert sacerdoti sit oppositus ad eum conuersus, iuxta quem eodem modo stent duo ceroferarii. Consecratis fontibus non infundatur oleum neque crisma, nisi sit aliquis baptizandus. Completo fontium ministerio tres clerici de superiori gradu in cappis sericis canant *Rex sanctorum*. Finito primo versu chorus eundem repetat, et sic progredientes chorum intrent.

*Processio que eadem die ad vespas fit ad fontes.*

**E**adem die ad vespas post primum *Benedicamus* eat processio ad fontes, eodem modo et ordine in superpelliciis quo in vigilia pasce, quando itur ad fontes benedicendos, excepto quod hic precedit cereus processionem. Deinde tres pueri in ipsa statione ante fontes habitu non mutato cantent *alleluia*. Post repetitionem ipsius *alleluie* incensatis fontibus dicat ibi sacerdos versiculum et orationem. Postea ante crucem aliam faciant stationem, ubi dicta oratione solito more in chorum redeant.

*De processione per ebdomadam pasce facienda ad mat. et ad vespas.*

**F**eria ij<sup>a</sup> ebdomade pasce ad mat. post primum *Benedicamus* eat processio cum acolito deferente crucem in superpellicio, et cum ceroferariis et turribulo solito more per medium chori ante crucem, et ibi facta statione dicatur ver. ante crucem a duobus de superiore gradu in superpelliciis ad clerum conuersis. Deinde dicta oratione cum ver. solito more in chorum redeant. Hec eodem modo fiat processio ad crucem ad mat. singulis diebus per ebdomadam, nisi quod duobus diebus sequentibus dicitur versus in statione ante crucem, a duobus de ij<sup>a</sup> forma. Reliquiis vero sequentibus feriis nullus versus diratur.

\* On the lower margin, in a hand of the fifteenth century, are these words, "N<sup>o</sup> Feria vj. in crastino ascensionis amoueatur cereus paschalis."

Eadem feria ad vespervas eodam modo et ordine eat processio in quo die pasce ad vespervas, excepto quod hoc die pueri non cantant in statione ad fontes. Simili quoque modo obseruetur processio ad vespervas singulis diebus per ebdomadam usque ad sabbatum.

*Processio que fit in sabbato quod dicitur in albis, ante crucem.*

**I**n sabbato uero ad vespervas eat processio post primum *Benedicamus* cum ceroferariis et turribulo tantum, per medium chori, non iam ad fontes cum oleo et crismate sicut in precedentibus diebus, sed ante crucem tantum, et ibi in statione ipsa dicatur versus a duobus de superiori gradu in superpellicis ad clerum conversis. Deinde dicta ibi oratione cum versu in chorum redeat processio solito more. Sciendum autem quod ab hoc sabbato usque ad ascensionem domini singulis sabbatis ad vespervas predicto modo fit processio, excepto quod in mediis [sabbatis] dicitur versus in statione a duobus de ij<sup>a</sup> forma. Ultimo uero sabbato dicitur idem versus in superiori gradu; eodem etiam modo fit processio ad vespervas in vig. inuentionis sancte crucis, excepto quod ibi nullus versus dicitur in statione.

*Processio que fit in letanie maiore.*

**I**n letania maiore dicta missa ad principale altare, et cantata meridie ordinata processione ad gradum chori, per medium chori et ecclesie exeat processio per ostium ecclesie australe, eodem modo et habitu sicut in diebus dominicis, excepto quod hic uexilla precedunt processionem et capsule reliquiarum pro dispositione sacristarum in hac processione deferuntur a duobus de ij<sup>a</sup> forma habitu non mutato, et sic eat processio ad aliquam ecclesiam in urbe uel suburbio, et ibi missa cantata processionaliter redeant ad ecclesiam per idem ostium quo egressi sunt, et ita in chorum solito modo redeant, et ita finita letania, dicatur oratio cum versiculo ad gradum chori, habitu non mutato.

*Processio in rogationibus.*

**F**eria ij<sup>a</sup> in rogationibus hoc eodem modo ordinatur et procedat [processio, excepto quod hic procedat] draco, et deinde leo. Preterea hac die exit processio per ostium supra dictum, et procedit ad portam ciuitatis occidentalem, et ita circueundo ciuitatem ex latere septentrionale, in aliqua ecclesia se recipit, et ibi celebrata missa per portam ciuitatis orientalem ad ecclesiam redit. Et cetera ut prius.

*De feria ij<sup>a</sup> in rogationibus.*

**F**eria ij<sup>a</sup> in rogationibus eat processio ad [legend. per] portam ciuitatis orientalem usque ad ecclesiam eo die adeundam, et ibi celebrata missa, ciuitatem ex latere australi circueundo per portam ciuitatis occidentalem ad ecclesiam redeat; et cetera ut prius.

*In vigilia ascensionis.*

**I**n vig. ascensionis simili modo ordinatur processio ut in predictis feriis; eat etiam processio ad locum destinatum et redeat; omnibus ut supra peractis.

*In vigilia pentecostes.*

**I**n vig. pasce. eodem modo et ordine fit processio ad fontes sicut in vig. pasce per omnia.

*In sabbatis in estate ad vespas, ante crucem.*

**I**n sabbato quo cantatur ystoria *deus omnium* ad vespas post omnes (*sic*) memoriam beate marie, fit processio ad crucem, eo modo quo in sabbato octavarum pasce, excepto quod hic nullus versus dicitur in statione, et eodem modo singulis sabbatis usque ad aduentum domini; nisi duplex festum impediatur.

*Processiones que fiunt venerationis [causa.]*

**F**iunt preterea quedam processiones [uenerationis] causa, ad suscipiendum regem, archiepiscopum, et proprium episcopum uel legatum, que eodem modo et habitu ordinantur quo in duplicibus festis; procedunt autem per medium chori et ecclesie, et per ostium ecclesie australe exeunt usque ad locum destinatum incedentes, ibique personam suscipiendam in processione due excellentiores persone in redeundo suscipiant: et eadem uia qua accesserant, usque ad gradus altaris adducant. Qva adorandum prostrata, excellentior sacerdos orationem dicat super eum.

*Processio ad homines mortuos.*

**S**i uero cum processione homo mortuus sit suscipiendus eo modo ordinetur processio et incedat. In alio tamen habitu, quia sacerdos in hac processione et ministri eius in albis incedunt. Chorus autem in cappis nigris. Et cum ad locum destinatum peruenerit processio, cadauer ipsum sacerdos aqua benedicta aspergat. Deinde thurificet. Postea uero in ecclesiam redeant. Et si canonicus fuerit cuius corpus deferatur, in chorum deferatur. Sin autem extra chorum in ecclesia dicta oratione relinquatur.

*De modo exequendi dominica; i<sup>ma</sup> in aduentu ad missam, et de officiis ministrorum.*

**D**ominica prima in aduentu peracta processione dum tertia cantatur, executor officii et sui ministri ad missam dicendam se inquant. Si episcopus affuerit tres habeat diaconos et totidem subdiaconos ad minus, sicut in omni festo ix. lectionum, quando ipse exequitur officium. In die uero pentecostes, et in die cene, septem diaconos et septem subdiaconos et tres acolitos. In aliis uero duplicibus festis, quinque tantum. In die parasceves unum solum diaconum et unum solum subdiaconum. Cantata uero tertia, et officio misse inchoata [*sic*], dum post officium *Gloria patri* inchoatur, executor officii cum suis ministris ordinate presbiterium intrent, et ad altare incedant, diacono et subdiacono casulis indutis, manus tamen ad modum sacerdotis extra casulam non tenentibus. Ceteris ministris in albis existentibus. Quibus uero temporibus diaconi et subdiaconi casula, dalmatica, et tunica uti debeant, in ordinali\* plene describitur. Ad gradum autem altaris sacerdos ipse confessionem dicat, diacono

\* In ordinali. See Mr. Maskell's Monumenta Ritualia, vol. i. p. xli—xlvi.

assistente a dextris, subdiacono a sinistris. Et sciendum quod quisquis sacerdos officium exequatur, semper episcopus si presens fuerit ad gradum altaris *confiteor* dicat. Dicta uero absolutione, sacerdos diaconum deosculetur, deinde subdiaconum. Qvod semper observatur nisi missa pro fidelibus fuerit dicenda, et exceptis tribus ultimis diebus in passione. Hiis peractis ceroferarii candelabra cum cereis ad gradum altaris demittant; post humiliationem uero sacerdos [*sic*] ad altare factam, ipsum altare sacerdos thurificet diaconi ministerio. Deinde ab ipso diacono ipse sacerdos thurificetur, et postea textum ministerio subdiaconi deosculetur. Hijs peractis in dextero cornu altaris cum diacono et subdiacono officium misse usque ad orationem prosequatur, siue usque ad *Gloria in excelsis*, quando *gloria in excelsis* dicitur. Quo facta sacerdos cum suis ministris in sedibus ad hoc paratis se recipiant, et expectent usque ad orationem dicendam uel in alio tempore usque ad *gloriam in excelsis* incipiendum; dum uero sacerdos ad officium exequendum stat ad altare, diaconus stet in primo gradu ante altare. Deinde subdiaconus ordinate, ita quod quotiens sacerdos ad populum se conuertit, diaconus similiter se conuertat, subdiacono interim ipsi sacerdoti de casula aptanda subministrante. Sciendum autem quod quicquid a sacerdote dicitur ante epistolam in dextro cornu altaris expletur. Similiter post perceptionem sacramenti. Cetera omnia in medio altaris fiunt. Post introitum uero misse unus ceroferariorum panem et uinum et aquam in pixide et phiala sollempniter ad locum ubi panis et uinum et aqua ad eukaristie ministrationem disponuntur deferat. Reliquus uero ceroferarius, pulues cum aqua et manutergio. Incepta uero ultima oratione ante epistolam casula interim deposita, subdiaconus per medium chori ad legendum epistolam ad pulpitum accedat. Et dum epistola legitur duo pueri in superpellicii facta inclinatione ad altare, ad gradum chori in pulpito ipso se ad cantandum Gr. preparent. Interim etiam ueniant duo ceroferarii obuiam acolito ad ostium presbiterii cum ueneratione ipsum calicem ad locum predictae administrationis deferenti offertorio et corporalibus ipsi calici superpositis. Est autem acolitus in albis et mantello serico ad hoc parato. Calice itaque in loco debito reposito corporalia ipse acolitus super altare sollempniter deponat. Ipsum altare in recessa deosculando. Quo facto ceroferarii candelabra cum cereis ad gradum altaris dimittat. Lecta epistola subdiaconus panem et uinum post manuum absolutionem\* ad eukaristie ministrationem in loco ipsius administrationis preparent ministerio acoliti. Dum gradale canunt duo de superiore gradu ad cantandum *alleluia* cappis sericis se induant et ad pulpitum accedant. Dicto uero Gr. pueri cantores ad gradum altaris inclinatis capitibus redeant. Post lectam quoque epistolam unus ceroferariorum cum aliquo puero de choro aquilam in pulpito ad legendum euangelium ornando preparent. Dum *alleluia* canitur diaconus, ablutis prius manibus, casula humerum sinistrum modo stole succinctus corporalia super altare disponat. Dum prosa canitur diaconus ipse altare thurificet. Deinde ad commonitionem puerorum ministrantium a choro ad ministerium suum redeuntium, accepto textu euangeliorum,

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\* Read *ablutionem*.

et data ei humiliato capite a sacerdote benedictione cum ceroferariis et thuribulo precedente subdiacono librum lectionis euangelice deferente per medium chori ad pulpitum accedat; textum ipsum super sinistram manum sollempniter gestando. Et cum ad locum legendi perueniunt, textum ipsum subdiaconus accipiat et a sinistris diaconi ipsum dum euangelium legitur teneat; et lecto euangelio ipsum deosculando ipsi diacono porrigat, a dextra parte ipsius. In redeundo etiam textum ipsum ad altare ex directo pectori deferat. Post inceptionem *credo in unum* sacerdos ipse ministerio diaconi thurificetur, et postea ministerio subdiaconi textum deosculetur. Quo peracto chorus ministerio pueri more solito incensetur, sequente subdiacono textum deosculandum singulis eo ordine quo incensantur porrigente. Hijs peractis acolito ministrante subdiacono, subdiaconus ipsi diacono, sacerdos prius hostiam super patenam deinde calicem a manu diaconi accipiat; diacono manum ipsius sacerdotis utraque uice deosculante. Postea ordinato sacrificio, et debito modo disposito, sacerdos sacrificium ministerio diaconi ter in signo crucis thurificet. Deinde ter in circuitu, postea ex utraque parte sacrificii. Quo peracto, sacerdos manus abluat, ministerio subdiaconi et aliorum ministrorum; diacono interim ipsum altare in sinistro cornu incensante, et reliquias more solito. Accedente autem sacerdote ad diuinum obsequium exequendum, diaconus et subdiaconus suis gradibus ordinate se teneant, et si episcopus celebrauerit, omnes diaconi in eodem gradu diaconorum consistant, principali diacono medium locum inter eos obtinente. Simili modo subdiaconi in gradu subdiaconorum se habeant, ceteris omnibus diaconis et subdiaconis gestum principalis diaconi et principalis subdiaconi imitantibus; excepto quod principalis subdiaconus sacerdoti ad populum conuertenti solus ministrat. Sacerdote uero. *per omnia secula seculorum* incipiente, subdiaconus offertorium et patenam de manu diaconi accipiat et ipsam tenendam quousque oratio dominica dicatur, acolito offertorio cooperto committat, in gradu post diaconum iterum constituto. Sciendum autem quod pueri administrantes, dum secretum misse tractatur, in choro moram faciunt, exteriorem locum primo forme tenentes quousque sacerdos cancellatis manibus ad altare se inclinet, tunc enim ad altare accedunt administrandum diacono in manuum ablutione cum subdiacono. Sacerdote uero, corpore domini calicem in modum crucis signante, diaconus ei a dextris assistat eique in corporalibus sustinendis subministret. Inchoata uero oratione dominica, diaconus patenam a manu subdiaconi recipiat et post dictam orationem dominicam eam sacerdoti porrigat; post tertium *per omnia secula seculorum*, si episcopus celebrauerit, diaconus ad populum conuersus baculum episcopi in dextra tenens, curuata baculi ad se conuersa, dicat *humiliate uos ad benedictionem*. Deinde episcopus eucharistia interim super patenam reposita, super populum faciat benedictionem, *Agnus dei* dicendum accedunt diaconus et subdiaconus ad sacerdotem uterque a dextris; diaconus propior; subdiaconus remotior. Pacem uero diaconus a sacerdote accipiat; deinde primo subdiacono porrigat. Deinde ad gradum chori rectorem ex parte decani; deinde alium ex parte cantoris osculetur. Qui duo pacem choro reportent, incipientes a decano et cantore, uel ab his qui stallis eorum stant proximiores.

Post perceptionem sacramenti, sacerdote ad manus ablundas ueniente, diaconus corporalia complicit, et in loculo reponat. Postea uero ipsa corporalia calici cum offertorio superponat, ipsumque calicem dum post comm. dicitur ipsi acolito committat; qui dum *per omnia* dicitur, ea sollempnitate qua eum aportauit, reportet. Post *benedicamus* dictum a diacono interim casula induto ad populum conuerso, et post inclinationem ad se factam, sacerdos cum suis ministris, modo quo accessit, recedat.

(To be continued.)

# ARCHBISHOP WARHAM'S VISITATION IN THE YEAR 1511.

(Continued from page 178.)

## ECCLESIA DE EASTWELL vel ESTWELL.

770. *Compertum est.* That Maisteris Brent withholdeth a cow from the church that was bequeathed by Master Clerk.

[She appeared and stated that she had the cow, and was ready to deliver it. The Commissary admonished the Churchwardens to go to her house and receive it; and to appear on the Tuesday after the Sunday *in albis* to certify that they had done so; on which day they appeared and stated that they had received the cow.]

771. *Item.* That John Pontall oweth to the church five ewes price *xiiii.d.* a piece, and for the farm of the said ewes *ii.d. summa vi.s.*

[The Churchwardens stated that he had settled it.]

## CAPELLA DE NEWLAND.

772. *Compertum est.* That to the chapel of Newland were given certain lands to a priest to sing there continually, the which lands the prior and convent of Leds hath; but there is no priest singing. Whereupon it was complained of in the Visitation of my Lord Henry Archbishop of Canterbury, and then there was made a composition that the said prior should find a priest continually as it appeareth by writing.

[The Commissary remitted the matter to the Lord {Archbishop.}]

## ECCLESIA DE LITTLE CHART.

773. *Compertum est.* That Richard Frende withholdeth certain money that he gathered for the building of the steeple and keepeth it wholly in his hands.

[He appeared and denied that he had in his hands any money belonging to the church.]



ECCLESIA DE HOTHFELD *vel* HOTHFELD.

774. *Compertum est.* That the door of the chancel is not sufficient.

[Sir John Green, curate, proctor of the rector, appeared, and said that the door of the chancel was made.]

775. *Item.* That the clausure of the churchyard against the east is not sufficient.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and the Commissary enjoined them to repair it before the Feast of Pentecost, under pain of excommunication.]

776. *Item.* That the glass window in the west end of the church is not sufficiently repaired.

[The Churchwardens were enjoined to repair it before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.]

777. *Item.* That my Lady Roos of Dover bequeathed to the church aforesaid v. kine. v. loads wood. v. hogs, the which we cannot get.

[The Commissary remitted the matter of the Lady De Rosse, because Sir Thomas Lovell, Knight, was not within the diocese.]

## ECCLESIA DE NEWENDEN.

778. *Compertum est.* That there is no parsonage in the parish, and by reason of the same, and the sea flowing there, the benefice is no more worth but v. marks yearly.

[The Commissary enjoined Sir John Bake the rector, to present himself before the Lord Archbishop, and state the cause of the poverty of his benefice, before the Feast of Pentecost.]

ECCLESIA DE BENYNGDEN *vel* BENYNDEN.

779. *Compertum est.* That the gable window in the west side of the church is faulty.

[The Churchwardens appeared and were enjoined to repair it before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.]

780. *Item.* The churchyard is not sufficiently kept.

[They were enjoined to remedy this before St. John the Baptist's day, under pain of excommunication.]

781. *Item.* That iii buttresses of the south side be not repaired.

[They were enjoined to repair the south wall of the church (in reparando lez botresses) before Michaelmas, under pain of excommunication.]

782. *Item.* That Thomas Astyn withholdeth of yearly rent from the church x.d., which he hath paid in time passed, and so is behind iii years.

[He appeared, and the Commissary enjoined him to pay the churchwardens ii.s. vi.d. for arrears, and x.d. for the current year before Easter, under pain of excommunication; or else to appear before the Lord Archbishop to shew cause to the contrary.]

783. *Item.* Thomas Philpott and Stephen Philpott withholdeth iii.l. iv.s. viii.d. the which was bequeathed by Richard Philpott to be distributed in fowl ways between Henxdenbregge and Philpott's gate.

[Stephen Fylpot appeared, and acknowledged the legacy. The Commissary enjoined him to pay it, or cause it to be paid, to four honest men of the parish, to be applied to mending the roads before Christmas, under pain of excommunication.]

#### ECCLESIA DE MAGNA CHART.

784. *Compertum est.* That the cieling of the chancel had need of reparation.

[Sir John Fogg, Knight, appeared, and in the name of the Rector undertook for the repair before St. John the Baptist's day.]

785. *Item.* There lack books of the new feasts: that is to say, the Feast of the Visitation of our Lady, the Feast of the Transfiguration, and the Feast De Nomine Jesu.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and the Commissary enjoined them to provide for the books in question before the Feast of the Assumption, or earlier if possible, under pain of excommunication.]

786. *Item.* There lack surplices.

[The said Churchwardens were ordered to provide them before the Feast of Pentecost, under pain of excommunication.]

787. *Item.* The parsons of old time were wont to find a clerk to help to sing divine service; the which our parson will not do.

[Sir John Fog, Knight, in the name of the Rector denied

that he was bound to maintain such a clerk, or that his recent predecessors had been so bound; but said that if the obligation could be proved, he would do it.]

788. *Item.* The clausure of the churchyard is not sufficient, through the fault of the Prior of Christchurch.

[The Churchwardens were ordered to repair it before St. John the Baptist's day, under pain of excommunication, or else to appear on the Tuesday before that feast to shew cause why the Prior of Christchurch was bound.]

789. *Item.* The church gate is not sufficient.

[They were enjoined to repair it sufficiently, as well with regard to covering, as otherwise, before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.]

790. *Item.* The body of the church lacketh reparation insomuch that it raineth in at divers places.

[There does not appear to be anything corresponding to this in the *acta*.]

#### *Denarii Sancti Petri.*

791. Dominus de Lalborne *i.d.* Redyng *i.d.* Eldyntrym *i.d.* Eldyngham *i.d.* Newenden *i.d.* Buxford *i.d.* Northstower *i.d.* Wardaker *i.d.* Grastegh *i.d.* Harteigh *i.d.* Virga de Barnwey *i.d.* Thomas de Gerdherst *i.d.* Wortyng *i.d.* Virga de Jelmer *i.d.* Virga de Bokir *i.d.* Rippell *ob.* Thomas Laurence *ob.* Bisshoppnyder *i.d.* Bevyn *i.d.* Bevrynden *i.d.* Eardeharst *i.d.* Rugmer de Bever *i.d.* Thomas Iden *i.d.*

[The Churchwardens stated that they had come to agreement with all the parties about their Peter-pence.]

#### *Decanatus de Ospryng vel Ospringe.*

ULTIMO die mensis Septembris Anno Domini 1511. In Ecclesia Parochiali de Feversham Reverendissimus in Christo Pater . . . . . visitavit clerum et populum dicti decanatus, facto primitus sermone per Magistrum Clementem Browne sacre theologie professorem.

[Monitio generalis ut supra.]

*Sequuntur detecta et comperta in dicto  
Decanatu de Ospryng.*

ECCLESIA DE STALISFELD *vel* STALLEFOLD.

792. *Compertum est.* That the vicarage is of so small profit that the vicar cannot live upon it, for the yearly valor of the same doth not pass viii. marks, and the proprietary of the same is the Prior of Saint Gregories in Canterbury; and the farm of the parsonage is by year viii.*l.* xiii.*s.* iiiii.*d.*

[The Vicar appeared, and stated that he was in treaty with the Prior for an augmentation.]

793. *Item.* That Saint Thomas Chauncel [*sic*] is not sufficiently repaired.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and the Commissary enjoined them to repair the chapel (*capellam*) of St. Thomas before All Saints day, under pain of excommunication.]

794. *Item.* John Buns of Ottreden was condemned by the Official to pay certain duties to the said church, the which he did withhold many years, and also the costs done in the suit, the which he doth yet withhold, and did put us to great expenses at London in wrongfully defending his wrongful withholding.

[The Churchwardens stated that this detection respecting John Bunse was pending before the Lord Archbishop.]

795. *Item.* That Richard Goodyn withholdeth a cow from the church of Stalisfeld that should find a lamp before Saint John Baptist.

[The Churchwardens stated that he was living in the diocese of Rochester, and the Commissary remitted the matter to the Lord Archbishop.]

796. *Item.* That Robert Straynsham of Lenham withdraweth *vi.s.* viii.*d.* bequeathed by his mother.

[He appeared and acknowledged the debt; and the Commissary enjoined him to pay it before Pentecost, under pain of excommunication.]

797. *Item.* That the same Robert and John of Otryden, executors of the said dead woman, dispose not xiiii.*s.* *pro anima ejusdem* as she willed.

[John Straynsham appeared, and undertook to pay the xiiii.*s.* before Pentecost; which the Commissary enjoined him to do, under pain of excommunication.]

ECCLESIA DE NEWINGHAM *vel* NEWENHAM.

798. *Compertum est.* That Jamys Thomson, clerk of Newingham, is not of good behaviour, nor fame, nor he liveth not as a clerk ought to do.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and stated that the clerk (aquebaiulus) of the parish had removed, and gone they knew not whither.]

799. *Item.* That the vicarage is of so small profit that a man cannot live on it, for it passeth not viii. marks a year.

[The Lady Matilda, Prioress of Davington, proprietary of the church appeared, and stated her belief that the vicarage was sufficient, and that the vicar lived respectably (honeste) upon it and had purchased land and wood there. She said, however, that if it could be proved to be insufficient she would make a suitable provision for the vicar. Afterwards, namely on the xxist of May, she appeared and granted to the said vicar an augmentation of xiii.s. iii.d. with which he was contented.]

. ECCLESIA DE LUDNAM *vel* LUDDENHAM.

800. *Compertum est.* That the chancel window is broken down and not amended, the which causeth the lights to waste more than they would do.

[The Rector appeared, and the Commissary enjoined him to repair the window before Michaelmas, under pain of sequestration.]

801. *Item.* That the parson dealeth not fairly with the vestments when he putteth them on him.

[Nothing corresponding in the Acta.]

802. *Item.* That the parish maketh the hedge about the churchyard, and the parson would have the croppings off the trees that grow in the hedge, the which no parson afore him was wont to have.

[The Rector said that he had trees growing in the churchyard, as he well might, for it was his right. The Commissary, with the consent of the Rector, assigned the tree that had been cut down to the Churchwardens, for the repair of the churchyard.]

803. *Item.* Robert Avale withholdeth from the church a cow bequeathed by one [blank], for the maintaining of the Rood lights.

[Robert a Vale of Feversham appeared, and stated that he

administered the goods of Richard Taylor, and had heard say, that the said Richard had in his possession a cow belonging to that church, and that he would deliver one to the Churchwardens before the Feast of Pentecost.]

804. *Item.* That John Napilton withholdeth from the said church another cow given to the maintenance of a taper before the Rood and another before our Lady.

[John Napleton appeared, and confessed that he had in his possession a cow belonging to the Church. The Commissary enjoined him to deliver it to the Churchwardens, or give securities for its being delivered, before St. George's day, under pain of excommunication.]

805. *Item.* John Colbroke bequeathed to the church, after that his debts were paid, the residue of his goods and lands, the which his executors will not perform.

[The said Churchwardens stated that they did not know who the executors were, but that they were dead. Being asked who was in possession of the goods of the deceased, they replied that they did not know, and so the Commissary dismissed the matter for the defect aforesaid.]

806. *Item.* That there lacketh a processional and a portecouse.

[The Churchwardens were enjoined to provide them before St. John the Baptist's day, under pain of excommunication.]

#### ECCLESIA DE OSPRYNGE.

807. *Compertum est.* That the chancel was brent by tempest of thunder, and so remaineth unrepaired.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and stated that the repairs were then in progress, and would be completed before Easter.]

808. *Item.* That the Vicar singeth not the service at due hours, nor keepeth none order; but now he singeth at one hour, now at another, at his own pleasure; and otherwhiles will do all service by viii. of the clock, and sometime by eleven of the clock, and so in no good and due time service is kept.

[The Vicar appeared, and the Commissary enjoined him thenceforth to begin matins on Sundays and holidays at eight o'clock; and then when the matins and hours were finished, proceed to celebrate mass, so that it might be over on those days by eleven o'clock, under pain of sequestration.]

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809. *Item.* One Peter at Seale oweth to the church, partly by legacies, and partly by holding in his hands sith he was churchwarden, xv.s. viii.d.

[Peter Cadman, executor of Peter Seede, appeared. The Commissary enjoined him to pay the sum claimed by the Churchwardens before Easter, or else to appear on the Thursday next after the Sunday *in albis*, to show cause to the contrary. On which day the Churchwardens appeared, and stated that the said Peter had not paid. The Commissary decreed that he should be suspended from entering the church. On the 5th of May following, Peter Cadman appeared and sought absolution, which the Commissary granted him, on his having taken an oath to obey the law, &c., and immediately the said Peter undertook to pay the money within eight days, under pain of excommunication.]

810. *Item.* There is a suspicious house of one Alice Owlett, widow, in the which is suspicious living by the resort of one John Randall.

[The Churchwardens stated that Alice Howlott had left the parish, and gone they knew not whither.]

811. *Item.* One John Temer draweth suspiciously to a house of one called Marget Hans.

[John Temer appeared, and denied that he frequented the house of Margaret Hannes. The Commissary enjoined him to avoid the house and company of the said Margaret, under pain of excommunication.]

812. *Item.* One Hugh Swannard, by reason of haunting to one Agnes the wife of John Taylor, hath set debate and strife between him and his wife; and maketh assault oftentimes upon the said John Taylor for his foresaid wife.

[He appeared and confessed the charge. The Commissary enjoined him that on two Sundays he should go before the procession in the parish church with bare feet and head, and a wax taper of the value of ii.d. in his hand; and that on the second Sunday he should offer the taper into the hands of the priest after the offertory at high mass should be finished, under pain of excommunication. Afterwards the said Hugh compounded, for certain causes, for iii.s. iiiii.d. which he paid on the spot, and the Commissary dismissed him.]

#### ECCLESIA DE SELLYNG.

813. *Compertum est.* That the Church is not repaired.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and the Commissary enjoined them to repair the nave of the church sufficiently before the Feast of Pentecost, under pain of excommunication.]

## ECCLESIA DE TREWLEY.

814. *Compertum est.* Omnia bene.

[Of course no *acta*.]

## ECCLESIA DE STONE.

815. *Compertum est.* That they be not served of divine service but once in fortnight. They have neither matins nor even-song on the holydays.

[Sir Thomas Carpenter, fermor of the Rectory appeared, whom the Commissary enjoined to serve the cure duly in divine services, under pain of sequestration.]

816. *Item.* The Curate giveth to the parson M. Archdeacon iiij marks by year, and the parsonage is not worth vii marks, whereby we have not our service.

[The detection concerning the Archdeacon was remitted to the examination of the Lord Archbishop.]

817. *Item.* The chancel is sore decayed.

[The said Sir Thomas was enjoined to repair the chancel before the Feast of the Assumption; or else to admonish the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury or his proctor so to do, before that time, under the penalty aforesaid.]

818. *Item.* The windows be not glazed.

[The same injunction as the preceding.]

## ECCLESIA DE NORTON.

819. *Compertum est.* That Sir Walter Butlar parish priest there lived suspiciously with the wife of John Jenkyn; and the setts of the curate and the clerks in the conwer [*sic*] are not repaired.

[Sir Walter Butler appeared, to whom the Commissary enjoined in the name [probably the word *rectoris* omitted] to repair the seats in the choir before the feast of the Assumption, under pain of sequestration; and to avoid the company of John Jenkyn's wife except in public places, under pain of excommunication.]

820. *Item.* Jamys Easton, executor of Richard Easton of the said parish, withdraweth xii bushels barley bequeathed to the said church.

[James Easton, executor of Richard Easton appeared; and



the Commissary enjoined him to deliver the barley to the Churchwardens before St. John the Baptist's day, under pain of excommunication.]

ECCLESIA DE SHELDWICH *vel* SHOLDWICH.

821. *Compertum est.* That Robert Lull of Shellyng and Raynold Cosyng of Badlesmer, feoffers to one Raynold Fyssher do not fulfil the said Raynold's will to the church of Sheldwich.

[The Churchwardens appeared and stated that Robert Lull and Raynold Cosyn had delivered the estate according to the will; and that the executors had settled with them for the legacies to the church.]

822. *Item.* The widow of William Maison of Wynhey oweth to the church for a cow and the farm of it for iiii years xiv.s. viii.d.

[The widow of William Mason late of Canterbury, appeared and made oath that no goods of her deceased husband had come to her hands, they having been sequestered by the ordinary; and then the Commissary dismissed her.]

823. *Item.* She oweth to the said church for the account of her husband sithence he was churchwarden viii.s. viii.d.

[As before.]

824. *Item.* The widow of Robert Symonds of Kenyngton oweth to the said church for a cow and the farm for v. years, xvi.s.

[She appeared; and forasmuch as her husband had died in so great poverty, she having been put upon her oath, was dismissed.]

825. *Item.* That the parson hath by year of the said benefice xviii.l. and the vicar but iv.l. xiii.s. iv.d. whereupon the whole parish is like to decay.

[The Vicar appeared, and stated that he had come to an agreement with the Lord Abbot of St. Augustine's for an augmentation of his pension.]

826. *Item.* That M. Jennyns withholdeth the tithes of all such oaks that pass xx years growing.

[He also stated that M. Stephen Jenyns had settled with him for his tythes.]

827. *Item.* The churchyard lieth open and not repaired.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and were enjoined to repair the fence before St. John the Baptist's day, under pain of excommunication.]

828. *Item.* Saint Margaret's chancel is decayed.

[The said Churchwardens were enjoined to perform all necessary repairs in the chancel of St. Margaret, before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.]

829. *Item.* Divers of the parish will not pay to the clerk's wages.

[The Churchwardens stated that all the defaulters had paid.]

#### ECCLESIA DE GOODMESTON.

830. *Compertum est.* That a glass window in the church is broken and not repaired.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and were enjoined to make this and all other necessary repairs in the church before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.]

831. *Item.* That Robert Johnson, farmer of Goodmeston, will not pay nothing to the cross light.

832. *Item.* He will not pay to the patron light, nor nothing to the clerks wages.

[He appeared, and stated that he was ready to pay to the lights of the church and the clerk, as the other parishioners did. The Commissary enjoined him to settle with the Churchwardens before Easter, under pain of excommunication.]

833. *Item.* The parson oweth to the church for rent of xx. years xx.d.

[The Rector appeared, and confessing the debt, the Commissary enjoined him to pay it before Easter, under pain of excommunication.]

834. *Item.* That M. Kemp, knight, withdraweth ii.d. by year of lands late belonging to one Milis.

[The Churchwardens stated that he had directed his fermor to pay the rent of ii.d. annually.]

835. *Item.* That William Bull withdraweth ii.d. by year of the said Milis lands.

[He appeared, and confessed that he owed the money for lands called "Myles lands." The Commissary enjoined him to pay it in future annually, under pain of excommunication.]

(To be continued.)

## CORRESPONDENCE.

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The Editor begs to remind his readers that he is not responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

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## THE PARKER SOCIETY.

SIR,—Will you allow me to occupy a small portion of your space, with a few remarks on the Zurich Letters, published by the Parker Society.

Having adopted such a designation, and having declared that their intention was to publish the writings of our own Reformers, the public have a right to expect that nothing should be put forth under the authority of the Society, offensive to Archbishop Parker's memory or hostile to the Anglican church, without a full explanation of the circumstances under which such matters might be included in their volumes, and a necessary caution to their readers. How great, then, was my surprise to find in the Zurich collection letters most calumnious respecting Parker and the Church of England, not merely from Puritans at home, but from Presbyterian reformers abroad, and not a word of explanation or caution given either in the preface or in the notes. Had they been restricted by their laws from adding any notes, some excuse might have been pleaded for the council; but, as numerous annotations appear on really trivial matters, the managers of the Parker Society are actually guilty of a flagrant act of injustice to Parker's memory, whose name they have used, and also to the church, of which they call themselves members, in publishing to the world such tirades of abuse without informing their readers of the true state of the case. To my own knowledge, some persons have read these letters, under the conviction that the Church of England was inclined to Popery from the period of the Reformation. Sure the Parker Society might, *as Churchmen*, have stated, that the writers of certain letters were mistaken men, but that they were printed as parts of a series. Such a book should never have proceeded, without many cautions and explanations, from a council whose avowed object is "*The publication of the Works of the Fathers and early writers of the Reformed English Church.*" Yet some reviewers have asserted, in their laudations of the Parker Society, that the whole series of the publications should form a portion of the library of every clergyman. Assuredly the clergy will be well versed in ecclesiastical history, if their information is to be derived only from the publications of the Parker Society.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

VERITAS.

P.S.—I should like to know what authority the Council of the Parker Society have for calling the writers of some of the letters in the collection, Reformers of the *English Church*.

PROFESSOR LEE TO THE EDITOR OF THE BRITISH MAGAZINE ON  
THE SYRIAC VERSION OF THE EPISTLES OF ST. IGNATIUS.

(Continued from p. 49.)

It has been shown, then, that the additions made to the genuine Epistles of Ignatius are, in both the shorter and longer texts, of a *paraphrastical* character generally. There are some cases, indeed, in which this will not hold good, as in the introduction of proper names, which, I am disposed to believe, was one of the latest additions made by the interpolators. At first, the additions were probably nothing more than scholia intended to assist the reader, and were written perhaps between the lines of the text, as the shorter glosses of the Greek MSS. frequently are; or, the text may have been taken line by line, as it is the practice also among the Arabs, Persians, and Hindoos, and commented upon accordingly. In process of time, and when the authority of Ignatius was thought important in controversy, these scholia became enlarged, as we now find them in the longer text of the Greek and Vulgate Latin copies, and became so intermingled with the original compositions of Ignatius, as scarcely to admit of separation. The introduction of certain proper names was perhaps thought necessary—in the spirit of our Reviewer—to give them that apostolic turn and character, which they seemed to want. All this—as Le Clerc has intimated—could not fail to secure a quick and abundant sale to such copies. It would be urged that now at length the whole text of Ignatius had been recovered, and presented for sale. And who does not know that such recommendations seldom fail to secure their object? There would be, moreover, this additional advantage gained, the heretics, who must have had a large share in these later and larger interpolations, would thus further their own opinions and purposes, and also please their abettors. And, unfortunately for those days, no “English Reviews,” highly dogmatical, clever Reviewers, nor even students of real criticism, existed. There were, indeed, the Gregories, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Jerome, and others, as there also were schools, libraries, and the like, in tolerable abundance; yet it is the fact, that, during the period contained between the Apostles’ times and the commencement of the fifth century, more corruptions were fastened upon the text of Scripture, more forgeries put forth as Holy Scripture, more fictitious works of early Fathers, and more false readings thrust into the texts of all works of value in the church, than ever were at any subsequent period. If we suppose, then, that the *grosser* interpolations now visible in the Epistles of Ignatius, had found their way into them even as early as the times of Theodoret, we shall suppose nothing more than what the nature of the case will justify. The first interpolations were, I believe, harmless enough, and introduced for no sinister purpose. It was when the heresy of Arius had gained considerable ground, and when power rather than truth was the object of its abettors, that the later and larger interpolations, amendments, &c., found their way into these Epistles,

and were transcribed with them as part of the genuine text.<sup>1</sup> The shorter text,—with some additions,—however, was not entirely lost. At length it came forth, with the Latin text discovered by Usher, as a voucher for the genuine Ignatius, and as a witness of the gross corruptions of all the longer editions. We have now also a *Syriac* edition of three of the Ignatian Epistles; which, as I think, affords testimony sufficiently good, that even the shorter Greek and Latin texts are not without their corruptions,<sup>2</sup> although I am very willing to allow that neither is this Syriac edition immaculate.

I shall now, therefore, proceed to offer a few remarks upon it; and first upon its character as a translation.

Mr. Cureton generally speaks of this translation as being very close and literal. Close and literal it certainly is; but not so much so as to deserve the character of *very* close and literal. From all I have been able to discover in it, I think it much of a piece, in this respect, with the Peschito translation of the New Testament; giving, as nearly as necessary, both the words and order of these in the original; and this in language as nearly approximating to that of the Peschito as well could be. Still, the servile closeness of the Philoxenian version is quite another thing, as indeed the language of that version is: for there every word, particle, &c., of the original is imitated to the utmost extent. The fragments given by Mr. Cureton from Severus of Antioch, Timotheus of Alexandria, &c., are not only taken from another version of the Epistles of Ignatius,—as, indeed, the Reviewer has remarked,<sup>3</sup>—but they evince a different style of translation, as they also do of language; imitating, as it strikes me, the Philoxenian version as nearly as possible, and the *κακοζηλία* of Aquila. Our translation of these Epistles was made at a time when a far better taste prevailed in the Church, and when an honest appeal to the plain and obvious truths of Holy Writ was the order of the day; the later, when heresy and schism had made the *letter* of the text all-important, and when scarcely anything beyond this was sought after. This latter version was, therefore, probably made as late as the sixth century; the former, not later, perhaps, than the close of the second or beginning of the third, and before any extensive interpolations had found their way into the Greek copies. I am disposed, therefore, to attach very great authority to this Syriac version, and to believe that it presents us with a much truer view of the mind of Ignatius, than any text that has hitherto appeared; although, as before, I am not prepared to affirm that it has not its faults.

To begin, then, with the Epistle to Polycarp. The heading of this Epistle presents but little difference from that of the shorter Greek text. Instead of "Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna," the Greek gives,

<sup>1</sup> It is a remarkable fact, that Whiston wrote in favour of the longer Greek text, avowing that it was the genuine edition, because he (being an Arian) found the Arian doctrines abounding in it; and thence he denounced the shorter one, as having been corrupted for the purpose of favouring the opinions of Athanasius. Much in the same spirit our reviewer, as noticed above, has denounced the Syriac.

<sup>2</sup> And which Vossius, Usher, and even Pearson, have allowed long ago.

<sup>3</sup> Still, as I have said a little lower down, it is not quite certain whether, in some instances, the older version has not been taken, altered, and augmented.

"Polycarp, Bishop of the Church of the Smyrneans;" which is, I think, an amendment made upon the older and simpler reading of the Syriac. This heading, too, retains the Greek word Theophorus, of which, as we shall presently see, the more modern translator has given a Syriac version, in order, perhaps, to conform more exactly with the then prevailing strictly literal practice and taste. No further difference worth remark occurs here.

Let us now pass on to the heading of the Epistle to the Romans. The Syriac has here, just what we might have expected from a bishop such as Ignatius was—much real piety, much deference, and much Christian love. The Greek has twice as much matter at least, all joined on parcel by parcel, as observed above, to the text of Ignatius, and stuffed *usque ad nauseam*, with compound epithets, and this amounting to nothing short of gross flattery: matter which could not be reasonably expected from a prisoner, harassed and hurried, as Ignatius was, by the ten leopards who attended him.

If we now turn to p. 68 of Mr. Cureton's work, we shall find another Syriac heading given to this Epistle, still more fulsome, if possible, and more savouring of modern corruption, than even this Greek one. "Ignatius," it says, "who has *put on God*," ("Theophorus" thus being translated,) "to her who is magnified in the greatness of the Most High, and of Jesus Christ his only Son, the Church beloved and illumined by the will of that God who bindeth and holdeth all, and the love of Jesus Christ: her, who has the first seat in the place" (region) "of the Romans, who is worthy of God, and worthy of his splendour, and worthy of happiness," &c., with other such large and *splendid* additions to the shorter, and even to the longer, Greek text: and all this in a style so pompous and turgid, as to prove to demonstration, that it could neither have come from Ignatius, nor from the translator of his Epistles, as found in Mr. Cureton's edition.

We shall now return to the Epistle to Polycarp. We have, then, (Ch. iii.) *τοὺς καιροὺς καταμύθανε*, κ. τ. λ., of which Mr. Cureton's text gives the following sufficiently good translation:—"Be discerning of the times. Expect Him who is above times, Him to whom there are no times, Him who is unseen, Him who for our sakes became seen, Him who is impalpable, Him who is without suffering, Him who for our sakes suffered, Him who for our sakes endured everything." In page 28, *ib.*, we have another version of this, imitating the shorter Greek text much more exactly, and even following the very order of the words: "Of the times be thou considering; Him who is above time<sup>4</sup> expect; Him who is without time; Him the invisible; Him who for our sake (was) visible; Him the impalpable; Him the impassible; Him who for our sake (was) passible; Him who in all ways for our

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<sup>4</sup> If we read ܕܢܗܝܬ here, without Ribbni "the mark of the plural number, we shall have the Greek *ὑπερκαὶρον* exactly: ܕܢܗܝܬ, too, is a more exact translation here, the Greek having *προσδόκα*, whereas the older Syriac (*ib.* p. 4) makes ܕܢܗܝܬ to serve for both members. ܕܢܗܝܬ, of the more modern, is, moreover, intended to express *καταμύθανε* more exactly and emphatically than ܕܢܗܝܬ.

sake endured." I have given a new translation here, because Mr. Cureton's does not give the order of the words sufficiently exact for our present purpose.

We now come to the text of the Epistle to the Romans, and we shall take it in the order given in Mr. Cureton's extracts from Severus and others. We have, then, (pp. 28, 29,) "Permit ye me to be an imitator of the suffering of my God." "But," it is added by Severus, "It is found in other copies than these, which are rather older, thus: 'Permit ye me to be a disciple of the sufferings of my God;'" which is, no doubt, an emendation of the former: it is, moreover, nonsense.<sup>5</sup>

Now, neither of these, nor indeed the whole sixth chapter, from which the extract is taken, is to be found in Mr. Cureton's Syriac text. A portion of this Epistle is given again (pp. 42, 43) from Timotheus, Bishop of Alexandria, and here, part of this very chapter occurs, thus: "It is better for me that I should die for the sake of Jesus Christ, than that I should reign over the ends of the earth. Him I seek who died for us; Him I desire who for our sakes rose. The child-birth is set over me. Leave me, my brethren; do not hinder me from (life); do not wish that I may die. Him who seeketh that he may be God's, do not make him dwell in the world: neither do ye by anything material entice me. Leave me, that I may receive the pure light. When I go thither, a man shall I be. Permit ye me to be an imitator of the suffering of my God. If any man possess himself in himself, let him understand what I wish, and let him suffer with me, knowing those things which surround me." And again, (ib. pp. 50, 51,) "Permit ye me to be an imitator of the sufferings of my God:" where the older reading of Severus is not followed, and "*sufferings*" is in the plural, not the singular, number.

Let us now examine the whole of this as briefly as we can, beginning with the longer extract. "It is better for me," &c. "Erat autem καλόν, et in versione *bonum*."<sup>6</sup>—Clericus. And so this Syriac translator, no doubt: but this is of little importance. We now have an omission in this Syriac of a line and a-half of the Greek, as found in the shorter text, "For what shall it profit," &c., Mark, viii. 36, which is no doubt a late addition, and intended to give authority to the whole. From this place up to "The child-birth is set over me," both run tolerably well together: but here, we have "The child-birth," &c., for the Greek *ὁ δὲ τοκετός μοι ἐπικείται*: taking a sense of

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In the next place, the words *ܠܠܡܝܢܐ*, and *ܠܠܡܝܢܐ*, are more of a sort with the usages of the Philoxenian text of the New Testament, while those given in the earlier Syriac version correspond better with the language of the Peshito. The same is the case with *ܠܠܡܝܢܐ*, p. 4, and *ܠܠܡܝܢܐ*, p. 28. The shorter Greek is here, therefore, in all probability, genuine.

<sup>5</sup> Another extract is given from Severus, (p. 36, comp. p. 18,) which is evidently from a more modern translation of the place, (ch. ii.) The same may be said of one from the Epistle to the Romans, by Timotheus of Alexandria, p. 42, l. 13. It is highly probable, therefore, that both Severus and Timotheus possessed no ancient copies of the Epistles of Ignatius.

<sup>6</sup> And so the longer Greek text. See Mr. Cureton's notes.

ροκερός, which the word may be made to bear. This occurs in Mr. Cureton's text thus: "The pains of child-birth stand over me:" which is, clearly, a different translation of the place.<sup>7</sup> For, "Leave me," the Greek has *ἀγγιστέ μοι*, which is not found in Mr. Cureton's Syriac: and where "Do not make him dwell in the world," is for the Greek *κόσμῳ μὴ χαρήσῃσθε*, taking the accusative *τὸν . . . θέλοντα* from the preceding text; which is the true meaning of the Syriac—viz., To him who seeks to be God's, to him give (i. e., present) not the world:—the Pahal of this verb signifying, "*concessit, donavit, applicuit.*" See Castell. The mistake has consisted in taking the analogical, rather than the practical, sense of this form.<sup>8</sup> "Neither do ye," &c., up to "me," is unknown to both the Greek texts, as it also is to Mr. Cureton's Syriac . . . "A man shall I be:" both Greek texts, "a man of God." None of which occurs in Mr. Cureton's Syriac.

We now come to "Permit ye me," &c., where both the Greek texts follow the more modern copy of Severus: the longer adding, "of Christ my God;" which is evidently an interpolation.

It should seem from all this, that the shorter Greek text has been interpolated here to a considerable extent, supposing we allow the authority of these Syriac extracts.<sup>9</sup> I have no doubt, however, that they are wholly forgeries. Their language is too pompous for Ignatius. He, one would think, would be the last man in the world to speak of preferring death to the delicacies and kingdoms of the whole world. The whole savours of a style and taste perfectly at variance with his. Then, again, the trifling particularity of, "If any one possess himself in himself," is too finely wrought for the mouth of our holy martyr: and "The child-birth," &c., is as foreign to his notions as are the pompous profession and puerile conceits just noticed. And here, I have no doubt, Mr. Cureton's text also presents us with an interpolation. Vossius says on this chapter: "*Inquinatissimus est totus hic locus,*" &c. He then gives it in Greek, as he thinks it ought to be, and adds: "*Quid non licuisse sibi putant Græculi illi, qui ita nobis Ignatium interpolarunt?*" which, however, Le Clerc thinks, is to indulge too much in conjecture. I think it must appear, moreover, to every one at all conversant with this kind of matter, that this whole chapter, and the greater part of the next, present us with nothing more than an attempt to amplify and elucidate the concluding part of the preceding one; the whole containing nothing beyond an echo of its sentiments; a thing quite out of the way of Ignatius.

We have again (pp. 68—70), of Mr. Cureton's work, a lengthy quotation from the Epistle to the Romans, as copied from a MS. of the eighth century (ib. p. 107), giving a list of varieties sufficiently great to show that, at this time, the work of interpolating had arrived at its summit. We shall find, from a review of the preamble here, that it

<sup>7</sup> And yet this passage is not to be found in Symeon Metaphrastes, nor in the longer text. In the Vulgate Latin, "*Ille lucrum mihi adjacet,*" giving a different sense to *ροκερός*.

<sup>8</sup> Which did not occur to me when I formerly looked over the sheets.

<sup>9</sup> Which, however, our good reviewer tells us, as noticed above, agree *accurately* with the Greek!



is, on the whole, much of a piece with that of both the Greek texts, and of the Latin Vulgate, while it adds abundantly to that of Mr. Cureton's text (ib. p. 16). The smaller varieties are not worth noticing. It is obvious, as already remarked, that it presents us with a different translation; as it also is, that *the whole* is a translation of the Ignatian text, with a considerably lengthy commentary upon it. Taking Mr. Cureton's text, then (p. 16), we have, for "Ignatius who is Theophorus," we have, "Ignatius, who has put on God;" where the last member is given as an interpretation of Theophorus, as before. Again, for "To the Church which has been pitied" (rather, hath obtained favour or grace) "by" (or, in) "the greatness of the Father Most High," we have, "To her who is magnified in the greatness of the Most High, and of Jesus Christ his only Son, *the church beloved and illumined by the will of that God who bindeth and holdeth all, and the love of Jesus Christ.*" Where we have in "To her," &c. down to "his only Son," a manifest paraphrase on the words of the shorter text; and, again, as given in the italics here, we have another super-added—in all probability—by a still later hand. All of which must have been done before this Syriac version was made, the MS. of which is as early as the eighth century. Before this period considerably, therefore, the text of Ignatius had been subjected to a double comment. And, omitting the smaller varieties, both the Greek texts were in the same state.

Again (p. 16): "To her who sitteth at the head in the place of the Romans:" which, from its unpolished and obscure character, is very likely to be the true reading of Ignatius; and, as it is found in Simeon Metaphrastes, Vossius had no doubt of this. Le Clerc, too, has noted the place as badly worded. Its general meaning is, I think, To the Church situate in the principal locality of the Roman country: in other words, the seat of government. Now, how has the paraphrast, or interpolator, dealt with this? "Her, who has the first seat" (or *precedence*) "in the place of the Romans." He has evidently been more anxious here to give prominence to the Greek *προκάθηται*, than to the obvious sense of the place, and to which the earlier Syriac translator chiefly attended; and who, if he had understood it so, must have written ܐܬܝܬܐ, *for the head*, not ܐܬܝܬܐ, *at, or in, the head*. But, if we allow all that can possibly be claimed on the strength of the Greek *προκάθηται*, still, the *precedence, presidency*, so created, can extend no further than the *locality* of the country of the Romans, nor imply anything more than the metropolitical locality of the then Roman Church, as Ussher has well remarked. Neither the earlier nor the later Syriac translator can, therefore, be fairly cited here, as giving an opinion favourable to the assumed *universal* dominion of the Church of Rome. Still, the later translator is by no means so precise as the former, who has ܐܬܝܬܐ, i. e. *of the place*; while the later has ܐܬܝܬܐ, *in the place*: which latter is a little ambiguous, to say the best of it; which is not the case with the Greek. Halloixius the Jesuit, had, according to Ussher, the dishonesty to insert *θρόνῳ* here instead of *τόπῳ*, from Simeon Metaphrastes; which, after all, would give no-

thing beyond the sense of our early Syriac translator, as given in my paraphrase above. I am not quite sure, however, whether the later Syriac, as well as Halloixius, did not intend the supremacy of Rome to be implied here : and if so, the Syriac interpolator must have lived in, or after, the sixth century. The following—viz., “worthy of his” (God’s) “splendour and glory, and worthy of those things which she asketh,” to which there is no parallel even in the Greek, looks too like Romish assumption to leave a doubt with any one, as to the source from which it originated. All that follows here, (p. 68, seq.) to the end of the Preamble or Heading, is, evidently enough, a long and turgid paraphrase on the Greek text from which the earlier Syriac was translated ; and the same is the case with the Greek and Latin texts of this place.

We shall now offer a few remarks on the body of this Epistle, (Ad Rom.) The first portion, then, runs thus in the shorter Greek : *Ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος Θεῷ <sup>10</sup>ἐπέτυχον ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὰ ἀξιόθεα πρόσωπα, ὡς καὶ πλεον ἡτοῦμην λαθεῖν.* For which Mr. Cureton’s Syriac gives, “Long since have I prayed to God, that I might be worthy that I should see your faces, which are worthy of God.” Where it will be observed, nothing occurs corresponding to the last member of the Greek ; and which, indeed, seems to be nothing more than an unnecessary repetition. The longer text attempts an improvement upon the whole, thus : *Ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος τῷ Θεῷ ἐπέτυχον . . . οὐς καὶ πλεον, κ. τ. λ.,* which is not a various reading, but an amendment proposed by some sciolist. In the extracts, (Cureton, pp. 70, 71,) the place is given thus : “I have prayed, and it has been granted to me,<sup>11</sup> that I should see their faces that are worthy of God, which from a long time I have asked, that I may find in the body.” The second member, noted above, is found here with some variety—viz., “which from long time . . . in the body.” More literally, “something, which from much time ;” which is evidently taken from the longer text, but reading *δ, τ, καὶ*, instead of *οὐς* or *ὡς*, and taking *πλεον* as implying much time. To this is added, *ܐܝܬܐܝܢܐ*, i. e., *ἐν σώματι*. We have here, therefore, some addition made even to the longer text. It should seem, too, that the translator of this must have had the shorter Syriac text before him, and that he took its *ܥܕܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ*, “long since,” and placed it in the second member,

<sup>10</sup> The comma of the printed texts is unnecessary, and even embarrassing here. It is remarkable enough, that it succeeded in leading even Usher astray, who says, “*sensu relicto imperfecto, atque oratione suspensâ,*” when every one must see that the nominative here is inherent in *ἐπέτυχον*, and that this makes the sense complete so far. *Ἐπεὶ*, nevertheless, does again suspend it, which is again completed in *ἰλαρίω*. To obviate this latter apparent difficulty, however, the interpolator got rid of *ἐπεὶ*, by writing *ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος* : which is, perhaps, sufficient to determine the amount of his critical ability. “*Procul dubio malè,*” (as quoted above from Jacobson,) “*licet idem quoque habeant codices Vulgati et Symeon.*” Symeon, however, has in the Codex of Paris, *ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος*, according to Mr. Jacobson : which is, perhaps, an emendation there.

<sup>11</sup> The Greek *ἐπέτυχον* is sufficiently well rendered here, which Junius, with some others, failed to do. We need not suppose that this was written after Ignatius had arrived at Rome, as every one must see.

in the form ܐܢܝܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ, altering ܐܢܝܢ into ܐܢܝܢ, in order to make it suit the Greek πλείον more literally. In the shorter Syriac we have, moreover, ܐܢܝܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ, "your faces; those," &c., which is abrupt; but is altered into the more easy ܐܢܝܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ, &c., in the other versions, even at the expense of faithfulness. Of the addition, ܕܢܝܢܐ, "in the body," I shall say something presently. I conclude, therefore, that this second member is a mere scholion of long standing, and that the later Syriac translator had the earlier translation before him when he produced his.

In the next place, we have, for δεδεμένος ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἐλπίζω ὑμᾶς ἀσπάζεσθαι of the shorter Greek, in the earlier Syriac, "Now, therefore, when I am bound in Jesus Christ, I hope that I shall meet you and salute you;" which is not strictly literal; it adds, moreover, "I shall meet you," for the purpose, perhaps, of obviating the abruptness of the Greek; or, this may be an addition made by some copyist. The ܕܢܝܢܐ, "now, therefore," of this shorter text, has been added, apparently, as an answer to the ܐܢܝܢ, "long since," preceding. From which it must appear, that the translator of this was not anxious to be strictly literal. Corresponding to this, we have in the extract (pp. 70, 71), ܕܢܝܢܐ, "in the body:" it is added, "by Jesus Christ I hope that I may come and salute you:" which, every one must see, is a defective reading. I would supply the deficiency thus: ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ, i. e., since I am bound in body "in Christ Jesus," &c., equivalent to the Greek, δεδεμένος (ἐν σώματι) ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐλπίζω, κ. τ. λ. For "I shall meet you," of the shorter Syriac, we have here, "that I may come," i. e., ܕܢܝܢܐ instead of ܕܢܝܢܐ, which can hardly be a various reading. I take it to be a paraphrase, or amendment made upon it. Hence again, I think, it appears that this shorter Syriac version must have been in the hands of this later Syriac translator.

Once more, "and it has been given me," Syr., ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ is no various reading of ܕܢܝܢܐ, "that I might be worthy:" it is clearly another version, and it is, literally, nearer to the Greek in its common acceptation, but less so in its technical one, which is that here intended. I think, therefore, that this translator was inferior in every respect to his predecessor.

The next member presents similar differences. The shorter Greek has ἐάνπερ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἢ τοῦ ἀξιωθῆναι με εἰς τίλος εἶναι: the longer, ἐάνπερ θέλημα ἢ, I have no doubt, with Cotelierius, is the true reading, notwithstanding the emendation of Le Clerc. It is that also of the old Latin Vulgate, (see Usher's note,) and of our shorter Syriac: "If there be the will that I should be worthy of the end." The later Syriac has, "If there be this will, and I be worthy

that even to the end I may bear these things." Where again, the first three words of the ancient translator have been adopted by the more modern one, with the addition of "this,"  $\beta\iota\sigma$ , and a slight variation in the next—viz., "and I be worthy" ( $\beta\iota\sigma\alpha\lambda\omega$ ), for "that I be worthy" ( $\beta\iota\sigma\alpha\lambda\omega$ ), which is the more remarkable, because, as noted above,  $\beta\iota\sigma$  is given for this word in the later translation: here the older word is retained. In the remainder of this member, we have considerable variety, and a large addition which is found in no other text—viz., "I may bear these things." The variation is this: we have in the shorter Syriac,  $\beta\iota\sigma\alpha\lambda\omega$   $\beta\iota\sigma\alpha\lambda\omega$ ; in the longer,  $\beta\iota\sigma\alpha\lambda\omega$   $\beta\iota\sigma\alpha\lambda\omega$   $\beta\iota\sigma\alpha\lambda\omega$   $\beta\iota\sigma\alpha\lambda\omega$ . We have here, therefore, an entirely new translation of a part, and the remainder is an unwarranted addition. Much the same may be said of the rest of this extract, which I think it unnecessary to examine further. And I conclude, that, from what we have seen of these extracts, it is sufficiently evident, a longer and shorter Greek text existed when they were first translated; as it also is, that these translators, or, it may be, their copyists, have taken just as great liberties in the Syriac, as the Greek copyists have in the Greek.

Let us now turn our attention to the extracts given by Eusebius from the Greek Epistles of Ignatius, as compared with those found in the Syriac translations of these.

We have, then, in Eusebius, (Eccl. Hist. iii. 36,) a tolerably long quotation from the Epistle to the Romans (cap. v.), and of this we have in Mr. Cureton's work two copies in Syriac, (pp. 20, 21, 56—58.) Neither the shorter nor longer Greek text, nor yet either of these Syriac copies, differ greatly from this. The most notable variety is the reading, *ἀναρρομαι διαίρεσεις*, occurring in both the Greek texts, and in Simeon Metaphrastes, but not in Eusebius, in either of our Syriac copies, the Latin Vulgate, Rufinus, Jerome, nor Sophronius;<sup>12</sup> and, as it adds nothing necessary to the sense, and savours moreover of an attempt to supply a useless emphasis, I have no doubt it is spurious. To this may be added another—viz., *Τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω*, found in Eusebius, in both the Greek texts, the Latin Vulgate, and one of our Syriac texts, but wanting in the last member in our Syriac Epistle. Here the translator seems to have taken *συγγνώμη* in its etymological, rather than its usual, sense. Leaving out, then, the latter member, he must have read, *συγγνώμην μοι ἔχει τί μοι συμφέρει*—i. e., Have cognizance of me (as to) what is expedient for me.<sup>13</sup> Mr.

<sup>12</sup> The place is cited from Severus of Antioch, in Mr. Cureton's work, p. 38: but the substance of it only is given, probably from memory, as Mr. Cureton has well observed. In the same page is another citation, which is probably spurious. Again, p. 40, we have a place from our Epistle to the Romans, but according to the Greek, from that to the Trallians; and here, we have either a new translation of the place, or the old one so entirely altered, and that by a later hand, as to show that Severus possessed a greatly interpolated copy of Ignatius.

<sup>13</sup> More literally, Hold consenting, or conspiring, opinion with me (as to) what is expedient for me.

Cureton's edition of the Syriac has, "Know me from myself (as to) what is expedient for me." This Syriac translator seems to have supposed, that the latter *μοι* was intended to be reflective; and hence he rendered it by *ܡܢ ܝܬܝܝܐ*, "from myself." Now, I will affirm that, whatever might be the true reading here, our translator could not have had that of Eusebius before him. For, if he had, he never could have taken *συγγνώμη* in the sense which he has. This, I think, is certain.

The other Syriac copy, which is clearly the work of the same translator,—with a few trifling varieties,—gives the place thus: "Know me from myself; what is expedient for me I know." Where we have the *ἐγὼ γινώσκω* of Eusebius, &c., added to the rendering just noticed; and so, agreeing in sense with neither Eusebius, nor with any other text, if indeed it gives any sense at all. The interpolator here, therefore, preserved his older text like an honest man, adding only what he thought was wanting; and, at the same time, affording the best means for proving that this is an addition. If he had made an entirely new translation here, as some others have done, he would, most probably, have taken *συγγνώμη* in its true sense, and have given the passage just as the other translators have.

Let us now compare this extract (p. 56—58) with the text of our Epistle. If we reject the *Dolath* (?) with which it commences in the extract, and which was probably added to intimate that it was a citation, we shall have the slight variety of *ܡܢ*, instead of *ܐܘ* *waw*, coming before *ܡܢ*, within the compass of the first four words. But *ܡܢ* is a term of *modern* usage,<sup>14</sup> as every one knows who is at all versed in Syriac. Some particle, too, must come in here to make the Syriac tolerable. I have no doubt, therefore, that *ܐܘ*, *and*, and not *ܡܢ*, *indeed* or the like, is the particle originally used. We have, in the next place, "I am cast among beasts," &c., where our extract gives, "with beasts do I contend," answering literally to the Greek *θηριομαχῶ*. The Syriac Epistle gives here a very free translation; while the extract gives one which is perfectly literal. We have seen, in other cases, that our elder translator is not strictly literal: this free rendering is, therefore, very likely to have come from him; but, if the more literal had been his, it is difficult to conceive why it should have been altered. This more literal rendering is, therefore, an after work: while there is not the least reason for supposing that both did not follow the same Greek. The next nine or ten words, till we come to *ܡܢ* in the Epistle, and *ܡܢ* in the extract, are identically the same. Where it is evident enough, that *ܡܢ* *with*, has been preferred by an emendator as being the more eligible word: it involving some diffi-

<sup>14</sup> It occurs twice, indeed, in the *Peschito* text of the New Testament, and once in the Old. It was evidently not in use in the times of our translator, although it is frequent in the works of Ephrem Syrus. Our translations must, therefore, have been made before he wrote.

culty to imagine, how a man could be bound *among* ten leopard like men, while **ܡܝܬܝܢ**, *with*, makes all obvious and easy. This is, therefore, an emendation, and nothing else. The same may be said of the next five words. We then have in the Epistle, "Who, even when I do them good, the more do evil to me." In the extract, "Who, when *we*<sup>15</sup> do good to them, they do evil." Which, from the form it has in the Syriac more particularly, is clearly a new translation, made nevertheless from the same Greek of this place. The Syriac of the extract only need be noticed. That of the Epistle is simple, plain, and evincing no attempt at emphasis; which is just the reverse of that of the extract, which runs thus,—

**ܕܡܠܚܬܐ ܡܠܚܬܐ ܐܢܝ ܠܗܘܐ :** which is turgidity itself, and could never have come from the translator of the Epistle. We have, moreover, a form in the pronoun *we* (**ܐܢܝ**) which never occurs in any one of these Epistles ; and, I think, in no writer of the country of which he was probably a native. I have noted this form, as constant, in the translation of the Theophania of Eusebius ; and, as I have there said, it is probably peculiar to Palestine. In the Peschito, I think, of both Testaments, it never occurs once. It is here therefore, beyond all doubt, the mark of an emendator, differing both in period and country from the original translator of this Epistle. In the next member, too, we have a similar emendation. The Epistle has, " But I, through their injury " (injuriousness), " am the more instructed." The extract, " And by their evil treatment am I the more instructed." The Syriac stands thus,—

אנא ימי חמשה עשר מלך שלמה אדא Ep.

[illegible]

which is evidently an attempted amendment of the former, not a new translation of the place. The same Greek, too, has been followed. It may be shown, in like manner throughout, that this extract presents us with nothing more than a few valueless emendations of the text of our Epistle: the translation being originally identically the same, and taken from a text agreeing sufficiently well with that of Eusebius to enable us to affirm that—allowing for a few varieties, which might have existed long before the times of the Father of Church History—it must have been one and the same: and, that if he had given us a copy of this whole Epistle, as existing in his day, it would, in all probability, have given us essentially the text of our Syriac Epistle.

I think therefore we have given proof, and such as the nature of our question requires, that Eusebius had before him a genuine copy of the Epistles of Ignatius; that Theodoret, in like manner, had not; that Jerome probably never saw a copy of these Epistles at all.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> This plural use of the pronoun is too dignified for the diction of Ignatius: it savours of times far removed from his.

<sup>18</sup> In his "Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum" he evidently copies Eusebius:

Whether any interpolations existed in the days of Eusebius or not, it is impossible to say : he may have used a very old copy : but, if not, these, as existing in *our* times, might have been nothing more than innocent scholia in *his*, written perhaps in a different hand, and hence easily distinguished. That these scholia had taken the form of interpolations before the times of Theodoret, Severus, and Timotheus of Alexandria, is, I think, certain from what we have already seen. It is equally certain, too, that there was in the Syriac a long and a short text, just as it has long been the case in the Greek and Latin ; and, that our Epistles present us with copies of the shorter text : the extracts from Severus and Timotheus, with those of the longer. It is apparent too, from the Syriac, that the additions visible in these longer texts, betray a date considerably later than that of the shorter. Nor do these additions evince any marks of Eutychian doctrines ; nor can their omission in the shorter texts—supposing this to be the case—be advanced to show, that Eutychianism could have been promoted in the least thereby. The assumptions therefore of the Reviewer, noticed above, are imaginary and groundless ; while it is, nevertheless, sufficiently certain, that many of the additions made to the Greek text savour strongly of the Arian heresy.

Nor have the Epistles of Ignatius, as found in this shorter Syriac text, lost any of their value with regard to the orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, or as to the still more momentous question of the Divinity of our Lord, in support of which they have been so often cited ; as, indeed, Mr. Cureton has well remarked. My own opinion is, that their authority is greatly enhanced by the consideration, that we are not here perpetually reminded of questions, about which no doubt existed in the Church in the days of our holy martyr. I must confess, I am not one of those who believe that anything is added to truth by frequent repetition. It may, indeed, be thus made more prominent ; but this involves a totally different question. It is true moreover that the repetitions alluded to, have had the effect of begetting doubts. It cannot, therefore, but be considered a great gain to be well rid of them. Our Reviewer, as noticed above, thinks differently ; which, I must say, evinces want of judgment, and perhaps also of experience in matters of this sort. We should bear it in mind, too, that we have here only *three* out of the *seven* Epistles of Ignatius. It must be confessed, therefore, as I am tempted to believe, that we have much to rejoice over in the discovery and publication of these Syriac Ignatian Epistles.

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Pearson cites him (cap. ii.) as giving a passage from Ignatius, which, however, had been taken, not from Ignatius, but from the Commentaries of Theophilus of Antioch. Pearson cites him again (p. 278, Edit. Le Clerc of Cotelierius,) as quoting Ignatius : but the quotation is from the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas. Would Jerome have blundered in this way, if he had had the Epistles of Ignatius before him ? I think not. These Epistles were certainly scarce in the times of Jerome : and it is very doubtful whether, of the many who have quoted them after his times, one of these ever saw a genuine copy of them. It is, indeed, much easier to affirm, in the wholesale way of our reviewer, that they were laid up in the archives of all the churches, and daily read in the congregations, than it is to prove it.

As to the question, whether Ignatius wrote *three* or *seven* Epistles originally, I must say, I do not see sufficient grounds for abandoning the generally received opinion—viz., that he wrote *seven*. The testimony of Eusebius to this is direct and strong. From the quotations which he has given, it is evident that copies of them were in his possession; and, as I have already said, these copies must have been old and genuine ones. The *three* published by Mr. Cureton do, however, in my opinion, present us with a far more accurate transcript of the mind of Ignatius, than any we formerly possessed bearing their particular titles. That these are immaculate, I have no conception: some of their errors I have endeavoured to point out. But, that they are mere abridgments of the Epistles of Ignatius, I see no reason whatever to believe. I have shown, too, that the statements of the Reviewer, noticed above, cannot be relied on. I have also pointed out what I believe to be the true source of the additions—usually termed *interpolations*—so abundantly supplied to the Greek and Latin texts of these Epistles, as also of those found in the extracts given from the Syriac ones.

The inquiry here made is necessarily an imperfect one, from the consideration only that it could scarcely be followed out to the extent which might be wished, with the view of publication as a letter in a popular work. If, however, I shall have succeeded in showing whence the interpolations of the Ignatian Epistles originally came, as also something of their present state, with the best means of bringing them back to their primitive extent, simplicity, and strength, I shall, perhaps, have rendered some acceptable service to the cause of truth, and towards relieving the martyred Bishop of Antioch from some of the charges usually made against the writings bearing his name.

To the endeavour made by Mr. Cureton to restore the genuine writings of Ignatius, great praise is certainly due. He has prosecuted his undertaking with zeal, industry, care, and great learning. I do hope and trust, that the encouragement he will receive will be such as to enable him to follow out these inquiries to the length, and with the success, which may fairly be anticipated under his exertions.

Inquiry should, perhaps, be still made in the Syrian churches and monasteries for other copies of the Epistles of Ignatius. I cannot help thinking that Mesopotamia, and even Tartary, may contain copies of these inestimable relics of antiquity, and of many others of equally great interest and value. It would be well, too, to extend the inquiry to the churches and monasteries of Armenia, of the resources of which we know at present but little. The result would be good in very many points of view. Our theology would receive additional light: our students of theology be multiplied, and well instructed. Oriental literature would receive a stimulus, which, I am sorry to say, is in no country so little encouraged as in this. With these sentiments, Sir, I subscribe myself, yours very faithfully,

Trinity College, Cambridge,  
November, 1846.

SAMUEL LEE.



## ON APOCALYPTIC INTERPRETATION.

SIR,—Of our interpretations of the different Apocalyptic symbols, some will always be simply admissible, while others are capable of being established on conclusive evidence. In some cases the interpretation will be one of many, of which the symbols, abstractedly, at least, would almost equally admit; in others, it is the one, evident, unalterable, construction which they imperatively require. Sometimes the only final proof of an interpretation is afforded by the fact that it harmonizes with others of which the meaning is undoubted; at other times, the meaning of the symbols admits of being established on independent grounds, and apart from any connected course of exposition to which they may belong. The distinction between these two classes of interpretation, it appears to me to be of the last importance to keep steadfastly in view. It is the last of them which supplies us with our landmarks. With these we must begin. When we have exhausted all the symbols which bear a fixed, determinate, specific, meaning, then, and only then, are we at liberty to seek the succours of hypothesis; and the test of our hypotheses will be their harmonizing with those interpretative facts which have already been demonstrated. How different from this, however, the course which is too generally taken. We begin with a hypothesis. At the utmost, a coincidence, or some slighter probability, is laid at the foundation of our scheme of exposition, and when this, followed out into detail, involves interpretations at variance with the plain inevitable meaning of the symbols, instead of abandoning our hypothesis, we “wrest the Scriptures;” we *force* a meaning on the symbols, of which we consider it a sufficient justification that it “follows” (Elliott, vol. iii. p. 241, and elsewhere) from the plausibilities which we have allowed to dazzle our beguiled imaginations. I have, in previous papers, given some examples of this sacrifice (as I consider) of the plain indubitable force of various symbols at the shrine of a hypothesis. My object in the present paper is to invite attention to one or two other cardinal errors (as I judge) of the same class. And first, a prominent illustration of the perversion which I speak of has always appeared to me to be afforded by the current interpretations of the fourth seal. Mr. Faber’s hypothesis, for instance, leads him to regard the “sword, famine, death, and beasts of the earth,” as being the various instrumentality of persecution. But how will this idea consist with the fact that one of the agents of destruction enumerated in the verse is “death,” that is, pestilence?—a meaning of the expression perfectly notorious and undoubted. It will not consist with it at all. “God, in his wrath,” says Mr. Faber himself, “may send pestilence as a divine judgment, but I see not how man can employ it as an engine of persecution.” And does Mr. Faber, then, withdraw the hypothesis which he has so conclusively argued, as being utterly untenable? Does he quietly walk the “persecutions of Rome pagan” and “Rome papal” off of the stage of the fourth seal, having found that they won’t do? Not a bit of it. Mr. Faber’s persuasion in favour of the Babylonian bow is quite as strong and

quite as merited as Mr. Elliott's in favour of the Cretan. His Persian sword is a more effective weapon of its kind than Mr. Elliott's prætorian one. The Babylonian lion, the Persian bull, the anthropomorphism of the Greeks, the Roman eagle, all concur in furnishing a perfect triumph of coincidence. And is hypothesis so accredited to be called in question? May not Mr. Faber, like Mr. Elliott, "feel persuaded that others, like himself, will find, that to devise a succession of symbolic representations, so brief and simple, yet so complete and correct, alike historically, classically, dramatically, and scripturally, in relation to the great subject which he asserts them to prefigure, is quite beyond their power"? (*Horæ Apoc.*, vol. iii. p. 241.) Whatever "follows," then, from premises so unsuspecting must be implicitly relied on. So that as it "follows" that the "sword, famine, death, and the beasts of the earth" denote the persecutions of "Rome pagan" and "Rome papal," it "follows" that death does not mean pestilence here as it does everywhere else, but on the contrary, what Mr. Faber denominates vivicremation, and, ordinary mortals, burning alive, —a signification of the word in favour of which even the learning of Mr. Faber himself does not conjure up even the shade of an authority. Nor has Mr. Elliott more respect for (as I think) the demonstrable and evident meaning of the language of this seal. He is not guilty, it is true, of doing any similar violence to its literal expressions, but he appears to me, at least, to trample as remorselessly on the meaning of its symbols.

In the three preceding seals, it is possible that hypothesis may have a field on which it may expatiate with greater freedom. I should be slow myself, I acknowledge, to recognise in the Rider on the White Horse, "going forth conquering and *to conquer*," merely an expression for any of the "*short*" triumphing of the wicked. I should with difficulty acquiesce in a hypothesis which represented him as anything but either Christ himself,—the church, "always caused to triumph in Christ,"—or, in general, the "cause of God and truth personified." At the same time the positive inapplicability of this symbol to the "Princes of this World," it might not be, perhaps, easy absolutely to demonstrate. I suppose it is conceivable that the expression, "going forth conquering and *that he should conquer*" might by possibility betoken a career of conquest *less* unlimited and endless than that of the Potentate "riding on, because of the word of truth, and meekness, and righteousness, his right hand teaching him terrible things, and his arrows sharp in the heart of the king's enemies." I should be slow myself, I confess, to believe it did so, but perhaps it is conceivable. In the fourth seal, however, the meaning of the symbols is specific. These symbols require a definite interpretation. By Dr. Todd, indeed, and others, it has been thought that the engines of divine judgment here enumerated are identical with those by which our divine Lord informs us that his second advent will be ushered in; and they see, accordingly, in the imagery of the passage, precisely a pictorial representation of the subject of his prophecy. To my own mind this parallel is very fanciful: it is certainly imperfect. Of Beasts of the Earth, for instance, our divine Lord says nothing, while he enumerates "earthquakes," of

which there is no mention in this seal. But there are illusions in the language of the passage which I think must be allowed to be unquestionable. Can there, for instance, be a doubt but that we have here the "four sore judgments" of Ezekiel, xiv. 21. "How much more when I send my four sore judgments on Jerusalem, the sword, and the famine, and the noisome beast, and the pestilence, to cut off from it man and beast?" Mr. Elliott himself acknowledges the parallel at least, if not the reference. To my own mind it appears at variance with every principle on which it is observable that the Apocalypse is constructed, to suppose that in the language there is anything less than a distinct and designed reference to this and similar passages occurring in the Prophets. It seems to me that it would be as reasonable to suppose that in the incense and the censer of chap. viii. there was no reference to the censer and the incense of a Jewish worship, as it would to think that there was not a reference to the "four sore judgments" of Ezekiel, in "the sword, famine, pestilence, and beasts of the earth" of the fourth seal. Were so marked and palpable an allusion to be held to go for nothing, it would be difficult, I think, to establish the claims of any single expression to be considered as allusive and symbolical throughout the book. We must accede in this case to the system of the literalists and futurists at once; not merely, either, going any more moderate lengths, with Dr. Todd, but, with Mr. Tyso, concentrating expectation on the literal woman, "probably a queen," hereafter to arise, giving birth to the "Man-child," who is "to rule the nations with a rod of iron."\* It is difficult to imagine an illusion more specific, or one on which we have a more unquestionable title to rely; so that if this language is, notwithstanding, to be taken literally, there would seem to be an end to the claims of a figurative and symbolical interpretation altogether. But admit the allusion, and what follows? Why, that the judgments of this seal are not (as Mr. Elliott represents them) transitory or incipient, but, on the contrary, final, retributory, and decisive ones. "The three judgments here mentioned," says Dr. Lowth, (Mant's Bible, Ezek. xxxiii. 27,) *i. e.*, the sword, the beast, and the pestilence, together with famine, are often threatened as the *last and finishing stroke of God's vengeance on the Jewish nation*—a remark, in proof of which he refers with reason to Ezekiel, v. 12—17, vi. 12, xiv. 21; Jeremiah, xv. 3. It is thus a *last and finishing stroke* of divine vengeance which is depicted by the symbols of this seal: not simply some limited and transient period of natural calamity and social disturbance, like the twenty years of Roman history which elapsed from the accession of Philip to the death of Gallienus, but the terrible catastrophe in which "the wrath to the uttermost" comes down, at length, on a community which has "filled up the measure of its iniquities," and of which the final overthrow

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\* I am anxious to do Mr. Tyso the justice claimed on his behalf by Dr. Todd. It is, I see, untrue that he affirms that the future woman will be clothed with the sun, &c., literally, but he does affirm that the woman clothed with the sun, &c., is a literal woman, "probably a queen," hereafter to arise, in effect, affirming the individual Human Being, who is "to rule the nations with a rod of iron," to be hitherto unborn.

and desolation is expressed in the Prophet, by the Almighty "cutting off from it man and beast;" in St. John, by his giving it to Death and Hades for their prey. As much as this, then, may, I think, be affirmed with confidence and certainty, in relation to a dispensation, of which Death and Hades are represented as the agents, and "the sword, famine, pestilence, and beasts of the earth" accumulatively and together as the instruments. What the community actually is whose "day of visitation" is depicted by these symbols, is another question, and one which I would desire not to mix up with the discussion of the abstract import of the symbols themselves. I may remark, however, that in my own belief, "the fourth part of the earth" would be the appropriate designation of apostate Christendom, as "the third part," I conceive, is the apocalyptic expression (chap. viii. ver. 7, &c.) for apostate Israel. "The Jews, the Gentiles, and the Church of God," (1 Cor. x. 32) during "the times of the Gentiles," constitute the tripostate division of the ecclesiastical earth; when these times, then, have expired, and "the Church of God" has again come to be subdivided into an apostasy and a remnant, the division becomes quadripartite, and apostate Christendom becomes, accordingly, "the fourth part of the earth."

II. Another instance of similar violence done to, as I think, the plain and inevitable meaning of the symbols, to meet the exigencies of hypothesis, is furnished by the case of the "7000 names of men" of chap. xi. These, according to Mr. Cuninghame, are an expression for "the monastic orders;" according to Mr. Faber, for the English papists at the period of the Revolution of 1688; according to Mr. Elliott, for the Seven United Provinces of Holland; and Mr. Elliott's argumentation on the point is so satisfactory to his own mind, as to lead him to think that, with the help of it, "it is not possible to mistake (the symbols) as directing us to that memorable revolution by which, during the English Queen Elizabeth's reign, the Seven Dutch Provinces were emancipated from the Spanish yoke, and, at the same time, the papal rule and religion destroyed in them." The "7000" are described as "slain," which is so happy and appropriate an expression for their "rising from the dead for Christ to give them light," that it is not wonderful that Mr. Elliott should think that there can be no mistake about the meaning of the symbol. It seems a pity after this, that he should do anything himself to disturb and darken an interpretation of this luminousness. It appears, however, in the end, that we are not to think of the Dutch Provinces as symbolically "slain" themselves by their becoming protestants, but as having something "slain in them," namely, the papal rule and religion,—which seems to me another way of saying that the Seven United Dutch Provinces were not "slain" at all, "during the English Queen Elizabeth's reign," and that thus they, in no shape, answer the idea of the 7000 who *were* "slain." There is, however, a great secret in regard to these "7000," which none but very learned and very penetrating persons would ever have discovered. They are not, it appears, seven thousand at all, but seven chiliads, which is quite another thing, and is, indeed, as much as to say that they are not seven thousand individuals merely, but seven of the symbolical

"thousands of Israel," in other words, seven provinces. In illustration of which discovery, Mr. Elliott remarks learnedly on the "use" of "the word *χιλιας* in the Septuagint, or rather that of its Hebrew original *אלף*" (vol. ii. p. 408,) so distinct from "*επτακισχιλιοι*," the word employed by the Apostle in the Romans. Now it is most unlucky—but, it unfortunately does so happen, that not only *χιλιας* in the Septuagint, but *אלף* in the Hebrew, is the very word, in 1 Kings, xix. 18, for the *επτακισχιλιοι* of the Apostle, and that thus the whole of Mr. Elliott's special pleading on the form of expression which occurs in the Apocalypse is founded on one entire oversight and misrepresentation of the facts of the case. I feel myself constantly reminded, while reading expositions of the Revelations, of that man in Aristophanes, who found himself to have two memories,—a very good one for debts due to him, a very bad one for debts due from him to other people. Nothing, apparently, escapes the learning, acumen, and research of the expositors, except a fact which is destructive of their theories, and then, though nothing in the world should be more obvious, though it meets him in the very outset of his inquiries, though it lies upon the very surface of his field of investigation, the learned and laborious expositor will be sure to enjoy as happy and comfortable an unconsciousness of its existence, as if nothing of the kind was discoverable by the most telescopic observation or most microscopic search. Mr. Elliott's anxiety, in the present instance, to disconnect the *επτακισχιλιαδες* of the Revelations from the *επτακισχιλιοι* of the Apostle, is the more remarkable, because I think that nothing short of some such grammatical reasons as he fancied himself to have discovered, making it impossible for us to think of the "7000 names of men" of the Apocalypse as the symbolical 7000 in Israel that had "not bowed the knee to Baal," in the days of Ahab and Elijah, would ever induce, ever permit, us to regard them in any other point of view. Had we met in this symbolical book, *under any circumstances*, with a class of persons bearing the denomination of "7000 names of men," I think that our thoughts would have turned, at least in the first instance, to "the knees that had not bowed to Baal and the lips that had not kissed him," as the typical foundation of the symbolization and the key to its meaning and interpretation. As it is, however, we meet with this symbolical expression in the midst of a course of symbolization, the entire imagery of which is drawn from the transactions of the reign of Ahab, the whole passage just, in fact, one tissue of sustained allusion to the different features of this portion of Old Testament History. How, under these circumstances, can we doubt the force and signification of this symbol?

What meaning can we possibly assign to it abstractedly, but that of "a remnant saved according to the election of grace," out of an apostate mass? This, then, it appears to me, is the evident, undoubted, force of the expression. If "the monastic orders," or the English papists, of 1688, answer the idea of "a remnant saved according to the election of grace," they may be the 7000 names of men of this passage, but not otherwise. If the Seven United Dutch Provinces answer the idea of such "a remnant," *slain*, at least symbolically, at the period to which Mr. Elliott refers this part of the Apocalypse, *they*, in this

case, may be the "7000," but not otherwise. A remnant saved according to the election of grace, *slain*,—extinguished, deprived of existence,—these, I think, are the ideas which we get, necessarily, from these symbols, and which, therefore, any legitimate and satisfactory interpretation of them must express. What, in the concrete, this remnant is, and what its slaying is, of course are distinct questions, the solution of which, which commends itself to my own mind, I would desire to be understood as not placing at all on the same ground with the claims of the 7000 to be regarded abstractedly as a "remnant saved according to the election of grace," as the symbolical 7000 who, in Israel, in the days of Ahab, had not bowed the knee to Baal. At the same time, it seems to me that the true meaning of this symbol, in the concrete, is the one which we find assigned to it by St. Jerome, (on Zech. chap. viii.) I entertain but little doubt myself, but that these 7000, like the symbolical Elijah, and the symbolical two witnessing branches of the Jewish olive, are an expression for the remnant-church of the Gentile dispensation. It seems to me, according to St. Jerome's sentiment, in his commentary on another part of the prophecy of Zechariah (chap. xi.) that the Ten Tribes represent the Jewish nation during the time of its rejection and apostasy, and that thus, the two tribes, the 7000, and the prophet Elijah, are variously expressive of the Christian church during the same period. One convenience, at least, of this interpretation is, that it clears up a difficulty which no other has done anything, apparently, to solve. This difficulty is that, in two different parts of the Apocalypse, two different statements occur, which are, to all appearance, contradictory and conflicting. In the 9th chapter, for instance, we are told that, after the slaying of the third part of men by the Euphratian horsemen, the remainder of men (*οι λοιποι*) "repented *not*;" in the 11th chapter, on the contrary, we read that "the remnant (*οι λοιποι*) were affrighted and *gave glory* to God." How are these statements to be reconciled? Both refer to the same period of time; both speak of the results—the immediate results—of the second woe; and yet in one we read that the remainder of men "repented *not*," in the other, that "they *gave glory* to God." What is the solution of this seeming contradiction? The difficulty is one, the knot of which seems to have been overlooked by many commentators. Mr. Elliott acknowledges it, and seeks to cut it. If, however, we observe, according to the principles contended for, in a preceding paper, that "the remainder of men" of chap. ix. are literal Gentiles, are the pagan nations, worshipping gods of wood and stone, &c., while we adopt at the same time that interpretation of the 7000 names of men which has been submitted in this paper, the difficulty vanishes; for "the remnant" of chap. xi. in this case, instead of being identical with that of chap. ix. is, on the contrary, the Jewish nation. It is the idea of it, as a "remnant saved according to the election of grace," out of the Jewish nation, which gives occasion for the symbolical representation of the church of the existing dispensation, as the "7000 names of men" who, in Israel, have not bowed the knee to Baal, and thus "the remnant" as contradistinguished from the 7000, in this case is not, as in the former one, the pagan nations, but, on the contrary, the symbolical

ten tribes, literally, the rejected and apostate Jewish nation. While the pagan nations, then, remain, after the second woe, impenitent, the Jewish nation, on the contrary, is "put in fear," (*ἐμφοῖς ἐγενετο*), and "gives glory to God;" which explains, also, how the third woe should be "coming quickly," at the same time that "the remnant" are "affrighted and give glory to God;" for we should naturally have expected, in connexion with such an intimation, a contrary result. We should have expected to hear that the third woe was postponed, in consideration of the "glory given to God" by the affrighted remnant, instead of reading of it as "coming quickly" on a community already humbled and submissive. But the view now taken solves this difficulty equally. For when is the last woe so imminent as when the Jews show signs of a "heart turning unto the Lord?" "The day of vengeance" in Jehovah's "heart" is connected closely with the "coming" of "the year of his redeemed." Suppose, therefore, that the remnant giving glory to God, is the Jewish nation showing signs of spiritual life, and the circumstance is a proportionate intimation that "the third woe cometh quickly." It is not, however, my object in these papers to advocate so much any particular system of interpreting connected symbols, as to inquire after the more general principles which we are called upon to recognise, whether in interpreting the book as a whole, or in assigning the meaning of its separate symbols. And I merely offer these remarks for the sake of the corroboration which they seem to me to furnish of the meaning which I claim for the symbol of the "7000 names of men" abstractedly considered.

NULLIUS.

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#### REMARKS ON NULLIUS'S LETTERS ON APOCALYPTIC INTERPRETATION.

SIR,—If I have rightly understood what Nullius has written, he asserts that all previous interpreters of the Apocalypse, both of the literal and figurative classes, are in error, and that he has a new theory to propose, which is the only correct one, and which he regards as so manifestly true as to admit of no dispute. Some of the very confident expressions used in his last two letters appear to justify this statement.

Having read his letters with careful attention, I feel bound to say that I see nothing in his arguments sufficient to warrant this confidence. Dr. Todd's main positions appear to me still impregnable, and Nullius's theory seems to me to rest on no adequate foundation.

I presume, from an expression in Dr. Todd's last letter, that it is not his intention to take any further notice of this matter; otherwise I should have felt it presumptuous to interfere in it. I suppose Dr. Todd concludes (and in this I quite agree with him) that what he and Mr. Maitland have already written, contain an adequate reply to the whole class of figurative interpreters, and therefore to Nullius among the rest.

I will offer, with your permission, a few remarks which have oc-

curred to me on the two chief subjects to which Nullius has adverted—viz., the prophecy concerning the two witnesses, and the 144,000 sealed out of the tribes of Israel.

He observes, in respect to the former—"The allusions in these instances, [the Lamb—the censer and the frankincense—the song of Moses—Jezebel—the pillars in the temple,] obvious at a glance, instruct us to regard the language as symbolical and figurative; and is not this the principle involved accordingly in that more sustained and elaborate course of allusion which we are here considering? It will no more allow us to suppose the drought to be a literal drought, or the 1260 days a period of that literal extent than we are permitted to regard the Lamb as a literal lamb, &c. But as the Lamb is, literally, he whom the Lamb typified . . . so, by the allusive language used throughout the history of the witnesses, we are taught to regard that history as being one which had its type, *and which thus finds its symbol* in that portion of the Old Testament history to which the allusions are made,"—viz., the reign of Ahab.

To this I reply: The Lamb and the incense were shown in those forms in a *professedly symbolical vision* to the apostle; and are, therefore, necessarily to be taken to signify, what Scripture everywhere shows them to signify,—that the name Jezebel, and the expression, "pillars in the temple," are used figuratively, common sense, of course, distinctly proves.

But that these objects *represented in vision* to the apostle, and these *single figurative expressions occurring in certain parts of the book*, constrain us or even warrant us to interpret figuratively a *long passage in another part* of the book which details *not what is represented in vision*, but a *prediction given* by the angel in narrative to the apostle, I do not at all perceive; and the argument seems to me, on these accounts, altogether inconclusive. That Ahab and the circumstances of his reign are *typical* of Antichrist and his times, no one, I presume, denies; and the type appears to find its appropriate antitype in what Dr. Todd (in conformity with the plain letter of Holy Scripture and all primitive testimony of any value) believes to be the true signification of the prophecy under consideration. It seems extremely rash to conclude that the general belief of the primitive church concerning Antichrist, as an individual person, can have been a mistaken one; since it is clear, from 2 Thess. ii. 5, that some particular information on this point had been given orally by the apostle St. Paul, which it is most natural to suppose was the foundation of that general belief. It seems, accordingly, the most natural and obvious method to understand the 1260 days in their literal sense, as a period corresponding to the similar period in Ahab's reign; and this idea is confirmed by the expressions, "a little season," (Rev. vi. 11,) "a short time," (xii. 12,) which seem to refer to the same period. Another strong argument for understanding these days in their literal sense is, that in Daniel, vii. 25, (where all allow the same period to be spoken of,) the mention of the period occurs in what is given to the prophet *as an explanation of the symbolical vision* which had been shown to him: and surely if there be any partsof Holy Scripture which we can feel quite certain are



intended to be taken in their literal sense, it must be those parts which are professedly explanatory of what has been previously shown as symbolical. Moreover, that the word *time* (Dan. vii. 25) is to be understood of a literal year is clear, from Daniel, iv. 16 and 32. (See Rev. S. R. Maitland's *Inquiry*, p. 13.)

As to Nullius's observations on the seventh chapter, it certainly seems to me one of the most unnatural expositions that I ever met with, while he allows the twelve tribes of Israel to mean the literal nation, to suppose the 144,000 sealed out of them, (especially when each tribe and the number sealed out of each tribe is particularly specified,) to signify individuals, as to the greater part of them, at all events, who are not Jews at all. If I remember aright, in a former letter he stated that the fact that the term Jew is used in a figurative sense in Rev. iii. 9, binds us to understand that figurative Jews are intended in chapter vii. and elsewhere in the book. The argument seems to me just as inconclusive as it would be for any one to assert that, because in Romans, ii. 29, the word Jew is used in a kind of figurative sense, therefore we are bound to understand it in a similar way wherever it occurs in the same epistle. The mistake of Nullius (for such I think most, if not all, of your readers will regard it) appears to arise from his considering the prophecy in question to relate to the whole period of "the existing dispensation," whereas that both it, and by far the greater part of the book, relate to events which are to take place at the close of it, has been proved by Dr. Todd and Mr. Maitland, by arguments which are yet unanswered, and in my opinion, unanswerable. The texts to which he refers in the concluding part of his argument, appear to me to have no connexion with the subject of Rev. vii., and his assumption that they have such connexion, to be altogether arbitrary, and grounded on the mistaken idea just alluded to. What they really prove is, that the sound part of the church of the present dispensation is as a first-fruits to God from the Gentiles, "out of" whom, during this period, "God takes a people for His name," (Acts, xv. 14,) as contrasted with, and preliminary to the general conversion of the Gentile world, which Scripture everywhere represents as connected with, and consequent upon the final conversion and restoration of Israel to their land. This is in no wise inconsistent with, and is altogether distinct from what Dr. Todd (I think quite correctly, and in conformity with other prophecies) believes Rev. vii. to predict—viz., the gathering of a first-fruits out of the nation of Israel, (while the majority of the nation are still in their unbelief,) who will be under the special protection of God during the great tribulation of the times of Antichrist.

Other points in Nullius's letters seem to be liable to similar objections; but it seems unnecessary to occupy your space with the discussion of them, as they are virtually replied to in what has already appeared in your Magazine, and in works which are in every one's hands, who takes an interest in the study of the prophecies.

Dr. Todd's interpretation of the Apocalypse, grounded as it is on the plain, unperverted letter of Holy Scripture, and supported by the general testimony of the primitive church, carries at once the convic-

tion of its truth to the minds of those who are not either blinded by controversial prejudices or biased in favour of some hypothesis of their own invention. The various figurative interpretations which have been suggested, each of which gains a few admirers for a time, and then is cast aside for some equally fanciful scheme, which soon meets with the same fate, may possibly seem to some more or less plausible, according to the various degrees of ingenuity with which they are devised, but I should imagine scarcely any persons really and truly believe any of them to give the actual meaning of the Word of God. I am truly glad, therefore, to find that Dr. Todd's work is gradually gaining converts to his views, even in some quarters where, from the force of old prejudices, I scarcely expected that it would have done so. We may now, I trust, say, in the words of an able commentator of the last century, "*Spero sane, immo confido, tandem aliquando post spissam, saltem sublustrem, studii apocalyptici et prophetici noctem, phosporum propheticum lætam ipsius clarioris lucis usuram esse allaturum.*" (D. Joachimi Langii Gloria Christi: Clavis Apoc. in Jesaiam, p. 354.) What the views of this author in reference to the interpretation of Holy Scripture are, may be gathered from the following sound and judicious remark: "*Sensus verborum proprius, a quo sine necessitate cogente recedere prohibemur per legem hermeneuticam et reverentiam verbo Dei debitam.*" (Ibid. p. 353.) I hope Dr. Todd's other engagements will admit of his being able soon to give us his views on the remaining part of the Apocalypse. Everything that proceeds from a man of such learning, judgment, and scholarship, is truly invaluable.

I remain, Rev. Sir, most respectfully yours,

M. N. D.

P.S.—If you can spare room for it, may I request you to give admittance to the following passage from the work to which I have above referred, for my acquaintance with which, as well as for the opportunity of perusing it, I beg to acknowledge my obligations to the great kindness of the Rev. S. R. Maitland. I transcribe the passage as confirmatory of what I have written in a former number of the Magazine on the subject to which it relates:—

"*Quo autem sensu a conspectu judicis dicatur cælum et terram fuisse, et quidem adeo, ut locus istis non amplius fuerit concessus, quæritur? Ad ductum oraculorum prophetiæ de mutatione cæli et terræ notandum est, illam futuram esse primum sensu morali, respectu habito ad genus humanum, quod in millennio sabbatico residuum, exceptis Gogiticæ turbæ, ante istud e medio sublata, reliquias, totum operam dabit justitiæ et pietati. Cui mundi in melius mutationi morali respondebit etiam physica ea, quæ quod lapsus humani generis introduxit, demet, imprimis ex atmosphæra quæ tellurem nostram ambit, et e cujus constitutione vitæ humanæ felicitas una cum infelicitate dependet. Moralem hanc mutationem tempore judicii ultimi excipiet physica plenissima, posita in innovatione. Cum enim de hac clarissima extent oracula, Ps. cii. 26; Jes. lxi. 17, lxi. 22; 2 Pet. iii. 13; Apoc. xxi. 1, 5, hæc loca cum præænti (Apoc. xx. 11) de fuga cæli et terræ,*

nec non de ejus transitu, (*transitu*, inquam, potius quam *interitu* seu annihilatione, Matth. v. 18, xxiv. 35,) ita sunt concilianda, ut ea unius generis istis alterius non obstant : quæ conciliatio fit per distinctionem inter *annihilationem* et *innovationem*. Quæ tamen res, omnino supra captum nostrum posita, ratione modi eventui est relinquenda. Innovationem Deo esse longe digniorem etiam saniori rationi est consentaneum. Cum enim annihilatio futura esset tantum opus omnipotentiae divinæ, innovatio erit opus non solum omnipotentiae, sed etiam sapientiae et bonitatis. Et cur Deus admirandum mundi systema, inprimis innovatum, et quidem si non in totum, tamen ex parte ratione telluris nostræ et ejus atmosphæræ in nihilum esset redacturus, cum istud esse possit æternum perfectionum ipsius infinitarum theatrum, nunquam satis admirandum, inprimis postquam reclusa fuerint ea naturæ universæ arcana, quæ in hac vita ne millesimo quidem homini, etsi indefesso et sagacissimo ejus scrutatori, millesimâ ex parte patent, certe tamen frustranea esse haud debuerunt." (D. Joach : Langii Comment. Apoc. cap. xx. sect. iv. § iv.)

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#### THE REFORMERS' REGARD TO ANTIQUITY.

SIR,—In reading the correspondence which appeared some time ago in your journal, relating to the recent religious movements in Germany, I was very much struck by the evidence which it afforded of the danger of setting aside the authority of the early church, and of forming a creed for ourselves, wholly irrespective of its testimony. The erratic course which Rongé and his associates have pursued, in consequence, has taught us an important lesson on this subject, which we ought never to forget; and I trust, by noticing the mischievous opinions which they have adopted, we shall be led to appreciate the wisdom which guided the reformers of our own church in the great work appointed them, and which, through God's mercy, has led to such a different result. They asserted, indeed, their right to read the Word of God for themselves, yet they were glad to read it by the light which antiquity afforded; and though they would not accept as an article of faith whatever was not read in Holy Scripture, or might be proved thereby, yet they invariably appealed to the early ecclesiastical writers to confirm the deductions which they made from it. Those who are well acquainted with the writings of our reformers, know that it would be endless to quote the passages from them which prove this.

But it is asserted by some, who hold the Reformers in high respect, and yet value very little the testimony of the early church, that when the Reformers quote the writings of the Fathers they are only using an "argumentum ad hominem,"—that they are only fighting the Roman Catholics with their own weapons,—that they themselves attached no weight to the opinions of Clement, or Cyprian, or Augustine, and others, but they gladly availed themselves of their aid against those who paid such deference to their authority. It is for the purpose of dis-

proving this assertion, which I think may very easily be done, and which is, nevertheless, no unimportant matter, for the opinion has of late become popular, that I now address you. It appears to me clearly disproved by the following facts:—

I. When the Reformers quote the primitive Fathers, they quote them with every appearance of reverence. They do not handle them rudely, as if they had no regard for their opinions, except so far as they afforded them the means of discomfiting their opponents: on the contrary, they use strong expressions of deference towards them; and they speak of their testimony in such close connexion with the testimony of Holy Scripture, as to prove that they felt the greatest appreciation for it, as a subsidiary evidence to the truth. Ex. gr., Archbishop Cranmer, in his controversy with Smythe, says, "As for me, I ground my belief upon God's word, wherein can be no error, having, also *the consent of the primitive church.*"\* Also, in his controversy with Bishop Gardiner: "As I have taught in these four matters of controversy, so learned I the same of the Holy Scripture, so is it testified *by all old writers*, and learned men of all ages."† Again: "I make no such vain inductions as you imagine me to do, but such as be established by Scripture, and *the consent of all the old writers.*"‡ So also, Bishop Ridley, in his "Determination upon the Disputations," says, "The principal grounds are specially five. The first is the authority, majesty, and verity of Holy Scripture. The second is the most certain testimonies *of the ancient Catholic Fathers.*"§ This surely is not the style of persons who are merely using the *argumentum ad hominem*. Such generally adopt phrases of this kind—"taking you on your own grounds," or "arguing on your own principles," or "judging from the testimony of your own witnesses," or "allowing, for argument's sake, that the weight which you attach to their opinions really belongs to them." Some such marks of depreciation will be sure to appear, when authorities are cited in controversy, without being valued for their own sake. But this is not the style of the Reformers, in quoting the primitive Fathers. Their style of quoting them is such as we might expect in persons who had a respect for their testimony, and thought it deserved to be considered in the questions they were discussing. The value which they attached to their testimony becomes still more evident, if you contrast their language in reference to them with their style when quoting authors to whom they do not defer. Ex. gr., observe how Cranmer quotes Peter Lombard, as favouring his view of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper: "Now have I made it evident that Petrus Lombardus defaceth in no point my saying of the sacrifice. So that in your issue taken upon Lombard, the verdict cannot but pass with me by the testimony of Lombard *himself*. And yet I do not allow Lombard's judgment in all matters."|| So Bishop Ridley, in referring to Bernard, in answer to Weston, says, "These works of Bernard make for you nothing at all.

\* Cranmer's Works, edited by Dr. Jenkyns, vol. iii. p. 3.

† P. 39.

‡ P. 47. See also pp. 86, 181, 184, 185.

§ The Works of Ridley, Parker Society ed. p. 171.

|| Vol. iii. p. 540.

But I know that Bernard was in such a time, that in this matter he may worthily be suspected. He hath many good and fruitful sayings: as also in the same aforesaid place by you alleged; but yet he followed in an age, when the doctrine of the Holy Supper was sore perverted.\* Cranmer or Ridley never refer to Augustine, or Cyprian, or any of the early Fathers, in such terms as these; but in terms which prove, if we believe them sincere, that they attached considerable importance to their testimony, and were most anxious to show that it was in their favour.

II. The assertion, that the Reformers merely quoted the testimony of the Fathers for argument's sake, and adroitly used it as a weapon of controversy, is clearly disproved by another fact—that is, they quote their writings on subjects which are merely *practical*, and on which they had no controversy. In illustration of this remark, I need only refer to the Book of Homilies, the marginal references of which show how frequently our Reformers cited the authority of the Fathers, and how willing they were to enforce their exhortations to their own people on moral and spiritual topics by quotations from their writings. In the Homily against Swearing—on Obedience—on Faith—on Good Works—on the Right Use of the Church—on Fasting—on Excess of Apparel—on Prayer—on Almsgiving—on Repentance, and others, we find continual reference to the bishops and pastors of the early church; and they are generally quoted in such close connexion with Holy Scripture, and in such terms of respect, as to show very plainly that our Reformers had towards them a feeling of the deepest reverence, ex. gr., “But what mean these often-repeated admonitions and earnest exhortations of the Prophets, Fathers, and holy Doctors?”† “The primitive Church, which was most holy and godly.”‡ “All which sayings, both of the Holy Scripture and godly men, truly attributed to this celestial banquet.”§ “Augustine, a doctor of great authority and antiquity.”|| “That holy Father, Cyprian,¶ that blessed martyr, Cyprian,”\*\* &c. If we suppose that the Reformers could use such language as this and not entertain a deep respect for Christian antiquity, we accuse them of a want of sincerity and truth,—we accuse them of saying what they did not feel—a blot on their memory, which their enemies would be glad to see affixed to it.

III. I may also observe that the Fathers are quoted by the Reformers, and their authority deferred to by them, when they are addressing persons who certainly were not disposed unduly to venerate them; but rather, in consequence of the extravagant value supposed to be attached to them by the church of Rome, would be inclined to underrate them. Thus in the volumes of the Zurich Letters, (published by the Parker Society,) which contain the correspondence between some of the Reformers here and the exiles on the Continent, as well as some of the foreign Reformers, the writings of St. Augustine,

\* Ridley's Works, pp. 217, 218.

† Homily on Almsgiving.

‡ Homily on the Right Use of the Church.

§ Homily concerning the Sacrament.

|| On Prayer.

¶ On Almsdeeds.

\*\* Ibid.

and St. Chrysostom, and St. Cyprian, and others, are often cited;\* which prove that their authority was valued for itself, and not referred to merely for argument's sake. The same thing may be noticed in Archbishop Sandys' Sermon to the Parliament, and those addressed to the congregation at Strashburg;† and in Bishop Pilkington's Letter to the Earl of Leicester;‡ and in the Apology for Spitting on an Arian;§ likewise in the Letter|| which Philpot addressed to one who had some doubts as to the propriety of Infant Baptism, where occurs a passage, as remarkable for the reverence which it expresses for the testimony of the primitive church as can anywhere be found—"I might have occasion to move you to behold the primitive church in all your opinions concerning faith, and to conform yourself in all points to the same, which is the 'pillar and establishment of the truth,' and teacheth the true use of the sacraments; and having, with a greater fulness than we have now, the first fruits of the Holy Ghost, did declare the true interpretation of the Scriptures according to all verity . . . . . And since all truth was taught and revealed to the primitive church, which is our mother, let us all that be obedient children of God, submit ourselves to the judgment of the church for the better understanding of the articles of our faith, and the doubtful sentences of the Scripture."

These three facts which I have stated are, I think, quite sufficient to prove that the Reformers, to whom our church is indebted, under God, for its deliverance from the monstrous errors of the Romish system, did pay unfeigned deference to the testimony of the bishops and pastors of the early church, and cannot with any truth be accused of treating them with apparent respect merely for controversial purposes. They did indeed most diligently search the Scriptures, but at the same time they did not presumptuously lean on their own understanding to come to a right knowledge of it; but, while they prayed for the illumination of the Holy Spirit, they gladly availed themselves of any outward aids which the providence of God afforded them; and among these they justly considered the creeds and confessions of the primitive church and the writings of its first bishops and martyrs—and this, I believe, has been the cause why, through the mercy of God, our church continues to hold undisturbed the fundamentals of the faith; and while other communions, which have paid no regard to the testimony of Christian antiquity, have made shipwreck of their faith, and have lost the distinctive features of the gospel in rationalism, or some other form of infidelity, the Church of England still maintains its character of being a faithful witness to Christ.

Yours faithfully,

G. B.

\* First Series of the Zurich Letters, pp. 85, 147, 159, 160, 301.

† Sandys' Works, Parker Society ed., pp. 41, 44, 298, 316, 320, 326.

‡ Pilkington's Works, p. 661.

§ Philpot's Works, Parker Society ed., pp. 296, 316.

|| Ibid., p. 273.

## MR. ELLIOTT IN REPLY TO MR. ARNOLD.

SIR,—The main subject of my present Letter is, as I intimated it would be at the conclusion of my last,<sup>1</sup> *a summing up of evidence*, as adduced thus far on either side, in the controversy between Mr. Arnold and myself, *on the earlier Apocalyptic Seals*.

I shall, therefore, for the present, only notice his letter in your February Number, on the Fifth Trumpet, and my Saracenic solution of it, with reference to one point in which it exhibits a very marked characteristic of Mr. Arnold's general strictures on the Horæ; one as marked nearly in his critiques on the Seals, as in that on the Fifth Trumpet. And this is his avowed refusal, in his testing of the truth of the Horæ as an apocalyptic exposition, to enter into the consideration of any evidence urged in its favour, however various or important, excepting such only as he thinks he may be able more or less to damage. In my pamphlet of reply I had pressed upon him the circumstance, as one which had most materially weighed with me in receiving the Saracenic solution of the Fifth Trumpet, that whereas it was the frequent scripture custom to sketch its symbolic pictures in a manner from the life, I found the details of that trumpet's compound symbol of the scorpion-locusts, including that of the smoke from the pit of the abyss, whence they were seen to issue on their wide-wasting flight, so to suit the Saracens and their irruptions into Christendom, in the fanatic fury then fresh kindled in them by the false religion of Mahomet, as they could be shown to suit no other nation, I believed, and at no other time, in the world's history. To which Mr. Arnold replies; "I must decline discussing that 'accumulation of evidence,' which Mr. Elliott thinks that *common sense* and *critical fairness* alike require that I should notice; such as the suitability of the symbol to represent an Arabian nation, &c. It is enough for me to show that no satisfactory epoch of 150 (days) years can be pointed out during which these scorpion-locusts 'aggressively struck, injured, and tormented the men of Roman Christendom.' On Mr. Elliott's view such a period must be pointed out, or his interpretation of the symbol is overthrown."<sup>2</sup> In the same manner, at the opening of his first letter in the British Magazine (I am really astonished, as I look back to it, at the hardness of the assertion,) he even states it as "*a self-evident principle*," that "a proof of failure in a single point (in the Horæ) is a proof of absolute failure!"<sup>3</sup> It the more surprises me, that he should persist in such assertions, and such a mode of arguing, because I have not only pressed upon him the necessity of a different course, on every principle alike of true criticism in its highest sense, of common fairness, and of the requirements of a love of truth, but further illustrated the palpable unreasonableness of his principle of argument by applying it to the case of the evidences of our common

<sup>1</sup> British Magazine for Nov., 1846, p. 560.

<sup>2</sup> British Magazine for Feb., p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> British Magazine for March, 1846, p. 331.

Christianity. Thus, in my first letter of reply, I asked,<sup>4</sup> Were an infidel or Jewish assailant to press Mr. Arnold with some particular difficulty in the text or context of Isaiah's famous passage, Is. vii. 14, cited by St. Matthew as a prophecy of Christ's miraculous birth of a virgin, would the proof, the *established* proof of his failure in solving this one point of difficulty, prove the absolute failure of his whole interpretation of the prophecy, and with it, the non-inspiration of St. Matthew also? In similar manner, as it is by the perfectness, or imperfectness, of the solution of the chronological period of the 150 days, or years, *considered simply and alone*, that Mr. Arnold would test the truth of the Saracenic solution of the Fifth Trumpet: let me now beg him not to give the go-by in a flying foot-note<sup>5</sup> to chronological prophecy of the 400 years made to Abraham, Gen. xv. 13, which I referred to, with a view to its comparison with the Fifth Trumpet period, in my pamphlet of reply to his remarks, but to present us with his own explanation of it, and, at the same time, to state whether he admit that if it want a clearly perfect commencing date, this is to be considered as a sufficient proof of the absolute failure, both of his own solution, and of every other solution similarly affected, and so perhaps, in fine, a proof of the failure of the prophecy itself? It is not that I deprecate any attacks Mr. Arnold may make on the Horæ. By no means. But I am anxious that it should be distinctly, and always understood, in what character he makes them: viz., according to his own description of his mode of proceeding, as a *retained advocate against the Horæ*, (I mean this, of course, in no offensive sense,) not as an *investigator of truth*.

And this further surprises me, that Mr. Arnold should, up to this time, if I rightly understand him, have omitted to read my first and second letters of reply to him in the British Magazine. After having attacked me in his original pamphlet of remarks, and received a pamphlet in answer, he re-opened his battery against the Horæ, just a year ago, in your Number for March, 1846: to which paper (one on the First Seal) my reply appeared in your Number for April. After a certain interval, I think it was in the British Magazine for July<sup>6</sup>, his second letter, upon the Second Seal, appeared thus prepared: "My absence from my home prevents me from knowing whether Mr. Elliott, or any one else, has sent you any remarks upon my first communication. Should any such have been made, your correspondents must neither attribute my silence to a want of respect for them, nor construe it into an acknowledgment that the objections they may have urged are valid." All perfectly reasonable. But time passed on: and my reply to his second letter appeared in your Number for September; and, in the same Number, his third letter, on the Third Seal, to which my reply was inserted in the Number for November. Then, at length, in December, an

<sup>4</sup> British Magazine for April, 1846, p. 449.

<sup>5</sup> British Magazine for Feb., p. 187.

<sup>6</sup> P. 55.—Since my leaving England, I have received only such detached leaves of the Magazine as might contain papers on my controversy; and, consequently, have not the title-pages of the several numbers to mark the months.



answer appeared to certain points in that my last preceding letter; with a reference at the end to my *second* letter, as that to which I had directed his attention, but which he had not seen.<sup>7</sup> And now, in fine, at the opening of his fifth letter, (printed *fourth* in your Magazine,) he speaks of having heard something from Mr. Lewis about a passage in my *first* letter; thus intimating, apparently, that he has even yet not read it. A circumstance this the more strange, because, at the close of my third letter, which we know he *had* read, I had stated that I only waited for his answers to the several points urged by me in my three letters, whether in acknowledgment or in refutation of their correctness, before presenting my own summing up of evidence on our controversy about the seals.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, he intimates,<sup>9</sup> as a reason for not entering on the Fourth Seal, to which I had begged his attention, as a point essentially connected with our argument on the three seals preceding, that he has now no longer the opportunity of referring to the Horæ.

Wherefore this unusual course of proceeding? If we volunteer to try to write a book down, ought we not to make a point of having the book by us for reference, at least so long as the controversy continues that we have stirred up? If we renew our attacks in a Magazine, ought we not to make a point of seeing and considering our opponent's answers in it? Mr. Arnold's apology, on the score of absence from his home and his library, made at the commencement of his second letter, shows that his judgment of what propriety requires of us, under such circumstances, is not different from my own. Why, then, not act on that judgment? He has long rejoined his home and his library, as appears from the date of his fourth letter, "Lyndon, November 17." I have certainly my own impression on the matter, and suspect he finds that he embarked somewhat rashly on an enterprise, of which he had not duly estimated the difficulties. However this may be, I feel that, having vainly waited so long for his notice of my replies, I ought to delay my promised paper of the summing up on the Seals no longer, especially as he seems finally to have quitted the Seals for the Trumpets. I will endeavour in proceeding, to state his objections, as well as my own proffered points of evidence, fairly. As a check, I shall be obliged by my readers keeping our several papers in the Magazine before them, for reference;<sup>10</sup> especially as it will be necessary that I consult brevity, as far as possible. I say, "as far as possible." For on the *first* Seal, I fear such brevity as I could wish will be impossible.

As a preliminary to my summary, let it be understood that there seems to be no difference between us as to the *date of the Apocalypse*; and, indeed, the evidence is such in favour of the date of the *last year of Domitian*, A.D. 95 or 96, that, as Michaelis observes, no one probably would ever have thought of disputing it, except with the view of helping out a certain particular historical interpretation of the

<sup>7</sup> P. 690.

<sup>8</sup> British Magazine for Nov., pp. 560, 561.

<sup>9</sup> P. 185.

<sup>10</sup> They are in the Numbers for March, April, July, Sept., Nov., and Dec. 1846, and finally the number for the present February.

prophecy, having reference to the destruction of Jerusalem, which required a *Neronian* date, 30 years earlier.

This premised, proceed we to sketch the outline of evidence and objection, with reference to my expositions of the three first Seals, each by itself, in order.

#### FIRST SEAL.

“ And I looked, and behold a white horse, and he that sate on it having a bow : and a crown was given unto him : and he went forth conquering, and that he should conquer.”

Of the abstract force of the *symbols*, in this figuration, my interpretation is now well known. It is to the effect following :—1. That the *horse* in this, and the three next Seals, signified the *Roman empire* or *people*: its fitness to signify them appearing, not merely from the general suitability of the war-horse to figure a warlike people, but from the fact of its being the animal sacred to their reputed father, Mars, and as such, twice a year, from the time of the kings down to the then imperial times, exhibited to the Romans in their Campus Martius, in sacrifices or horse-races, sacred to him (a connexion with him and them still illustrated to the eye, as I conceived, by ancient extant medals, which exhibit, conjunctively, the *Mars*, the *horse*, and the inscription *Romano* :) besides that, up to the time of Marius, it was one of their war-standards, and that, moreover, in the vision, it was associated with a crowned rider, whose Roman character was not to be doubted. 2. That the *white* colour, according to its usual significancy, and in contrast with that of the *black*, of the Third Seal, indicated the *prosperity*, *happiness*, and *triumphs* of the Roman people, thus symbolized throughout the period comprehended in this Seal. 3. That the *rider* was marked as the representative, distinctively of *Roman emperors*, by the presentation to him, and his reception of a στέφανος, or crown, who, as the horse's manager, was here, as elsewhere, to be regarded as the *causal agent* of what the horse's colour indicated. 4. That by the *bow* in the rider's hand, previous to his receiving the crown, it seemed signified that this line of emperors would be some way connected with *Crete*, as the bow was the badge of Cretans, distinctively and alone, among all the provincials in the Roman empire. 5. That by the words, “ *went forth conquering, and that he should conquer ;*” it was indicated, that presently after receiving the crown, this imperial line would set forth on some remarkable course of conquest, and with the destiny attached to them of conquering also afterwards, whenever and wherever war might arise, throughout the whole period of the Seal. 6. That the *commencing date* of this period would follow soon after the time of St. John's seeing the vision, as the angel prefaced the opening of the Seals by the statement, “ I will (now) show thee what is to happen after these things,” viz., after the then state of the Seven Churches in the Asiatic province of the Roman empire, and that it was to *terminate* in a state of general peace over the Roman world ; as the language of the next following Second Seal declared that it was the destiny of the rider of *its* horse to break up such a state of peace, bequeathed by the First Seal to it. So as to the abstract force of the *symbols*. And as to the *historical*

*fulfilment* of them, it is also well known, that I trace it in the reigns of the new line of emperors following next after Domitian, that have been emphatically called *the five good emperors*, an era begun by Nerva, himself of *Cretan* origin, within a year after St. John's seeing the visions in Patmos, and continued by Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines, all bound to Nerva as the head of their line by successive adoptions: an era, the *happiness* of which, in contrast either with that which preceded, or that which followed, is celebrated by the contemporary authors of its commencement, Suetonius and Tacitus, by the contemporary of its conclusion, Dion Cassius, by Eutropius and Aurelius Victor of the fourth century, and by our best modern historians of the Roman empire, Gibbon more especially; an era of which the early predicted course of *triumph* was verified within six years from the Apocalyptic revelation, in Trajan's then commencing an almost unparalleled course of conquests, and in which the Roman destiny, *still to conquer*, was exemplified both in Hadrian's decisive victories over the Jewish insurgent people, and (passing over Antoninus Pius' speedy putting down of certain slight insurrections and wars on the distant frontiers), in the second Antonine's final triumphs in the wars with the Parthians and the Marcomanni; a war this last, desperate and tremendous as that which was lately waged against the invading Sikhs by Lord Hardinge in India (the comparison often forces itself on my mind), and crowned, as if the destiny, *ὡς νικῶν*, was needs to be fulfilled, with a final triumph equally signal; the result being that glorious peace, which introduced under such favourable auspices the reign (the soon unhappy reign) of the last emperor of the Cretico-imperial line, Commodus, whereupon the era of the Second Seal began.

And now for *Mr. Arnold's objections*. The correctness, then, of my explanation of the *symbols*, considered as Roman symbols, and in the abstract, he, with one exception, denies not. The *white* colour, the *crown*, and the *bow*, had, he admits, the signification I assign them.<sup>11</sup> Of the *horse* only he contests the appropriateness, as a symbol of the Roman nation; i. e., beyond any such *general* appropriateness as it might be deemed to have, in its character of the war-horse, to designate a warlike people: and he attacks more especially, under Mr. Lewis' leadership, the *numismatic illustrations* given in evidence in my engraved coins in the Horæ. Of this objection, as the reply may take a little time, I defer my notice to the last. Besides which,

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<sup>11</sup> In his original pamphlet, indeed, p. 5, and his first letter, *British Magazine*, p. 332, he jokes about the *bow*. But this only means that he has nothing to say against it. As regards the *crown*, he faintly objects in his third letter, (Sept. 6, p. 314,) "Mr. E. is *hardly* accurate, I think, in calling the crown a *distinctive* badge of the reigning emperor." It may be, therefore, well to refer him to Eckhel's argument on the "cultus capitis" of the Augusti, vol. viii. p. 360, &c., in which he says, that there appears to have been *three exceptions*, and only three, in the interval between Augustus and Domitian, of persons who wore the laurel crown, though not Augusti, or reigning emperor—viz., Claudius Drusus, and Vitellius, and Domitian himself, before his accession to the empire. But from the commencement of Domitian's reign, it was, he says, *an absolute distinctive*. "Deinceps in legem abivisse ut nemo nisi Augustus laureâ præingeretur numi luculenter docent."

he excepts on three points against my *historical application* of the figuration. 1. He argues that the words, "went forth conquering, and that he should conquer," imply a continuous course of advancing conquests: whereas Trajan's only were of this character; both Hadrian's triumphs over the Jews, and the second Antonine's over the Parthians and Marcomanni, having occurred in defensive wars; besides that Hadrian resigned many of Trajan's territorial conquests, and the first Antonine's was almost entirely a reign of peace.<sup>12</sup> My answer to which objection is, that I deny the necessity of the construction that he would put upon the clause, "went forth conquering, and that he should conquer." Who ever limited the intent of the phrase "*went forth to conquer*," to victories in aggressive wars only? Did the Athenians not go forth with the destiny to conquer at Marathon and at Salamis? Or, to turn to modern times, was the phrase not predicable of Lord Hardinge at Moodka and Sobraon, because the war was against aggressive Sikh invaders; or because, after he had conquered much of their territory, he voluntarily resigned, like Hadrian, the larger part? Yet again, as to the idea of unceasing uninterrupted wars of conquest being required by the phrase, quite to the exclusion of *peace*, all through the period of the Seal, in such case, how the fulfilment of the *white* colour of the horse, a colour signifying prosperity and happiness; and especially (when applied to a horse) that of the prosperity of peace following on victories in war? So I asked Mr. Arnold long since;<sup>13</sup> and I thought that in his first Letter in your Magazine, he had virtually admitted the fairness of my view.<sup>14</sup> But in his own brief summing up, I see the objection still repeated; though without any attempt whatever at supporting it against my remarks.<sup>15</sup> 2. Mr. Arnold objected that it was impossible, "absolutely impossible," a period of prosperity to heathen Rome should be represented by white, when that period was one twice marked, and indeed more than twice, by persecutions of Christians.<sup>16</sup> The force of which objections depended wholly on the truth of the supposition that the Divine Revealer must needs mix up things sacred and things profane in the same symbol, and not sketch the fortunes of an heathen empire simply by itself, those of

<sup>12</sup> Remarks, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Reply to Mr. Arnold's Remarks, pp. 9-12. I also urged the *argumentum ad hominem*. For as Mr. A.'s own counter-explanation of the first seal would almost necessarily make Christ the rider of the white horse, I asked how it could consist with Christ's going forth openly conquering and to conquer, i. e., according to Mr. Arnold, on a course of conquest, continuous, and uninterrupted.—I say, how it could consist with this, that his saints should be during much of the time in the state figured by the vision of the souls under the altar; and moreover, that during much of it Antichrist should reign with almost universal sway? To which question Mr. A. replies not.

<sup>14</sup> British Magazine for March, p. 332. "If Mr. E. reply, (as he does,) that it is enough that the race should *begin* with conquest, the times of the succeeding emperors being times of prosperity and peace, then the question must be argued on that ground; or the fitness of the other particulars of the symbol be discussed.

<sup>15</sup> British Magazine for Sept., p. 315, where, by the way, all allusion to Trajan's early and extraordinary course of conquest, as in my view, the fulfilment of the "*went forth conquering*," is passed over wholly *sub silentio*!

<sup>16</sup> See Mr. A.'s first letter, British Magazine for March, p. 336.

his people scattered in it by themselves: a supposition contradicted not only by the judgment and practice of our best modern historians of the same era and subject,<sup>17</sup> nor alone by the analogy of Daniel's figuring of the Babylonian empire as a head of *gold*, with reference simply and alone to its own splendour and glory, at the very time when the Jews were captives in it, but even yet more by the Apocalyptic supplemental separate notice in the Fifth Seal of the fortunes of the Christian body during the times of the Four Seals previous:—an arrangement this, the propriety of which might almost have been suggested to Mr. Arnold by the notices that occur in history of the manner in which both Romans and Christians regarded the latter, during the period in question, as a separate and distinct body in the empire: *in* it, but not *of* it; a "*tertium quid*," neither Romans nor Jews; a "*civitas in civitate*."<sup>18</sup> 3. Mr. Arnold objects certain drawbacks to the general prosperity of the Roman empire itself, during this period; especially (not to mention "the insurrection and final extermination of the Jews as a nation," which was but in fact an exemplification of the Roman emperors conquering destiny) the earthquakes that destroyed sundry cities in Asia Minor, under Antoninus Pius, and under Aurelius Antoninus, "a plague which (according to Niebuhr) inflicted a blow upon the ancient world *from which it never recovered*."<sup>19</sup> Is it the case, then, that for not less than *seventy years* of the period in question, from Nerva's accession to the introduction of the plague, Mr. Arnold could find out no greater drawback to the general prosperity than these local earthquakes? What could be a stronger proof of the empire's prosperity during their course? So I intimated (nor has any answer been given) in my first Letter of Reply.<sup>20</sup> As to the plague, then, at length occurring, I was certainly astonished at Mr. Arnold's representation, as from Niebuhr, of the extent of its ravages under the second Antonine; being myself quite unaware of any ancient historical authority which would justify so strong a representation. On subsequently referring, however, to Niebuhr, I found his real representation very different. He means to speak of the plague, in the passage Mr. Arnold refers to, (ii. 282) only as having been *introduced* into the empire at *that* epoch: for in a later passage, (ii. 345) he thus explicitly refers its great ravages to a *much later* period. "It made its first appearance in the reign of M. Aurelius. . . . *About the middle of the third century*," (some seventy years after Aurelius,) "*it had yet not become*

<sup>17</sup> e.g., Gibbon. See my first Letter of Reply, British Magazine for April, p. 452. Let me cite here the ancient historian *Eutropius'* testimony to the happiness of this era, and character of its reigning princes as the causes of it; as I have not given it before, and conceive Eutropius to have been a Christian in profession. "*Vetere et Valente Coss. respublica ad prosperrimum statum rediit, bonis principibus ingente felicitate commissa. Coccinus Nerva;*" and *Lactantius* too, in his *M.P.*, 3, thus speaks of them; "*Reacsis actis tyranni (sc. Domitiani) . . . secutis temporibus, quibus multi ac boni Principes Romani Imperii clavum regimenque tenuerunt.*"

<sup>18</sup> See *ibid.* Mr. Arnold makes no reply.

<sup>19</sup> Remarks, p. 5; and repeated in his first Letter, British Magazine for March, p. 335. The *italics* are Mr. A.'s.

<sup>20</sup> British Magazine for April, p. 451.

very important; but it increased in the reign of Decius, i. e., from A.D. 256," &c. In short, like Gibbon, Niebuhr refers the time of its ravages to the precise time of the Fourth Seal, as I expound the prophecy; the symbol of which Seal was Death on the livid pale horse, with commission to destroy the earth's inhabitants by the sword, and famine, and pestilence: thus furnishing witness in favour of my fourth Seal, not against my first.

I now return to the contested symbol of the horse. In Mr. Arnold's last Letter he gives the description of a coin of *Cossa*, a Samnite town, now *Conza*, with *Mars' head*, a *horse's bust*, and the inscription *Cosa*: and, referring to an inquiry I had made of Mr. Lewis, if there were Campanian or Sicilian coins, bearing the combined devices of a horse and *Mars' head* without the *Roma* or *Romano*,<sup>21</sup> he adds; "I trust Mr. Elliott will now allow that there is no numismatic connexion between *Rome* and the *horse*: and that unless he has the exegetical courage to give up the connexion altogether, he must stand upon the general fitness of the *bellator equus* to symbolize a nation of warriors." Indeed! Was then the horse's consecration to their father Mars nothing, which was exhibited publicly before the Romans twice every year, as I before observed, in the sacrifices and the games? Why! there was not a Campanian or Sicilian town (let Mr. Lewis or Mr. Arnold select which they will) that could have so peculiar, so remarkable a connexion with the horse predicated of it. And then, moreover, the fact of its having been, till Marius, the device on one of their standards! And then, again, the quite different fact of the Apocalyptic horse being an *equus liber currens*, which was the type Eckhel was cited as declaring altogether aliene from the Roman coinage;<sup>22</sup> but a horse bearing a rider to whom a crown was given, a most common type on the imperial coinage: in the case of which rider being recognised (as most assuredly all contemporaries would have recognised him) as a Roman emperor, then common sense, and the actual recorded usage, (as I showed from Tacitus,) <sup>23</sup> required that the horse should be interpreted of the Roman people. Really, Mr. Arnold is a little bold in calling on me, in the face of such facts, already noted in my Book or my Replies, to abandon all connexion between the horse and the

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<sup>21</sup> My requisition, it will be seen by reference to my first Letter, British Magazine for April, 454, was for Campanian or Sicilian coins of this character. That offered by Mr. Lewis and Mr. Arnold is a Samnitic coin, i. e., as they designate it, Eckhel ("from whom," as they would have it, "there is no appeal") describes it in his vol. i., p. 90, as a medal of *Cosæ* in *Etruria*. "*COSÆ. urbs maritima*" (sc. *Etruriæ*.)

Caput Martis galeatum barbatum  
*COSA. Caput equi frenatum.*—Æ. iii.

If *Etrurian*, Eckhel judges that the type was copied from the Campanian medals with the *Romano*. And if *Samnitic*, (which, however, is not offered as any possible alternative by Eckhel,) then too it may have been a mere imitation from the same, if Roman; (on which point, see Note 29;) for, "*Videtur hos populos servilem in morem Romanorum monetam imitatos.*"—Eckhel, i., 106.

<sup>22</sup> See Mr. Arnold's Letter, British Magazine for March, 333.

<sup>23</sup> See my pamphlet of Reply, p. 7, and first Letter in the British Magazine for April, p. 454, 456.

Roman people, except the mere general one that a war-horse might have with *any* warlike people. In fact, as regards the *numismatic* engraving, my case in nowise rested upon it: though I should certainly have been sorry to find myself compelled, by that *love of truth* which I hope is paramount with me above every other consideration, to give up what I had taken much pleasure in regarding as a very interesting illustration to the eye of an otherwise established fact. But how stands really the case as to the coin in question; I mean particularly as to the coin with the *Mars' head bearded*, the *horse's bust*, and the *Romano*, given second in my plate in the *Horæ*? I have had the opportunity lately of reading on Roman Numismatics a little more than I was able to do before the publication of my second edition; Eckhel of course being the author studied by me first and foremost. And what was my surprise, after all that I had heard on the subject, to find a notice of the coin in question in his vol. v., p. 49, under the head of "*Numi peregrini inscripti Romano, Romanum*," as follows:—

"Caput Martis galeatum barbatum  
ROMANO, equi caput frenatum.

Ad *Romana* hic typus *sacra* pertinet. Refert Festus; 'Equiria ludi quos Romulus Marti iustituit, per equorum cursum qui in Campo Martio exercebatur.' De equo dicto Octobri, qui singulis annis Marti in campo Martio immolabatur, vide eundem Festum in October equus." So does Eckhel, "Eckhel the numismatic luminary, who, Steinbuchel himself says, is without appeal,"<sup>24</sup> give the verdict on this coin distinctly in *my* favour, not in Mr. Lewis and Mr. Arnold's; and explain the *horse* to be *the horse consecrated by the Romans to their father Mars*. Moreover, he adds that it is not to be wondered at that some of this class of coins should have been restored by Trajan. "Nam numi hi, etsi peregrini, tamen Romæ fuerunt obvii; et cum in iis expressum Romæ nomen legeretur, poterant monetæ Romanæ accenseri." So that about the time of Nerva, and Trajan, and St. John, according to Eckhel, this class of coins must not merely have been regarded as bearing the type of the Roman Mars and Roman horse, but even as *Roman money*. The question remains, how, and by whom, and when struck, with this Roman reference in the inscription, and yet a Campanian fabric and dialect? This is a difficulty still with numismatists. I had ventured, in my pamphlet of Reply to Mr. Arnold, to express an opinion to the effect that these might be coins of the Roman *Civitas*, though not of the Roman *Seven-hilled metropolis*:<sup>25</sup> an opinion noticed somewhat derisively by Mr. Arnold.<sup>26</sup> It was but, indeed, the conjecture of one ill-qualified to offer any. I find however that Eckhel, in speaking of a Neapolitan coin of this

<sup>24</sup> So Mr. Lewis, *British Magazine* for April, p. 446, and Mr. Arnold, *British Magazine* for March, p. 332. I think myself that the statement is a little too unqualified.

<sup>25</sup> Pamphlet of Reply, p. 7, and first Letter, *British Magazine* for April, p. 463.

<sup>26</sup> *British Magazine* for March, p. 333. "What can be the meaning of this distinction? Was there one coinage for the seven-hilled city, another for the state?" Mr. A. should have said, "another for *other parts* of the Roman civitas, or state."

class, offers a not very dissimilar suggestion as an alternative: "Neapolitani Campaniæ, honoris causâ Romanorum nomen, in quorum erant potestate,"<sup>27</sup> pro suo inscripserunt: nisi forte, *tanquam cives essent Romani*, Romanos se vocaverunt." And Niebuhr, in his history of the Samnite war, on the year A. C. 431, or about the time of Alexander the Great, after speaking of Capua, the Campanian capital, as at that time "*a part of the Roman state*,"<sup>28</sup> and prætors being sent thither from Rome in part to act in the character of legislators, adds that there were at that time many Roman citizens in Campania, some being even territorially established there, as at Falernum, which had been divided among Roman plebeians; that the Roman citizens of some eight or ten of these Campanian towns, constituted a kind of Roman commonalty, or conventers, for whom the prætors sent from Rome administered justice; and that it might be that it was *from these corporations* that the money with *Romanum* marked on it issued.<sup>29</sup> Thus, Mr. Arnold will see that Niebuhr's view of this class of coins is not very much aliene from the general idea suggested by me, that the coins might be money of a branch of the *Romana Civitas* in Campania, though not of the *Roman metropolis*; and I believe it was his latest view.<sup>30</sup>

So ends my summing up on the first and the most important of the Seals. For here especially, "C'est le premier pas qui coute." The others may be summed up much more succinctly.

#### SECOND SEAL.

"And there went out another horse that was red; and power was given to him that sate thereon to take the peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another; and there was given unto him a great sword."

The period here prefigured I have inferred from the *symbols* to be a period of *oppressive military domination*: seeing that *investment with a sword* was the recognised form of appointment to a *military com-*

<sup>27</sup> Says Mr. Arnold, *ibid.* p. 334—"though the horse was, it would seem, stamped on Campanian coins *before the adoption or subjugation*, either or both, of *Campania*." Did he suppose *these* coins were to be regarded as before that date?

<sup>28</sup> "Capoue, étant une portion de l'Etat Romain, on peut comprendre dans l'histoire intérieure (sc. de Rome) l'envoi de préfets dans cette ville en 431, &c.," *i. e.*, 431 U. C. I cite from the French translation of Niebuhr's Roman History, by M. Golberry, (Paris, 1836,) which is the only edition I have to refer to. The passage cited is vol. v., p. 399.

<sup>29</sup> "Il y avoient campanie un bon nombre de citoyens Romains, et meme de citoyens établis, comme il y en eut plus tard dans les provinces; car le territoire de Falerne, que avait été distribué aux plebeis en étant voisin. . . . Festus dit que le peuple (sc. Romains) nommait annuellement des préfets, pour rendre la justice à Capoue, à Cumes, et dans huit autre villes Campaniennes. C'était pour la généralité des citoyens Romains qui y demeuraient, et y formaient sans doute une commune appelé *conventus*, comme dans les provinces. . . . Il se pourrait que les monnaies sur lesquelles on lit *Romanos* proviennent de ces corporations: car, d'après leur empreinte et leur façon, on reconnait qu'elles sont originaires de Campanie."

<sup>30</sup> The German editor, M. Classen, cites from Niebuhr's preface to his second volume, (a preface written only a few months before his death,) the following words with reference to the next part of his History; which part includes that which I cite from:—"La reste, jusqu'à la première guerre Punique, n'attend plus que la dernière main."



*mission* under the emperors; and more especially of appointment to the highest military commands in the empire—viz., that of the *prætorian prefects* at Rome, and of the *imperial lieutenants* in the provinces:<sup>31</sup> also that the *size*, the unnatural *size*, of the sword or *μαχαίρα* given, indicated a power of military unduly great, and unduly used; the declared result being to put an end to the state of peace and prosperity left by the former Seal, and to disturb and redden the empire with *civil wars* and bloodshed. And, as to the *historical fulfilment*, (which I found actually pressed upon me by Gibbon, Montesquieu, and Sismondi,) I conceived the æra to have opened, and its evils been prepared, by Commodus' abandonment of the reins of empire, A.D. 185, to his prætorian prefects; and the civil wars and bloodshed to have commenced with Lætus, the prætorian prefect's murder of Commodus, A.D. 192: after which followed for some ninety years the rule of military adventurers, raised by the sword to the throne, and that held it or were hurled from it by the sword; peace being thus taken from the earth, and almost incessant civil wars occurring, with the exception of the last thirteen years of the reign of the first Severus, and the thirteen of the second Severus. Not to go further forward in our view than the accession of Decius, after Philip's defeat and slaughter, at the middle of the third century,—when the new elements of *foreign invasion* and war, together also with *famine* and *pestilence*, joined themselves to the long-established internal evil of military usurpation and civil war, so constituting, as I conceive, the precise predicted evils of the *Fourth Seal*, as there had also previously been joined on to it the evil of *aggravated oppression by the provincial governors*, figured in the Third Seal,—I say, not to look further forward than the accession of Decius, A.D. 249, this was the summary given by me, (the thus far undisputed summary,) as to the fate of the imperial actors themselves. "Out of *eighteen emperors* that figured on the scene, from Commodus to Philip inclusive, during the period under review, Sept. Severus alone died a natural death: all the rest having fallen in civil war, or military insurrection; each perishing by the sword as he rose by the sword."<sup>32</sup>

And what, then, Mr. Arnold's objections? As to the *symbols*, he made but one—viz., that the presentation of the *sword* in the prætorian prefect's case, at least, did not designate *military office and command*, the prætorian prefects being all jurists—an objection in which I have shown him (and I do not suppose he will contest the point) to have been totally mistaken.<sup>33</sup> Further, as to *my historic application* of the symbol, the whole force of his argument against it has been to make the most of the intermissions from civil war during the twenty-six years of the two Severi, (which intermissions, let it be observed, are not forbidden by the Apocalyptic language.) During which years, however, the principle of *military domination* continued (so as the symbolic rider with the great sword) uninterruptedly; it being, under

<sup>31</sup> See my second Letter, British Magazine for Sept., pp. 296, 297; also, as to the imperial lieutenants and the prætorian prefects, my vol. i., p. 144, with the authorities in the notes. So, too, Eckhel on the *parazonium*.

<sup>32</sup> British Magazine for Sept., p. 304.

<sup>33</sup> See *ibid.* 298, 290.

the first Severus, only confirmed and strengthened—under the second, bringing forth, again and again, its bitter and blood-stained fruits.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, taking advantage of a mere inexactness in one of my expressions, and himself most strangely altering my chronological epochs and arrangements, Mr. Arnold tried to set off the civil wars after Alexander Severus, *as if not included by me in the figuration of this seal*, which they are, against the civil wars previous, from Commodus to Alexander Severus, as if all that was included by me in it.<sup>35</sup> This rectification made, and it being understood that the evil here indicated is considered by me as reaching into other seals, Mr. Arnold will see that his whole historical objection vanishes and becomes nothing. In fine, I see nothing more to do on this head than simply to quote from Sismondi, in fresh confirmation of my views, (especially as Mr. Arnold says that he *has* Sismondi by him,) that passage which, in my second letter, I alluded to,<sup>36</sup> but without being able to give the quotation :—“With Commodus’ death commenced the third and most calamitous period—that which we have characterised as the period of upstart soldiers of fortune, who usurped the imperial power. It lasted ninety-two years, from 192 A.D., to 284. During that time, thirty-two emperors, and twenty-seven pretenders to the empire, alternately hurled each other from the throne by incessant civil warfare. . . . These ninety-two years of nearly incessant civil warfare taught the world on what a frail and unstable foundation the virtue of the Antonines had reared the felicity of the empire.”

## THIRD SEAL.

“And I beheld, and lo ! a black horse ; and he that sate on it had a pair of balances in his hand. And I heard a voice in the midst of the four living creatures say, A chœnix of wheat for a denarius, and three chœnices of barley for a denarius, and see that thou wrong not in regard to (μη ἀδικήσης) the oil and the wine.”

Here, it may be remembered, I conceive that it was to be inferred from the *symbols*, that the oppression of the Roman people by their *provincial governors* was the main point signified—seeing that the *balance*, from being the emblem of justice, came to be a recognised symbol of those that had the supreme administration of justice,<sup>37</sup> whether the prætors at Rome, or the governors in the provinces, (of which fact a coin was given in illustration ; ) and that it was to the latter distinctively *that words of monition* were wont to be addressed by that *voice of law and equity* which, though spoken by senate or by emperors, was recognised alike by Romans, Jews, and Christians, as having its source in the *Divinity himself* ;<sup>38</sup> words *against injustice*, and about *price*, in respect of those four great articles of produce, *wheat, barley, oil, and wine*, with which the provincial governors had

<sup>34</sup> See *ibid.* 305, 307.<sup>35</sup> See *ibid.* 307, 308.<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* p. 307.<sup>37</sup> In my two first editions I was not sufficiently clear in stating this official intent of the symbol of the balance. In my third edition, now about to be published, this is rectified.<sup>38</sup> See my references to Seneca, Cicero, Hooker, and the Sacred Scriptures, in my vol. i., pp. 161, 165.

to do as articles of taxation and procuration ; while the *black* colour of the horse indicated the symbolic rider's neglect of the monition, and the distress and mourning resulting from his oppression.<sup>39</sup> So as to the symbolic figuration. And as to the *historical fulfilment*, it was, as before, put into my hands by Gibbon. For as he had spoken previously of the abuse of *the power of the sword*, and the *licence and fury of the prætorian guards*, as the first symptom and cause of the decline of the Roman empire, so, in his history of the reign of Alexander Severus, he pauses to describe at some length a then recently introduced aggravation of the *oppression of the Roman people by their provincial governors*, in respect very chiefly of those *articles of produce* (corn, wine, and oil) which were chief subjects of taxation—an oppression which, in spite of Alexander Severus' monitions against it in the true spirit of equity, and his temporary check of it, soon became worse than before, and “*darkened the Roman world with its deadly shade*.”<sup>40</sup> As to the *price* named in the symbol, which it needed should be an equitable price, there had been felt by me a difficulty, and in the difficulty I had recourse to the larger but less usual chœnix of eight cotylæ for its solution. But, as I stated in my last letter,<sup>41</sup> the fact of the adulteration of the Roman silver coinage, already some thirty years before begun, and of which we know the exact measure under Alexander Severus to have been such as to render the value of the then current denarius but one-third its former value, made all clear with the more usual attic chœnix of four cotylæ ; for, according to the best data that we have, the price of *wheat* named in the Apocalyptic vision must have been just about the fair current price in the time of Alexander Severus, while the proportion of the price of barley may very naturally be supposed to have been diminished from *one-half* to *one-third* of that of wheat, through the unusually and disproportionately large demands for the latter “for the court, the army, and the capital.”<sup>42</sup>

And here, then, again, what Mr. Arnold's objections ? His main original objection was to my taking the less usual chœnix instead of the attic. That objection is now done away with. *I take the attic*.<sup>43</sup> As to the adulteration of the coinage under Alexander Severus, by which the price of wheat named in the vision was shown by me to be the then, the true one, Mr. Arnold only stated that he had not books by him whereby to test the accuracy of the citation given by me from Professor Wurm. I therefore subjoin from Eckhel a citation to precisely the same effect,<sup>44</sup> from whom he considers there is no appeal ;

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<sup>39</sup> I observe, that Martial applies the *black* colour to *horses*, in signification of *mourning and sorrow*—

Heu facinus ! primâ fraudatus Scorpe juventâ  
Occidis, et nigros tam cito jungis equos.

<sup>40</sup> Gibbon. See Hor. Apoc. i., 158.

<sup>41</sup> See British Magazine for Nov., pp. 555, 556.

<sup>42</sup> Gibbon. See British Magazine, p. 556.

<sup>43</sup> Quite satisfied, however, that I have sufficiently established the fact of there having been the larger chœnix also. See *ibid.* 550, 553.

<sup>44</sup> “Ab Augusto usque ad (Sulp.) Severi imperium argenti probitas utcumque constitit, sed sub hoc multum deficit. . . . Alexander Severus veteris formæ

which point settled, there really remains, simply and alone,<sup>45</sup> his objections against my translation of the *το ελαιον και τον οινον μη αδικησης*, an objection reduced at last to this—that “when the ear receives *τον οινον*, the mind waits for the word that will give the whole thought; that *μη αδικησης* does give it, denoting, as it does, an action that can be done to the object, that of *injuring* it, and this the mind receives as its meaning.”<sup>46</sup> I asked, “How could the agency of famine be supposed to injure, not the *olives* or the *vines*, but the wine and the oil in their vats and barrels?” “Oh,” exclaims Mr. Arnold, “it is a poetical figure!”<sup>47</sup> Indeed!—a poetical figure in a sentence specifying in current coin the price of wheat and barley! He must excuse my saying that, whatever the readiness of *his* mind to receive the sense he puts upon the verb, as its proper meaning, *my* mind cannot receive it; because, “after waiting for the word which is to give the whole thought,” and hearing the *μη αδικησης*, it cannot help remembering that here there is no place whatever for poetic figure, and, consequently, that the other sense of *αδικησης* must almost necessarily be resorted to, “As to the oil and the wine, act not unjustly;”—a sense this, which gives excellent meaning to the latter clause of the sentence of monition to the rider, in accordance alike with the nature of the articles of oil and wine specified, and with the spirit of the former clause about the barley and wheat. Most certainly I have no fear of Mr. Arnold’s criticism disturbing my (or rather Mede’s) translation of the *μη αδικησης*. On the other hand, I pray the readers of the British Magazine to remember how, as I have showed, Mr. Arnold’s translation only makes the impossibility of his own counter-view of the whole symbol, as a *figuration of famine*, more flagrant. “A famine,” I observed in my last letter,<sup>48</sup> “when the price of barley was such that a man might earn full three days’ food by one day’s labour! Who ever heard of such a famine?” To which replies Mr. Arnold:—“I admit it is not a *famine*, but a *great scarcity*. I consider these as the *beginning of sorrows*.”<sup>49</sup> But it is *famine*, not *scarcity*, that St. Matthew speaks of as the beginning of sorrows.<sup>50</sup> And even considered as a *scarcity*, (“a *great scarcity*,”) who ever

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argenteos sic corrumpit, ut, etsi pondere à veteribus non differrent, tamen nonnisi tertiam argenti portionem in iis inesse expertus sit Savotus.” He proceeds to say—“Imperante Gallieno ejus facies tristissima. Ex quinque partibus fuisse quatuor admixti seris profitetur Bimardus.” Prolegom. vol. i. p. 27.

Hence the explanation of the Stratonicean inscription in Col. Leake’s book; for my acquaintance with which I am indebted to Mr. Arnold. He notices it (at p. 9 of his Remarks) as a decree of *Diocletian’s*. I think Col. Leake inclines to *Theodosius*. If Diocletian’s, there will be found what seems to me to be an extremely interesting illustration of it in Lactantius’ M. P. 7. “Diocletianus, cum variis iniquitatibus immensam faceret caritatem, legem pretiis rerum venalium statuere conatus est,” &c.

<sup>45</sup> For in his third Letter (British Magazine for Sept., p. 314) he abandons the objection made in his original pamphlet, pp. 9, 10, that the rider on the black horse might as well signify a *Roman emperor* as a provincial governor. To which the reply in my pamphlet was, “An emperor *without a crown*! An emperor addressed in the voice of law and monition, who was *legibus solutus*!”

<sup>46</sup> So Mr. Arnold, British Magazine for Dec., p. 689.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. 690. “Mr. E.’s mind is occasionally in a very unpoetical mood.”

<sup>48</sup> British Magazine for Nov., p. 554. <sup>49</sup> British Magazine for Dec., p. 688.

<sup>50</sup> Matt. xxiv. 7, 8.

heard of such a one?<sup>51</sup> Yet more, (taking Mr. Arnold's version of the *μη ἀδικησῆς*) the charge, "Injure not the wine and the oil," makes it no scarcity at all, but the direct contrary, in those extensive districts where wine and oil were the chief produce. And then, finally, as to that accompaniment of the *balance*, which never was heard or seen, I believe, as the device of anything but *justice*; whether in the abstract, or with reference to its administration in courts, or its application to the coinage, surely nothing more could be needed to show the *absurdity* (let me be forgiven the strength of the expression) of any interpretation of the Third Seal as a figuration of *famine*. I consider that solution, grievous as the fact may be to various classes of Apocalyptic interpreters, as utterly, hopelessly, and for ever defunct.

#### FOURTH SEAL.

"And I saw, and behold a pale horse, and he that sate on it, whose name was Death, and Hades follows after him: and there was given him authority to kill on the fourth part of the earth with the sword; and with famine, and with pestilence, and with the wild beasts of the earth."

Mr. Arnold declines entering on this Seal, though I asked him to do it. The symbols need no explanation. The only question for him who would fairly test the truth of the *Horæ* as an Apocalyptic exposition is this—Was there a period strikingly answering to this in the Roman history, soon after that era of Caracalla and Alexander Severus, which is assigned in the *Horæ* to the *Third Seal*? And what does Gibbon answer? He speaks of the period from the slaughter of Philip, A.D. 285, to the death of Gallienus, A.D. 268, as the twenty years "of shame and misfortune, of confusion and calamity;" when "the ruined empire seemed to approach the *last and fatal moment of its dissolution*." A description that might seem but a comment on the epithet *χλωρός*, which is given by Hippocrates as the colour of approaching death. He specifies the several agencies of destruction; the *sword* from *without* and from *within*, a general *famine*, and "*that furious plague*" (the same to which Niebuhr refers) "which, from 250 to 265, raged without intermission in every province, every city, and almost every family in the empire." And summing up, states that there is reason to suspect "that *war, famine, and pestilence* had consumed in a few years the moiety of the human species."<sup>52</sup> Was this not a fulfilment of the Fourth Seal's figuration? No wonder Mr. Arnold is disinclined to enter on it. And then followed the

<sup>51</sup> Eusebius, in his *Chronicon*, in speaking of one of the famines under the Emperor Claudius, (not the one which affected Palestine, noticed Acts xi. 28, but one which chiefly affected Greece,) states that the price was a denarius and a half, or its equivalent a drachma and a half, for a *chœnix* of wheat; i. e., one third dearer than the price of wheat stated in the Apocalyptic text, and independent of any considerations of the adulterations of the silver coinage, which had not then, or for long after, begun; and without any such comparative cheapness of barley to mitigate the famine as is mentioned in the Apocalypse. I speak from memory, but am pretty sure that I am correct.

<sup>52</sup> See *Hor. Apoc.* i. 172.

## FIFTH SEAL.

"And I saw under the altar the souls of them that had been slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held. And they cried with a loud voice, How long, O Lord, dost thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?"

A sketch (as I conceive) both of the actual persecution that followed on the empire's partial recovery from the evils of the Fourth Seal, under Diocletian, the era being that known in the church as the *era of martyrs*, together with a retrospective sketch also of other persecutions of the Christians in the times of the Four Seals previous. So does the Apocalypse, in admirable manner, furnish a perfectly separate sketch of the fortunes of the Christian body, instead of mixing it up in that medleyed and incongruous manner in which Mr. Arnold would prefer to have it done;—nay, and would argue on the assumed fact that it *must* be so in the sacred prefigurations, as a thing certain; and that makes all prophetic picturings of the fortunes of the Roman empire, simply and alone, as out of the question and impossible!

But, sir, I here take my leave of the subject. And, in concluding, permit me to ask this question:—Supposing Mr. Arnold to have done whatever cleverness, experienced scholarship, controversial practice, and hearty good will in the cause can be fairly expected to do, towards damaging the evidence of the Seals, as expounded in the *Horæ*, what are we to think of the result—a result now patent before the literary world? Surely the fittings between *symbol* and *historic fact* have been proved to be such as to justify me in the declaration,<sup>53</sup> that if they were to be referred rather to accident, or to the expositor's ingenuity and craft, than to the designing and intent of the All-wise Author of the Revelation, then must there be a rejection of all the laws of both direct and circumstantial evidence that have hitherto been recognised amongst men, and a rule of judgment laid down by which even the fittings and combinations of a *vouch* may be explained as but the result of *chance*.

I am, Sir, your obliged, and very obedient servant,

Lausanne, Feb. 17, 1847.

E. B. ELLIOTT.

## LETTERS OF SAINT BERNARD.

(Continued from page 198.)

EPIST. LXXXVII.

TO OGERIUS, MONK.

He disapproves of his having abdicated his pastoral charge, though he had done so from love of religious quiet. Nevertheless, he instructs him how he ought thenceforth to live, as a private member of a religious brotherhood.

Brother Bernard, monk, but sinner, sends greeting to his brother Ogerius, whom he loves in the bowels of charity, desiring that he may walk worthily with God unto the end.

<sup>53</sup> The conclusion of my pamphlet of Reply to Mr. Arnold's remarks, re-quoted in the second preface to the *Horæ*, p. 19.

1. If I seem to have been long in answering thy letter, understand that it was not so, but I had no opportunity of sending it. For what thou now readest for the first time, was long ago dictated; but for want of a messenger, I was slow to send what I was not slow to write. Now I read in thy letter that thou hadst laid down the burden of thy pastoral charge, which weighed heavily upon thee, after extorting by importunity, rather than obtaining by request, the bishop's leave; and that only on condition that wherever thou mightest live, thou shouldst remain under his jurisdiction as thy bishop. Which not being agreeable to thee, thou wentest to the archbishop, and feeling secure in his approbation as the superior authority, hast returned to thy former place, and put thyself under thy former abbot. How thou shouldst live in these circumstances, is what thou now inquest of me, that egregious doctor and incomparable master, whose utter ignorance will then be discovered, when I have begun to teach what I understand not. Does the sheep ask the goat for wool, the mill the oven for water, the wise man the fool for utterance? Moreover, throughout thy letters, thou extollest me above what I am, ascribing many praiseworthy things to me, of which I am myself unconscious; but I set them to the account of thy good will, and excuse them as said in ignorance; for thou seest the face, but God the heart. And if I anxiously examine myself under His awful eye, surely I am nearer to myself than thou art, and therefore know myself better. Wherefore, seeing myself, I rather believe myself about myself, than thee who thinkest of me what thou seest not. And if thou hast heard aught from me which might profit thee, give the praise to God, in Whose hands are we, and our words.

2. There is also consolation to me in what thou sayest, for thy departure from my advice, wherewith I encouraged and exhorted thee not to be downhearted and yield to timidity, but patiently to bear thy burden, which once taken up, it was unlawful to lay down; and I, too, as thou desirest, console myself for thee. For as I acknowledge my lack of wisdom, yea, constantly suspect myself of folly and temerity, when what seems to me good is not done, I ought not, and I dare not, to be angry, but rather wish every one to act more discreetly than I had advised him. And so, whenever my opinion is preferred and followed, I confess that I feel burthened as with a heavy weight, always looking for the event with fear, never with confidence. Still, it is for thee to consider, whether thou wert well advised in rejecting my advice in this matter. Let them, if such there were, on whose sounder judgments thou hast relied, consider whether thou hast acted reasonably. Let them consider, I say, whether it be lawful for a Christian to cast off his obedience during his life, whereas Christ became obedient unto the Father unto death.<sup>1</sup> "Yes," thou sayest, "by permission; which I sought and obtained from the bishop." Well; thou didst seek permission, but not rightly; whereupon it was not obtained, but extorted; and extorted or forced permission is not permission, but violence. So that when the bishop yielded unwillingly to

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<sup>1</sup> Phil. ii. 8.

thy importunity, he did not release thee, but only suffered thee to break loose.

3. To thyself I give joy, that thou art disburthened; but I fear that God, as far as in thee lay, hath been dishonoured by thee; for surely thou resistest His ordinance, if thou cast thyself down thence, whither He had raised thee. If thou make excuse from the necessity of poverty, I say that necessity leads to a crown: if thou plead difficulties, impossibilities—all things are possible to him that believes.<sup>1</sup> Say rather the truth, that thou hadst more regard to thy own quiet, than to the good of others. I marvel not: nay, I confess that I am glad that this quiet should please thee, if it be not in excess; but whatever good thing so pleases us, that if we cannot do it lawfully, we do it unlawfully, is in excess; and becomes wrong at once, because it is wrongly done. For it is written, *If thou offerest rightly, but dividest not rightly, thou hast sinned.*<sup>2</sup> Either, then, thou shouldst not have taken charge of the Lord's flock, or having taken, shouldst not have left it; as it is said, *Art thou bound to a wife? seek not to be loosed.*<sup>3</sup>

4. But to what end this reasoning? Am I advising thee to return to the labour of government, now that there is no place to thee for it? or do I mean thee to despair, as if thou hadst bound thyself in such a sin as thou canst not escape from? God forbid. I only wish thee not to forget it, as if it were a small evil or none; yea, ever to fear, ever to repent, never to feel secure, as it is written, *Happy is the man that feareth alway.*<sup>4</sup> Thou plainly seest what is that fear with which I would inspire thee: not a snare unto despondency, but a way to the hope of blessedness. For there is a fear which is unprofitable, sad, cruel, seeking no forgiveness, and finding none; and there is a fear which is pious, humble, fruitful, easily gaining mercy for any, however great a sinner. This fear brings forth, feeds, and preserves humility, and meekness, and patience, and longsuffering: who would not be delighted with so noble a progeny? But of the other, the wretched offspring is perverseness, immoderate grief, rancour, horror, contempt, despair. Wherefore, fearing lest thou shouldst not fear, or not enough, not with the fear that begets despair, but that which begets hope, I have thought fit thus to remind thee again of thy fault.

5. But there is another and a worse thing which I fear for thee; that, as is written of some, that *they rejoice when they have done evil, and exult in the worst things,*<sup>5</sup> so thou also be deceived, and not only think this no fault, but also (which God forbid) boast in thy heart that thou hast done some great thing, such as few are wont to do; in that, thou who wert free and ruling over others, didst despise the preëminence, and again chocest to be under a superior. False humility! source of real pride in the heart of him who thus thinks! For what more proud than to ascribe to spontaneous free will what is compelled either by the force of necessity or the infirmity of cowardice? And if thou hast done this, without either being overcome by labour or constrained by necessity, but freely; this also is the height of pride. For so thou

<sup>1</sup> Mark, ix. 23.<sup>2</sup> Gen. iv. 7. (LXX.)<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. vii. 27.<sup>4</sup> Prov. xxviii. 14.<sup>5</sup> Prov. ii. 14.



preferrest thy own will to God's will, choosing rather to be quiet for thyself, than to serve in His work, to which He himself had chosen thee. If, therefore, in that wherein thou didst despise God, thou gloriest to His greater despite, thy glorying is not good.<sup>1</sup> But beware thou of glorying, away with confidence; keep in thee always a profitable anxiety, a humble fear, not that fear which, as I said, provokes wrath, but that which softens it.

6. And if at any time that horrible fear should strike thy mind, whispering to thee that thy obedience cannot be accepted by the Lord, and that thy repentance is vain, because that wherein thou didst offend God cannot be repaired by thee: listen not to it for a moment, but answer boldly, "I did wrong; but it is done, and cannot now be undone. Who can tell if this be not God's providence for me, and if out of my evil He who is good meant not to work my good? So may He punish the evil that I did, but the good that he designed may remain." For the goodness of God can use our inordinate wills or actions, always rightly for the harmony of His own providence, and often mercifully for our advantage. O most gracious care of the Divine pity for the sons of Adam! ceasing not to pour forth benefits, not only when it findeth no merits, but commonly when it seeth what is most contrary thereto! But to return to thee; according to those two kinds of fear which I before distinguished, I wish thee to fear, and not to fear; to be confident and not confident. To fear, that thou mayest repent; not to fear, that thou mayest be confident; again, to be confident, lest thy faith fail; not to be confident, lest thy love wax sluggish.

7. See, now, my brother, what confidence I have in thee, that I have not hesitated to upbraid thee so sharply, and to pronounce so boldly on thy deed, though without full knowledge of it; when, perhaps, it was more reasonably done than I have hitherto been aware. For, perhaps, either from humility, or from the brevity of a letter, thou didst not mean to set down all the reasons by which what thou hast done may be excused. Wherefore, leaving in suspense my opinion about a matter which I do not fully know, in one thing I entirely praise thee—namely, that in laying down the yoke of thy government, thou didst not choose to be under no yoke thyself; but didst return to friendly discipline, and wast not ashamed again to become disciple instead of master. For, whereas on being freed from thy pastoral charge, thou mightest have remained at liberty—for the promotion of the abbot is the emancipation of the son—thou wouldst not use this power, but as thou hadst declined the dominion over others, so also fearedst thou to rule over thyself; and having deemed thyself unfit to be a master to others, thou wouldst not trust thyself to be thy own disciple. Wisely so: for he who is his own master is a fool's disciple. Indeed, without knowing what others feel, I have myself experienced what I say; I can more easily command and more safely preside over many others than over myself alone. It was, therefore, a prudent humility and an humble prudence that led thee not to deem thyself sufficient for thy own salvation, and to determine to live thenceforth under the will of another.

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. v. 6.

8. In this, too, I praise thee, that thou didst not seek a new place or master, but didst familiarly return to the cloister thou hadst formerly left, and the father under whom thou hadst learned. For it was better that the house which had reared thee and sent thee forth in brotherly love, should receive thee back when thy occupation was over, than that another should rejoice from her deprivation. But with regard to thy having acted herein without the bishop's leave, I would not have thee content thyself till thou hast satisfied him, either by thyself or some other person, as much as thou art able. And for the future, let thy life be single towards thy brethren, devout towards God, subject to thy superior, obedient to thy seniors, kind to thy juniors, pleasing to the Angels, edifying in speech, humble in heart, meek towards all. Beware of thinking, because thou wast formerly held in honour, that now, too, thou shouldst be honoured above the rest; rather show thyself humble towards all, as being only one out of many. For it is not fitting that thou shouldst demand the honour, whilst shrinking from the labour.

9. Hence, also, may arise another danger, against which I wish to forewarn and forearm thee. For since we are all so changeable, that we generally reject to-day what we yesterday wished, and desire to-morrow what to-day we turn from; so it may sometimes happen at the suggestion of the devil, that the memory of thy relinquished honours may strike thy mind with a longing for them, so that thou shalt regret like a child what thou didst despise as a man. What was formerly bitter will again appear sweet to thy soul; exalted place, care of the household, stewardship of affairs, obedience of servants, liberty to thyself, power over others; so as almost to make thee sorry to have left what was irksome to hold. To which worst of temptations, if thou shouldst listen (which God forbid) but for an hour, thy way of life will be exposed to no small injury.

10. Thou hast now heard all the wisdom of that polished and eloquent doctor, whose teaching thou hast sought from such a distance; thou hast heard that much-looked-for, much-desired discourse, for which thou hast been so anxious: this is the sum of our erudition. Still expectest thou some great thing? thou hast heard all. What more wouldst thou? the fountain is exhausted, and seekest thou water in the dry place? Like the widow in the gospel, of my penury I have cast in all that I had.<sup>1</sup> Why art thou downcast and abashed? Thou didst compel me. Thou askedst for a discourse; a discourse thou hast. A discourse, I say, long enough, but unmeaning; full of words, empty of sense; not to the settling of charity in thy heart, but to the publication of my ignorance. For what excuse can there be? I might perhaps say, that I dictated this while sick with a tertian fever, and busy with the cares of my office, whereas it is written, *Write wisdom in leisure*.<sup>2</sup> But this I could only pretend, if I had undertaken some great and laborious work; and now in so small a work, being unable to excuse myself by such circumstances, I can make no better pretext than, as I have often said, my lack of wisdom.

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<sup>1</sup> Luke xxi. 2—4.

<sup>2</sup> Eccles. xxxviii. 24.

11. Yet I have some consolation in my shame. For if I have disappointed thee in not sending what thou hadst hoped, thou wilt at least acknowledge that I had the will to do it; and thou wilt accept the will, when thou seest wanting the ability to do. And at least, though it profit thee not, yet me it will, as a lesson of humility. For a fool, when he holdeth his peace, is counted wise;<sup>1</sup> his silence being ascribed, not to the want of sense, but the reserve of humility. I too, had I remained silent, should be reckoned wise, without being so; whereas now, some will laugh at me as a fool, some will sneer at me as an idiot, some will be angry with me as presumptuous. Is this, thinkest thou, but a small religious benefit to me, remembering that humiliation leads to humility, and humility is the base of the whole spiritual fabric? Humiliation is the way to humility, as patience is to peace, and reading to knowledge: if thou desire the grace of humility, shrink not from the path of humiliation, for if thou bear not the one, thou wilt never reach the other. It is therefore good for me, to whom it often happens to be undeservedly praised by the unwise, that by the wise should be known and exposed deservedly my foolishness. The Apostle alarms me, who was himself alarmed, and said, *I forbear, lest any man should think of me above that which he seeth me to be, or that he heareth of me.*<sup>2</sup> Well said he, *I forbear*. The arrogant forbear not, the proud forbear not, nor the seeker of empty fame, nor the boaster of his own deeds, who either glories in what is his own, or pretends to what is not. He alone who is truly humble, forbears towards his own soul; who lest he should appear what he is not, ever seeks, as he is able, to conceal what he is.

12. Very dangerous truly is it for any man, to hear greater things of himself than he feels in himself. Who will grant me to be humiliated as I ought among men for true things, as much as it has been given me to be exalted above what I ought for false? Then could I adopt the prophet's words: *Having been exalted, I am humiliated and disquieted.*<sup>3</sup> and those others, *I will play . . . and will yet be more vile than thus.*<sup>4</sup> For I will sport, that I may become a sport. Good is that sport, at which Michal is wroth, and God is pleased; good that sport which is a jest to men, but lovely in the sight of angels. Again I say, good is that sport, by which we are made a reproach to the rich, and a laughing-stock to the proud. For truly what can the worldly think but that we are in sport, when in this life we fly from what they desire, and desire that which they fly from? We are like the jesters and dancers, who with the head downwards and the feet upwards, stand or walk unlike men upon their hands, and so are gazed upon by all. This sport is not of children, nor of the theatre, provoking lust by the impure gestures of women, and representing base actions; it is a sport, pleasant, honourable, grave, commendable, fit to delight heavenly spectators. At this pure and religious sport did he play who said: *we are made a spectacle unto angels and men.*<sup>5</sup> At this let us also play for a

<sup>1</sup> Prov. xvii. 28.<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. xii. 6.<sup>3</sup> Ps. lxxxviii. 15.<sup>4</sup> 2 Sam. vi. 21, 22.<sup>5</sup> 1 Cor. iv. 9.

time, that we be derided, confounded, humiliated, until he come who putteth down the mighty and exalteth the humble; who shall cheer us, shall glorify us, and lift us up for ever.

(To be continued.)

### THE LEEDS SECESSIONS.

THE following documents, relating to the late secessions in Leeds, have lately appeared in the Leeds Intelligencer. The Bishop of Ripon's replies to the addresses presented to his lordship cannot fail of being read with deep interest. But the whole correspondence is so likely to be referred to hereafter, as events develop themselves, that it is desirable to preserve them here. It may be well to remind our readers that the patronage of St. Saviour's Church, Leeds, is not in the Bishop of Ripon. It is vested in trustees, who reserved to themselves the right of presentation to the benefice. Whether the event may not be considered a confirmation of the opinion which well-judging persons entertain of the trustee system, we shall leave to our readers to judge. It certainly seems to show, that whatever be the evils the system may be liable to, they are not necessarily confined to one party in the church, but that the influence of such a description of patronage may be as dangerous to the church in one case as in another.

With regard to Mr. Macmullen, our readers are probably aware that he is the same gentleman whose name was so much before the public some years ago in connexion with Dr. Hampden's. It appears, according to the postscript attached to Dr. Hook's late pamphlet, that Mr. Macmullen was sent from Oxford to St. Saviour's, after it had been erected into a separate parish. By *whom* he was sent, Dr. Hook does not distinctly say, but seems to intend his readers to understand that it was by Dr. Pusey; as, in a note to this pamphlet, he says, that on remonstrating against the doings in St. Saviour's Church, he was "*warned by the founder*" that he had no more concern with it than he has with any parish in London. But, indeed, the Bishop of Ripon, in his reply to the address of the thirteen clergymen of Leeds, which we print in this article, expressly states that Mr. Macmullen "*was sent to Leeds by the leading trustee of St. Saviour's Church, to act there as officiating minister on trial*"—adding, "*not only without any licence from me, but even without my knowledge or consent.*"

Dr. Hook's account of the transaction is as follows:—

"About three months ago the district of St. Saviour's was constituted a parish and a vicarage, under the Leeds Vicarage Act. Until that time no attempt was made to pervert men to Rome, because the

clergy officiating within the district were responsible to me, and I could have put a stop to their proceedings. But when St. Saviour's became a parish separated from the parish of Leeds, Mr. Macmullen and two other clergymen were sent from Oxford; and from that time there has been a systematic depreciation of the Church of England, and a defence of the Church of Rome: one of the clergy going so far as to say, that to speak against the Church of Rome was a mortal sin, and lamenting that his lot had been cast in the Church of England. A regular system of perversion has been going on.

"When I had ascertained the character of the proceedings, I remonstrated with the patrons of the living, and I was warned that I had no more to do with the parish of St. Saviour's than I have with a parish in London; and when I ventured in reply to observe, that I might justly complain when a hornet's nest was planted at my garden gate, the rejoinder was, that what I took for a hornet's nest was a hive of sweet honey. What the honey is, events have shown.

"With Mr. Macmullen I have had no acquaintance; he did not call upon me on his coming to Leeds, and I informed the Bishop of Ripon of my suspicions in relation to his character. His lordship declined to grant a licence to Mr. Macmullen until he had made further inquiry; but Mr. Macmullen continued to officiate, without the Bishop's licence, until his lordship, being informed of the fact, prohibited him from officiating in the diocese of Ripon."\*

Of the names of the patrons of St. Saviour's, the public were long since informed, in the account of the consecration of the church given in the *Leeds Intelligencer*, Nov. 1st, 1845. The following is the extract with which we have been favoured by a correspondent. "The petition [to the Bishop to consecrate] was from the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., and Canon of the Cathedral of Christ's Church, Oxford; the Rev. Charles Marriott, Master of Arts, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford; Rev. Richard Ward, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Christ Church, Skipton, in the county of York, and the Rev. W. B. Pusey, M.A., Rector of Langley, in the county of Kent. There is an endowment of 228*l.* 13*s.*, land, in fee-simple; 776*l.* 7*s.* in the funds; 475*l.* repair fund; in the names of the petitioners, who have the right of nominating the ministers to the church, with the power of electing new trustees in case of the resignation or death of any of the present body, or any of them ceasing to be members of the United Church of England and Ireland." This extract will serve to make some points more intelligible in the documents we now proceed to extract from the *Leeds Intelligencer*.

"ST. SAVIOUR'S CHURCH, LEEDS.

"We are authorized to contradict a statement which has appeared, to the effect that the Bishop of Ripon has found it necessary to have

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\* The Three Reformations. Postscript, p. 1.

recourse to other bishops for advice or support in the difficulties occasioned by the recent perversions to Rome at St. Saviour's. His lordship has had no hesitation whatever in expressing, both to the clergy and trustees of that church, his opinion of the course to be pursued, and that opinion has as readily been deferred to, on the part of the incumbent (the Rev. R. Ward) and the curate (the Rev. Mr. Case), both of whom have resigned their appointments.

"The Rev. Mr. Ward preached his farewell sermon in St. Saviour's on Sunday evening last. He founded his discourse upon the 20th and 21st verses of the 5th chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. The rev. gentleman delivered a very affecting sermon to a crowded congregation, many of whom were moved to tears.

"Last week an address was presented to the Bishop of the diocese in favour of Mr. Ward. We append the address, with the answer of the Right Rev. Diocesan:—

*"To the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Ripon.*

"We the undersigned, members and communicants of the congregation of St. Saviour's Church, in Leeds, beg permission to address your lordship respecting the rumoured resignation of our Vicar, the Reverend Richard Ward.

"We have waited patiently until now, from the fear of interfering unseasonably, and in the hope we should be called upon by your lordship to vindicate the character of one whom we respect and love so highly.

"We are at last constrained to speak. We have listened with pain to statements which have been circulated reflecting upon Mr. Ward's character as an honest and loyal clergyman of the Church of England.

"We can easily understand there may be grave reasons why no authoritative contradiction should be made of the falsehoods in circulation. Our own feelings are simply those of duty and affection towards one who has laboured zealously and faithfully for our spiritual welfare.

"We now come forward to assure your lordship that during the whole period Mr. Ward has had the charge of us, we have never heard from him, either in public or private, any teaching which would induce us to join the Roman communion, or tend in any degree to shake our confidence in our Mother, the Church of England; and we beg most respectfully to state our deep conviction, that by the removal of Mr. Ward from ministering among us, whenever it may occur, we shall be deprived of a blessing and a privilege which will not easily be replaced.

"We are, most respectfully,

"Your lordship's obedient humble servants.

"Leeds, 18th January, 1847.

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*"To the Parishioners of St. Saviour's who have signed the Address.*

"My Christian Brethren,—In replying to the address which you have presented to me, in behalf of the Rev. Richard Ward, the In-

cumbent of your parish, I beg to assure you that I entirely appreciate those feelings of duty and affection towards your spiritual pastor which prompted its preparation. I am quite willing to concede to him whom you so much respect, the benefit of your declared belief, that he has taught you nothing which could induce you to join the Romish communion, or weaken your attachment to the Church of England; and, had the line of conduct I have thought it right to pursue, as regards his retirement, been influenced merely by vague rumours, which it might have been in your power to refute, I should not have felt myself justified in proceeding thus far, without appealing to you for their confirmation or contradiction.

"But my conviction of the propriety of Mr. Ward's resignation has been founded upon other considerations with which he is familiar. *He is fully conscious that he has weakly yielded to the sinister influence of others*, and has, in some instances, *consented to act in direct contravention of the spirit of my admonitions and injunctions*, inasmuch that I am persuaded it is as essential for Mr. Ward's own peace of mind, as it is for the welfare of the church in this diocese, of yourselves, and of your children, that Mr. Ward should cease to officiate at St. Saviour's. You are yourselves, as yet, scarcely conscious of the dangers you have escaped, and it is for me, as your spiritual father, to step forward in your behalf, lest your affection for the individual should blind you to the perilous tendency of that system which it has been attempted to establish at St. Saviour's, foreign, as it is, to the spirit of our church, and calculated gradually (it would seem imperceptibly) to familiarize you with many of the reprobated sentiments and practices of the Church of Rome.

"It is, however, a sincere satisfaction to me to infer, from the tenour of your address, that nothing which has been said or done has yet shaken your attachment to the church of your fathers. I cannot divest myself of feelings of peculiar interest in your spiritual welfare, from the recollection that I myself, many years ago, laid the foundation of that school in which, long before the erection of the church, you were instructed in the truths of the gospel, as well as from the reports I have received through those who formerly ministered among you, of the simplicity and self-denying piety which you used to exhibit.

"It would, indeed, have been a grief to me to hear that any of you had been moved away from the hope of that gospel, and been spoiled through vain deceit and the tradition of men; and I will conclude by assuring you, that it is my earnest desire, and shall be my persevering endeavour, that a successor be appointed who, while he is no less single-hearted and self-denying in his labours among you than Mr. Ward has been, shall be more settled in his own views respecting the church of which he is a minister, and more likely to guide you and your children in paths of safety and of peace.

"Believe me to be, my Christian brethren,

"Your truly affectionate father and friend,

"C. T. RYON.

"Palace, Ripon, 22nd January, 1847."

From a still more recent number of the same paper we insert the following extract, which contains the address of thirteen of the Leeds clergy, with the Bishop of Ripon's reply:—

“ST. SAVIOUR'S CHURCH, LEEDS.

“The following Memorial to the Bishop of Ripon, by the subscribers, clergymen of Leeds, in reference to the circumstances of St. Saviour's Church in this town, has lately been presented to his lordship. The document has already appeared in the columns of the *Intelligencer*; but as the Rev. Diocesan has this week forwarded an answer to the memorialists, we republish the memorial:—

“*To the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ripon.*

“‘May it please your Lordship,

“‘We, the undersigned clergymen in the borough of Leeds, in your lordship's diocese, beg to present to your lordship the expression of our sympathy, after the recent deplorable apostasy of one officiating minister, and two laymen, attendants at St. Saviour's Church, to the errors of Romanism, an event which we are persuaded must have caused much grief and anxiety to your Lordship.

“‘It has often been to us a source of great satisfaction to attend your Lordship, on occasion of the consecration of churches, and it was a cause of deep regret that we felt conscientiously bound to absent ourselves when that church was consecrated. We were so fully persuaded that efforts were made on that occasion to procure a large assemblage of clergy, in order to honour and promote both principles and practices utterly opposed to the Reformation, and subversive of the Protestant faith, that we considered it our duty not to attend.

“‘We were not without apprehension that our absence might be misinterpreted into disrespect for your Lordship, than which nothing could be further from our intentions and feelings; and we therefore take this opportunity of expressing the affection and respect which we have always felt and do feel for your lordship, and our confidence that your authority will be always exerted for the maintenance of those good old principles of our church for which our forefathers died.

“‘While, however, we deplore, we are not surprised at this apostasy; we view it as the legitimate fruit of the principles industriously and insidiously inculcated by the teachers of a school which, speciously professing to avoid the opposite extremes of Romanism and ultra-Protestantism, has artfully endeavoured to conceal from the young, unwary, and partially informed members of our communion, their longing for a closer approximation to the Roman church, both in doctrine and practice. Maintaining as we do (in the plain sense of the Sixth Article,) the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for salvation, we can scarcely fail to trace those evils to the fundamental error of those teachers who proclaim that Scripture and tradition are our joint rule of faith, and, under the plea of development, embrace and teach doctrines and traditions at variance with the revealed and written Word of God.



“ ‘ We are further persuaded that your Lordship will concur with us, that the event which calls forth this address shows the danger of unauthorized revivals of obsolete and useless ceremonies, and should deeply impress on the minds of all, both clergy and laity, that what was at the Reformation so hardly won, and has been so carefully transmitted, was not a mere system of ceremonial observances; but that while care was exercised that all things might be done decently and in order, the great end in view was the due administration of those sacraments which Christ himself ordained, and above all, the free and full preaching of that gospel, the substance of which is “repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ.”

“ ‘ With our earnest desire and prayer, that the Divine blessing may ever rest upon your Lordship, both for your own personal comfort and welfare, and for the good of that portion of the church over which you so laboriously and beneficially preside,

“ ‘ We are, with great respect,

“ ‘ Your lordship’s obedient servants,

“ ‘ JAMES FAWCETT, M.A., Incumbent of Woodhouse.

“ ‘ WM. WILLIAMSON, M.A., Incumbent of Headingley.

“ ‘ JOSEPH HOLMES, D.D., Head Master of the Grammar School, Leeds.

“ ‘ JOHN HOLROYD, M.A., Incumbent of Christ Church.

“ ‘ WILLIAM SINCLAIR, M.A., Incumbent of St. George’s.

“ ‘ JOSEPH WARDLE, A.M., Incumbent of Beeston.

“ ‘ THOS. BOYS FERRIS, M.A., Minister of St. Luke’s.

“ ‘ BENJAMIN CROSTHWAITE, M.A., Incumbent of St. Andrew’s.

“ ‘ THOMAS STURGEON, A.M., Curate of St. George’s.

“ ‘ RICHD. R. WOLFE, A.B., Incumbent of St. Matthew’s, (Little London.)

“ ‘ JOSEPH WARE, A.M., Incumbent of Kirkstall.

“ ‘ We the undersigned, who were not resident in Leeds at the opening of St. Saviour’s Church, concur in the address.

“ ‘ FOSTER ROGERS, Incumbent of St. Philip’s.

“ ‘ EDWARD WILSON, B.A., Curate of Christ Church.

“ ‘ Leeds, Jan. 7, 1847.’ ”

“ The following is the reply of the Bishop of Ripon :—

“ Palace, Ripon, Feb. 2, 1847.

“ ‘ My Reverend and Dear Brethren,—I am desirous of acknowledging, with feelings of much gratitude, the expression of your sympathy with me, under the trying circumstances in which I have been recently placed, by the public profession of Romanism in Leeds, on the part of certain persons connected with St. Saviour’s Church; and I embrace the opportunity of assuring you how conscious I am that your absence from the consecration of that church was never intended as any mark of discourtesy to myself, while I accept with the most cordial satisfaction your declaration of the respect and affection which

you bear toward me, as well as of the confidence you repose in my determination to uphold the distinctive principles of our church as settled at the Reformation.

“ With regard to the events which have elicited these welcome expressions of kindness and goodwill, although there is undoubtedly much to grieve, it is nevertheless satisfactory to remember, that no clergyman of the diocese has ever quitted the church of his fathers to embrace the Romish communion. The ordained person who took this rash step entered the diocese but a short time since, *having been sent to Leeds by the leading trustee of St. Saviour's Church, to act there as officiating minister on trial, not only without any licence from me, but even without my knowledge or consent.* His services were speedily dispensed with, when I discovered his presence there, and ascertained the tone of his mind and the tenour of his proceedings. Yet, short as was his stay, he seems so successfully to have tampered with the faith and allegiance of some few members of the congregation, that they were on the very point of joining him in his act of desertion; and since his departure he has assiduously persevered in his attempts to complete his unfinished work, but happily without effect. Such proceedings, however, cannot but excite feelings of just indignation against the authors of them: while the ignorance thus displayed of the real character and disposition of mind of the individual sent, when consequences so serious were hazarded, must necessarily awaken feelings of distrust as regards any future appointment from the same quarter.

“ On reviewing the whole case as it presents itself, I cannot but hope that much good may be the issue. The course recently pursued at St. Saviour's, seems to me to have been a very dangerous experiment upon the Church of England; and I am willing to believe that its most signal failure will prove a beacon of warning to many who may have embarked in a similar course—convincing them that there is no safety for the belief or principles of any congregation, if a system be introduced which contravenes the spirit of the Church of England, favouring the nearest possible approximation to the Romish faith and ritual, through the revival of obsolete usages never recognised by our church, and thus rendering the transition easy to that reprobated communion—a system which endeavours, in many instances, to substitute a mystical and bewildering excitement that overawes and enthrals the minds of the people, for that reasonable service which is the worship of the understanding as well as of the spirit,—a system which habitually presents to the mind ideas and shadows, of which our church has rejected the substance; thereby creating a morbid yearning which can be satisfied with nothing less than the repudiated reality.

“ Surely recent events cannot fail to teach all who have *fostered such a system*, that if they will persevere, in spite of repeated warnings, and multiplied instances of the disastrous consequences, in leading the young, the weak, or the wilful, to the brink of the precipice, they are responsible if the dizzy eye or the rash footstep shall plunge their followers in the gulf beneath; nor will the same events less emphatically warn our younger brethren in the ministry *to withdraw themselves from the guidance of those dangerous teachers who thus bring*

*them to the verge, if not within the very circle of perilous error ; and should they fall, seem to think that the last act by which they renounce the communion of our church, is the only one which is to be censured or lamented.*

“ ‘ Happily, the progress of the evil, in the case immediately before us, has been seasonably arrested. The church of St. Saviour’s is vacant, by the resignation or departure of all who lately officiated there, and every vigilance and precaution will be used to obviate the recurrence of that which has called forth our animadversions.

“ ‘ May those occurrences, my reverend brethren, which have occasioned your address, together with others of a similar character elsewhere, prevail with all who call themselves members of our communion, to cling with a cordial and undivided attachment to the numberless blessings which we enjoy in our Reformed Church,—to maintain its unadulterated doctrine, and its seemingly ordinances, as far as may be, in all their integrity—so that we neither exaggerate that to which it has given no prominence, nor suppress aught which it has emphatically ratified ; but accept and use that interpretation of Holy Scripture which is taught in our Articles and Liturgy, in its natural and obvious meaning. May we all devoutly acknowledge the wonderful Providence which enlightened the fathers of our church with the beams of heavenly truth, and guided them between the extremes of a blind and indiscriminating superstition, on the one hand, and of an irreverent neglect of all decent ceremonial, a profane contempt for holy seasons and holy places, on the other. Let us show by our lives that those external helps, beyond the recognised usages of our church, after which many long with an undue desire, are not necessary to purify the heart and elevate the affections, are not essential to the fostering of humility, deadness to the world, and a self-denying love to Christ ; but that in all which can adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour, the life-giving verities of His pure gospel, and a living faith in our crucified Redeemer, can furnish us with the most cogent motives to holiness and obedience.

“ ‘ But beyond this, may these events prove a powerful inducement to brotherly union among all who are faithful sons of that reformed church whereof we are ministers. And, seeing how much division dissipates the force and efficacy of our labours, let us bring our united energies to bear upon that vast and rapidly increasing population which lies before us. As ambassadors of Christ, let us call upon them with one heart and one voice, beseeching them, in Christ’s name, that they be reconciled to God ; and may we be mercifully permitted to see much fruit from such combined efforts, in the conversion of many sinners, and in the advancing edification of the people of God.

“ ‘ That such may be the issue of all our doings, my reverend and dear brethren, is the fervent wish and continued prayer of

“ ‘ Your faithful and affectionate friend and brother,

“ ‘ C. T. RYON.’ ”

The whole progress of these events is certainly very instructive. And in no particular is it more so than in the corrobora-

tion it affords to those cautions we have so often given against placing any confidence in what are called Church Principles by Dr. Pusey's party. Mr. Macmullen's Romanizing tendencies were no secret; but then the party who employed him seem to think, as the Bishop of Ripon has with equal justice and discrimination remarked, that when their disciples *fall*, "the last act by which they renounce the communion of our church, is the only one which is to be censured or lamented." Again, look at the further development of principles here exhibited. Mr. Macmullen is sent from Oxford to Leeds "by the leading trustee of St. Saviour's Church," "not only," says the Bishop of Ripon, "without any licence from me, but even without my knowledge or consent." And of Mr. Ward his lordship says, in his reply to the address from some of Mr. Ward's late congregation at St. Saviour's—"He is fully conscious that he has *weakly yielded to the sinister influence of others*, and has, in some instances, *consented to act in direct contravention of the spirit of my admonitions and injunctions*"—words which cannot but appear most pregnant and significant to any one who will take notice of the remarkable mildness and forbearance with which his lordship's replies are written. Surely if these repeated discoveries of the self-will and sectarianism of this party be not sufficient warning to all, whether in the ministry, or out of it, "to withdraw themselves from the guidance of those dangerous teachers," it is impossible that any number of secessions to Rome can have much effect. The principles are false. The teaching is erroneous. The moral and spiritual effects are plainly and immediately pernicious. Those who require the final catastrophe to convince them of the danger of following such teachers, are very unlikely to be awakened from their delusion, until the agony of an irrecoverable fall has taught them, that he who leads youth and inexperience to trifle on the verge of a precipice is an unsafe guide, even if he be an honest one. At all events, no one can expect to have his own principles confided in, who allows the public to be in doubt whether he has any connexion with the party who are the advisers and abettors of such proceedings. The time for such forbearance is gone by long ago. A silence which might once have been excused on the ground of private friendship and personal considerations, the events of the last few years have rendered tantamount to criminal connivance, and a betrayal of the cause of truth and the peace of the church.

## THE SCARCITY.

WHATEVER relief may be afforded by the measures which have been recommended by government to the adoption of the legislature, the accounts daily received from almost all parts of Ireland prove that the destitution is such, as not only to require every assistance that can be given from private resources, while legislative relief is coming into course of operation, but that it is impossible at present to calculate whether any relief that can be given, public or private, can do much more than mitigate individual suffering, and in some degree diminish the fearful sum of depopulation. Thousands, tens of thousands, are at this moment in such a state of emaciation and decay, from a long continuance of deprivation of all wholesome food, that no human power or stretch of Christian charity can do more than prolong their existence a little longer. All the wealth of England could not bring back the health and strength they have lost. Well would it be if those who taught the public to laugh at their misery until that misery was incurable, would reflect on the responsibility they were incurring when they were labouring to steel men's hearts against the cry of the poor, the widow, and the orphan. Well will it be for England, if the utter heartlessness of such writers should destroy that influence, which, for so many years, and on such a variety of questions, has given so false and mischievous a direction to the public mind.

We repeat it, that however imperative are the calls on Christian benevolence by every method which Charity can devise to avert the calamity, and stand between the living and the dead, —yet disease has superadded itself to the horrors of famine to such an extent, that nothing short of a miracle can save many parts of Ireland from being all but depopulated. Only a few days ago the deaths in the Cork workhouse amounted to 174 in eight days. In Bantry the fever hospital in the workhouse was so crowded in the beginning of this month, that the fever patients were five or six in a bed—and they were in the same state in the infirmary. A Dublin newspaper contains the following statement of the general condition of the workhouses in the middle and latter end of January :—

“ We have obtained returns of the mortality in the workhouses of Ireland for the last two weeks of January. For the week ending January 13, the number receiving relief was 108,500; the deaths were 1,405. For the week ending January 30, the number receiving relief was 110,561; the deaths had increased to 1,493.”

In fact, the state of the workhouses in many parts of Ireland is so frightful, that nothing but actual famine could induce the poor people to enter them. The workhouse in Bantry was built

to contain 600 paupers. There were on the 2nd February, 783 persons in it—most of them helpless old men, women, and children,—and of these 147 were in hospital. The deaths were then averaging at six per day. The following is the statement put forth by the guardians, and published in the *Cork Constitution*.

“The Bantry workhouse was built to contain 600 paupers; there were now in the house 783. The number in the house on the 31st of January, 1846, were 88; the number now in the fever hospital and infirmary is 147; the number in hospital on the 31st of January, 1846, was 15; and the deaths for the entire of the month of January, 1846, were 2; the number of deaths for the week ending the 30th of January, 1847, was 41. The number of paupers admitted this day, 78, with 30 more that were in before, were lodged in two small apartments, each about 14 feet by 20, called probationary wards, in which those miserable 108 persons were obliged to be fed, to use it as a day room, and to have some straw thrown to them on the ground floor to lie on at night, there being no clothes to give them, and if admitted into the main house with their own filthy rags on, would add to the awful mortality that was going forward in the workhouse. If the guardians refused them admittance into this miserable place, they would perish with hunger, aggravated by the cold of the weather. The Poor-law Commissioners have given the guardians the privilege to borrow money to meet the current expenses; but who would lend it? There were no funds in our treasurer’s hands for a considerable time past, and our cheques would not be cashed by him. The rate collectors were appointed on the 18th of January, and there were no lodgments yet made by them; and from the distress prevailing in this union, it was feared little, if any, of this rate could be collected—the entire of which rate, if collected, was now due to contractors. The contractors have hitherto supplied the house, but it could not be expected that they would continue to do so, as there were no funds to pay them. The contract for bread having expired (though it had been advertised for the last two successive weeks), no one has offered to take it but one person, and he would only bind himself to supply the house for one week, at the exorbitant price of 11d. for 4lbs. of brown bread, (the last contract being 8½d. for the 4lbs. of white and brown bread which might be required.) The guardians were glad to accept of his tender, as they had no other alternative except to turn the inmates out of the house to perish in the streets and roads. The inmates of the workhouse got but one meal this day, there being neither meal nor other food to give them a second. The fever hospital was only opened for the reception of patients on the 20th of last January, (and before the house was properly fitted up, so pressing was the necessity,) and there were now 54 patients in it, and much more accommodation required—in fact, as Capt. Flood described it, the town of Bantry was full of disease.”

Unhappily this is anything but a solitary case. The Castlebar Union has become celebrated by the deserved censures pro-

nounced by government on the persons concerned in its management. But many other instances of these houses being in a truly deplorable condition have been made known to the public, especially in the deeply interesting journals of Mr. Foster and his companions. This gentleman, who is a quaker of Norwich, undertook to travel through some of the most destitute districts, in order to inquire into the existing distress, and endeavour to open suitable channels for its relief. Mr. Forster set out from Dublin on the 30th of last November, and we have had the gratification of reading the accounts his fellow-travellers have given of his tour, in which, during four weeks, they visited several parts of Ireland, at no small cost of fatigue and personal suffering, a considerable part of the journey being performed, in the most inclement weather, on the open cars which in several parts of the country were the only conveyances to be procured. We shall have occasion hereafter to make several extracts from their letters, which reflect so much credit on these truly benevolent men ; but on this point of the condition of the Union poor-houses, the picture they present is perfectly appalling.

"The poor-house at Athlone is a large building, containing upwards of seven hundred persons. Here a miserable state of things presented itself; the Union being very much in debt and their credit exhausted: and the poor inmates have *scarcely clothes to cover them, and little if any bedding at night*. In a large room were more than two hundred boys, collected round a turf fire, which afforded the only light in the apartment, and though three windows were open, the close and oppressive smell indicated the want of a proper attention to cleanliness, and the boys were very ragged. There were about one hundred girls assembled in another apartment, the state of which was still more offensive. In the Athlone poor-house the inmates appear to be well fed and protected from the weather, and perhaps nothing more can be said as to the advantages they enjoy, but from the house being quite full, it is clear that the poor are beginning to appreciate these advantages during the present state of distress. The guardians, however, are so much in debt, owing above two thousand pounds, that they have given notice, that unless the rate is paid, they will be compelled to close the building, and turn these poor wretches out."

From Athlone they proceeded to Roscommon, and thence to Castlereagh.

"At the Castlereagh poor-house a shocking state of things presented itself, the poor inmates lying upon straw, and their dormitories being *in such a state of dirt, that W. F. was unable to venture into them*. In this poor-house there are at present 1080 paupers, but the last 434 were admitted in so hurried a manner, that *there is neither bedding nor clothes* for them, the measles being in the house, and a few cases of fever already, it is probable that if something be not speedily effected to remedy the evil, there will be a fearful mortality among the in-

mates. In the children's room was collected a miserable crowd of wretched objects, the charm of infancy having entirely disappeared, and in its place were to be seen wan and haggard faces, prematurely old from the effects of hunger and cold, rags, dirt, and deformity. In the school-room they spend some hours every day in hopeless, listless idleness: though there are both a schoolmaster and mistress, there are no books nor slates, nor any of the apparatus of a school. It was consoling, however, to notice that those children who have been in the poor-house a few weeks look so much better and healthier than those recently admitted, as to be easily distinguishable from them, and poor as the inmates seem, no doubt they are much better off in the house than out of doors, and they described their sufferings from famine previously to admission as being very great. One boy stated that he frequently passed an entire day at a time *without any food whatever*, and many saying that for several weeks they had not known what it was to have as much food as would satisfy their hunger."

Passing through Boyle, where they found the poor-house "in good order, and very clean and comfortable," they came to Carrick-on-Shannon, where the following scene is described:—

"At this place our first visit was to the poor-house, and as the Board of Guardians were then sitting for the admission of applicants, a most painful and heart-rending scene presented itself. Poor wretches in the last stage of famine imploring to be received into the house; women who had six or seven children, begging that even two or three of them might be taken in, as their husbands were earning but 8*d.* per day, which, at the present high price of provisions, was totally inadequate to feed them. Some of these children were worn to skeletons, their features sharpened with hunger, and their limbs wasted almost to the bone. From a number of painful cases the following may be selected. A widow with two children, who, for a week, had subsisted on one meal of cabbage each day—these were admitted into the poor-house, but in so reduced a state, that a guardian observed to the master of the house, that the youngest child would trouble them but a very short time. Another woman with two children, and near her confinement again, whose husband had left her a month ago to seek for work, stated that they had lived for the whole of this week upon two quarts of meal and two heads of cabbage. Famine was written in the faces of this woman and her children. In reply to a question from W. F., the guardians expressed their opinion that these statements were true. Of course, among so many applicants as there were in attendance, 110, a great number were necessarily refused admittance, as there were but thirty vacancies in the house. The guardians appeared to exercise great discrimination and impartiality in the selection of the most destitute objects, but some of those who were rejected were so far spent that it is doubtful if they would all reach their homes alive, as several of them had to walk five or six Irish miles. William Forster having expressed a wish to distribute bread to these poor creatures, that they might not go quite empty-handed



to their desolate houses, forty pounds weight of bread were procured, being all that, on so short a notice, could be obtained in the town of Carrick-on-Shannon. On this bread being given to them, the ravenous voracity with which many of them devoured it on the spot, spoke strongly of starvation, or of a state nearly approaching to it. One woman, however, was observed to eat only a very small portion of her bread, giving, as a reason, that she had five other children at home, to whom she was taking the bread, as without it there would not have been a morsel of food in their cabin that night. This poor-house is in a deplorable condition: there are 1050 inmates in it, which are considerably more than the number for which it was built. Of these, 170 are in the hospital, ill of typhus fever and dysentery, and there are no proper means of keeping the sick apart from the healthy. The deaths are at the rate of about twelve each week; while the guardians are so poor, and the Union so much in debt, that they obtain their daily food on credit. The workhouse is *unprovided with bedding*, inso-much that, *in the hospital, two and three poor creatures are lying in one bed*, and many of them have nothing but straw, while *in the poor-house at large there is nothing but straw for any of the inmates*. To persons who are aware of the extreme horror of fever entertained by the poor in Ireland, their anxiety to come into this workhouse affords an indication of the extent of suffering in the neighbourhood: the actual pressure of famine is such, as to compel them to run the risk of contagion to escape from positive starvation."

And yet, wretched as the state of these unhappy places is, the misery without is so much greater, that even the terror of contagious fever is not sufficient to deter the poor people from crowding into them. At a later period of the tour, we find the following, from which it would seem that a poor-house can be made so miserable, that starvation itself may be more tolerable elsewhere.

"We visited the poor-house at Glenties, which is in a dreadful state; the people were in fact *half-starved and only half-clothed*: the day before they had *but one meal of oatmeal and water*, and at the time of our visit *had not sufficient food in the house for the day's supply*. The people complained bitterly, *as well they might*, and begged us to give them tickets for work, to enable them to leave the place and work on the roads. Some were leaving the house, preferring to die in their own hovels rather than in the poor-house. Their bedding consisted of *dirty straw, in which they were laid in rows on the floor; even as many as six persons being crowded under one rug, and we did not see a blanket at all; the rooms were hardly bearable for filth. The living and the dying were stretched side by side beneath the same miserable covering!* No wonder that disease and pestilence were filling the infirmary, and that the pale haggard countenances of the poor boys and girls told of sufferings which it was impossible to contemplate without the deepest commiseration and pity."

It is to be hoped that with such facts before them, few persons

will be found disposed to question the necessity of an effectual revision of the Irish Poor-law. That, however, is a topic which we have no inclination to take out of the hands to whom the settlement of it belongs. Our business is, to make known the real state of Ireland at present; and the object of dwelling on the miserable condition of the Union poor-houses must be sufficiently obvious, as an illustration and a most convincing proof of the destitution of a country in which such refuges can find an inhabitant. When such poor-houses as these are over-crowded, the general state of the country may be easily guessed at. But we are not left to conjecture. The parish of Schull, in the county of Cork, contains 18,000 inhabitants, about 3,000 of whom are Protestants. Dr. Traill, the rector, stated, some time ago, in a letter which appeared in the Cork newspaper, that upwards of thirty-five persons were dying every day, and the number was daily increasing. Captain Caffin, commander of her Majesty's steam sloop, the *Scourge*, visited Schull, about ten days ago, in the discharge of his duty, and was driven by Dr. Traill through a portion of the parish. The letter in which Captain Caffin has given an account of what he saw, we reprint, because it is a document which should be preserved, and because it is not the statement of one who writes with the object of procuring assistance, but is describing the impressions made on a stranger; and because it fully corroborates what we have said, that the evil—we shall not say has been *suffered* to attain—but has attained such a height, that in many places it is impossible now to avert it, or to do anything beyond alleviation. And it will be well to remind the reader that, after all, this letter of Captain Caffin's does not even pretend to describe the state of the parish, but only of those parts most easily visited in a short drive—those most easy of access—most within reach of relief and assistance. The most remote and most desolate parts of this vast parish he did not see at all.

“ My dear Sir,—Having, in the course of my late duty (of discharging a cargo of meal, &c.) at Schull, been brought into direct contact with the distress that prevails there and in its neighbourhood, I venture to lay before you (feeling assured it would interest you in their behalf) that which I had ocular demonstration of.

“ In the village of Schull three-fourths of the inhabitants you meet carry the tale of woe in their features and persons, as they are reduced to mere skeletons, the men in particular, all their physical power wasted away; they have all become beggars.

“ In landing the meal, &c., they used all the cunning they possessed to avoid detection, in cutting open the mouths of the bags and purloining the contents; and it required great watchfulness to prevent it.

“ Having a great desire to see with mine own eyes some of the misery which was said to exist, Dr. Traill, the rector of Schull, offered

to drive me to a portion of his parish. I found there was no need to take me beyond the village to show me the horrors of famine in its worst features. *I had read in the papers, letters and accounts of this state of things, but I thought they must be highly coloured to attract sympathy; but there I saw the reality of the whole—no exaggeration, for it does not admit of it—famine exists to a fearful degree, with all its horrors!* Fever has sprung up, consequent upon the wretchedness; and swellings of limbs and body, and diarrhœa, from the want of nourishment, are everywhere to be found. Dr. Traill's parish is twenty-one miles in extent, containing about 18,000 souls *with not more than half a dozen gentlemen in the whole of it.* He drove me about five or six miles; but we commenced our visits before leaving the village, and in no house that I entered was there not to be found the dead or dying: in particularizing two or three, they may be taken as the picture of the whole—there was no picking or choosing, but we took them just as they came.

“The first which I shall mention was a cabin rather above the ordinary ones in appearance and comfort; in it were three young women and one young man, and three children, all crouched over a fire, and the pictures of misery. Dr. Traill asked after the father, upon which one of the girls opened a door leading into another cabin, and there were the father and mother in bed, the father the most wretched picture of starvation possible to conceive—a skeleton, with life, his power of speech gone—the mother but a little better; her cries for mercy and food were heart-rending; it was sheer destitution which had brought them to this. They had been well to do in the world, with their cow and a few sheep, and potato ground; their crops failed, and their cattle were stolen, although, anticipating this, they had taken their cow and sheep into the cabin with them every night, but they were stolen in the daytime. The son had worked on the roads, and earned his 8d. per day, but this could not keep the family, and he, from work and insufficiency of food, is laid up, and will soon be as bad as his father. They had nothing to eat in the house, and I could see no hope for any one of them.

“In another cabin we went into were a mother and her daughter; the daughter emaciated, and lying against the wall; the mother naked, upon some straw on the ground, with a rug over her, a most distressing object of misery; she writhed about and bared her limbs in order to show us her state of exhaustion. She had wasted away until nothing but the skin covered the bones; she cannot have survived till this time.

“Another that I entered had, indeed, the appearance of wretchedness without, but its inside was misery. Dr. Traill, on putting his head inside the hole which answered for a door, said ‘Well, Phillis, how is your mother to-day?’ he having been with her the day before. She replied, ‘Oh, Sir, is it you? Mother is dead.’ And there, fearful reality, was the daughter, a skeleton herself, crouched and crying over the lifeless body of her mother, which was on the floor, cramped up as she had died, with her rags and her cloak about her, by the side of a few embers of peat.

" In the next cabin were three young children belonging to the daughter, whose husband had run away from her, all pictures of death. The poor creature said she did not know what to do with the corpse ; she had no means of getting it removed, and she was too exhausted to remove it herself. This cabin was about three miles from the rectory.

" In another cabin, the door of which was stopped with dung, was a poor woman, whom we had taken by surprise, as she roused up evidently much astonished. She burst into tears upon seeing the doctor, and said she had not been able to sleep since the corpse of the woman had lain in her bed. This was a poor creature who was passing this miserable cabin, and asked the old woman to allow her to rest herself for a few moments. She had lain down, but never rose up again. She died in an hour or so from sheer exhaustion. The body had remained in this hovel of six feet square, with the poor old woman, for four days ; she could not get anybody to remove it. She said she trusted her sins were pardoned. She had prayed earnestly for forgiveness. She had been a wicked sinner, but God was merciful, and her Saviour was all-sufficient. She thought she could die, and longed to depart and be at peace, and she had blocked up the door that she might not be disturbed. She had some money—a trifle—by her ; but living four or five miles from the village, she could not get any food. She had asked her neighbours' children to buy her some, but they were too much taken up with themselves. She could not rise up, and could just manage to kneel. She had nothing to eat in her miserable hole, and I fear must be dead ere this.

" I could, in this manner, take you through the thirty or more cottages that we visited ; but they, without exception, were all alike—the dead and the dying in each ; and I could tell you more of the truth of the heart-rending scene, were I to mention the lamentations and bitter cries of each of these poor creatures on the threshold of death. Never in my life have I seen such wholesale misery, nor could I have thought it so complete. *I am convinced in that district it is not in human power to stay the evil ; it may be to alleviate it ; but this must be by a good organized system, and the supply chiefly gratuitous.* I am of opinion a number of naval surgeons should be employed, having under their orders a number of men—who might be selected from the lists of pensioners (if they could be highly recommended)—to have charge of certain districts, not only dispensing medicine where it may be required, but also food, on an order of the relief committee, to any person in their district. The pensioner or two who might be under each surgeon would not only assist in visiting, but in conveying the food and medicines, &c., to the poor ; and by being strangers to the localities, having no friends, would do this duty without partiality. The surgeons should act with the relief committees, but independent of them. A board of health is also now wanted, as *it cannot be expected but a pestilence will rage when the mass of these bodies decompose.* They have ceased to put them into coffins, or to have the funeral service performed, and they merely lay them a few inches under the soil.

" All that I have stated above I have seen with mine own eyes, and

can vouch for the truth of. And I feel *I cannot convey by words the impression left on my mind of this awful state of things.*

"I could tell you, also, of that which I could vouch for the truth of, but which I did not see myself, such as bodies half eaten by the rats; of two dogs last Wednesday being shot by Mr. O'Callaghan, whilst tearing a body to pieces; of his mother-in-law stopping a poor woman, and asking her what she had on her back? and being replied to that it was her son, telling her she would smother it. But the poor emaciated woman said it was dead already, and she was going to dig a hole in the churchyard for it.

*"These are things which are of every-day occurrence.*

"I trust you will pardon my having troubled you with this, and taken up so much of your time. I have given the counterpart of it to Sir Hugh Pigot; but thinking you might like to have it, has induced me to send it to you. I enclose one of Dr. Traill's letters; every word I can answer for the truth of. Pardon this hasty scrawl.

"Believe me, my dear Sir,

"Very faithfully yours,

"J. CRAUFORD CAFFIN."

"P.S.—There have been two or three *post mortem* examinations of those who have died, and they find that the inner membrane of the stomach turns into a white mucus, as if nature had supported herself upon herself, until exhaustion of all the humours of the system had taken place."

This is the state of *a part* of one single parish, containing 18,000 inhabitants, with not more than five or six gentlemen residing in it. What Dr. Traill (who, we firmly believe, never brought the case before the public until his private resources were exhausted) has himself done, will appear in the following short letter, which appeared in the Cork paper a few days ago:

"DISTRESS IN THE PARISH OF SCHULL.

*"To the Editor of the CORK CONSTITUTION.*

"Schull Rectory, Feb. 18th.

"Sir,—I made an error in my statement of the sum expended by me since the commencement of our distress, which I shall thank you to correct. Instead of 600*l.*, I find it is between 700*l.* and 800*l.*—an outlay which, serious as it is, the accumulating demands of every succeeding hour throw quite into the shade, when contrasted with our necessities.

"I may say of a truth, that the plague has begun. I am informed that they could not count the bodies which were brought for interment yesterday. One cart alone conveyed three, another two—all without coffins. Every house is filled with famine, and its attendants, fever—dysentery—dropsy—death. This is surely, Sir, a frightful picture. The storms of divine wrath are at length bursting in fearful vengeance over our guilty land; but I have long seen them

gathering on our horizon, and I am, therefore, not unprepared to hear their awful roll.

“In deep distress, I am, Sir, faithfully yours,

“ROBERT TRAILL, D.D.,

“Rector and Vicar of Schull, Chairman of the Schull

“Relief Committee.”

But, turning for a moment from the hideous scenes of misery which the west and south-west of Ireland are presenting, let us look at one of the most civilized parts of Ireland. The following letter, with which we have been favoured by the Rev. A. Irwin, secretary to his Grace the Archbishop of Armagh, shows, in the most striking manner, the extent of this calamity, and what sufferings it is entailing on the poor, even in the most favoured districts. For let it not be forgotten—although it is undeniable that a vast number of the landed proprietors in Ireland, particularly of the absentees, have acted in a manner most heartless and unfeeling—yet, even where the landlords have been mindful of their duties and responsibilities, there is an amount of destitution in existence (and who can tell what is still to be endured before the end of autumn?) which no private resources can pretend to supply. Mr. Irwin's letter, it will be seen, is in reply to a letter in which information was solicited.

My dear Sir,—As you ask me for some information relative to the state of the destitute poor in Armagh diocese, and the means in operation for relieving them, I shall, as briefly as I can, give you an account of the condition in which our affairs are at present; thanking you, first of all, for the interest you have manifested in the sufferings of the Irish poor, and for opening the pages of your magazine for the correspondence on this subject, which has been sent to you from the south and west. It would be a great mistake, however, if your readers were to suppose that distress of the most urgent kind, amounting to actual starvation, is confined to the country lying along the southern and western coast of Ireland. The approach of famine was, indeed, slower in the north; but it reached many districts of this diocese fully three months ago: and now the state of the poor is as deplorable in the mountain parishes in the counties of Louth, Armagh, and Tyrone, as in several parts of the country which have been brought more prominently before the public, and which have attracted general sympathy.

The Primate requested the clergy to furnish returns from their parishes of the number of persons “in extreme destitution,” and of the amount of aid already received for their relief from any sources, public or private. On the 11th of this month, the rural deans of the diocese assembled at Armagh to examine all these reports; and truly painful it was to go through the details which they furnished. No returns were asked for from the large towns of Drogheda, Dundalk, Newry, and Armagh, as there have been considerable funds supplied

by the wealthier classes resident in those towns to meet the wants of the poor in each of them. Omitting these, the accounts from the rural districts, when added up, presented a total of more than 72,000 persons "in extreme destitution." The parishes were then arranged in classes, according to the extent and degree of want which appeared to exist in each, in order that the sums of money transmitted to the Primate by friends in England, together with a subscription from his Grace himself, might be distributed among them. Those parishes which were placed in the first class, as being in the most lamentable state of all, are situated in the Fews mountains, and in that large tract of wild country which runs from Carlingford Bay to Crossmaglen, in the county of Monaghan. At the head of this list was the parish of Creggan, with a population of 15,500, of whom *five thousand* are suffering the extremity of want:—no resident landlord in the whole parish, and the amount of subscriptions from the non-resident proprietors, only 50*l*. The local subscriptions amounted to 220*l*; but of this, 100*l*. were given by the rector, a clergyman far advanced in life, fifty-seven years in the ministry, who is doing all in his power to sustain the famishing multitudes by whom he is surrounded. Newtown Hamilton, the adjoining parish, has a population of 7500, "more than one half of whom are unable to supply themselves with sufficient food and clothing;" no landed proprietor resides; and the subscriptions of the non-residents have reached but 50*l*. The benevolent rector endeavoured to find employment for the women in spinning flax, so as to enable them to contribute something towards the support of their families; 275 wheels were set to work; but the funds were insufficient to meet the expense of reviving this branch of trade; and the attempt had to be abandoned, in order to appropriate the money to the establishment of a soup-kitchen, so as prevent starvation from making its cruel inroads amongst them. It would be too wearisome to go through the details of the other parishes in this mountain district. I must forbear. The tracts of country which, in some respects, are more favourably situated, are suffering nearly equal privations,—equal in intensity, though such large numbers are not suffering in each of them. I inclose a copy of a letter addressed to the Primate from the Rev. John F. Lloyd, of Kilmore parish, near Armagh. It describes very accurately a state of things to be found in a great number of the parishes of this diocese.

An extract from another letter which was addressed to myself by the Rev. James Disney, the incumbent of Charlemont, about six miles from Armagh, will serve to show how the clergy are exerting themselves to alleviate the sufferings of the poor,—how indefatigable, in devising means to provide for their relief, and to guard, if possible, against a famine of still greater horrors, destroying the poor altogether next winter.

"I have a great many irons in the fire, which keep me tolerably busy attending to them. I have just dismissed a levy of knitters and needlemen. To-morrow, I will have another of tailors and shoemakers, all of whom are in great distress, and some very nearly

starving from want of employment. The clothes, which I get made up by giving them employment, I will sell at a very reduced price, to the poor, which will be a great help to them this season.

"I have got labour in the fields for twenty poor men, (who were starving for want of employment, which they were incessantly seeking,) by saying to some small farmers,—who are disabled this year from employing labourers as usual,—‘Here is a list of unemployed destitute men; set one or two of them at work at your farms, and I will pay them *half* their wages.’ I require a certificate that they have worked so many days, and that half their wages have been paid, and I pay the other half. If I had means to do this more extensively, I think I should have every man who could work in my parish engaged in a most profitable manner in the fields. If something of this sort be not done, I fear that a great deal of the land will not be half laboured. I am also giving to each of the poor famishing children in my schools a pennyworth of coarse but wholesome brown bread, which I get made up for them every day. I verily believe that many of them get nothing else during the day.

"In several instances, where one or two members of the family are prostrated by illness, I am obliged to give relief gratuitously; but this I do as little as I possibly can, and hardly ever in money."

The want of resident landlords in the country greatly aggravates the distress in many districts. Where the proprietors reside, a vast deal has been done to lighten the pressure of the calamity. The Duke of Manchester, the Earls of Gosford, Charlemont, and Caledon, Sir James Strong, Colonel Close, the Miss Richardsons, Mr. Bacon, and other persons of large estates, have manifested great liberality towards such of their tenantry as are in destitute circumstances.

With regard to the Primate, as you consider that my mentioning what his Grace has been doing, may be desirable,—not with a view to gratify idle curiosity, but in order to meet any unjust accusations that may be made against the prelates,—as if they did not manifest proper sympathy towards the poor in this time of calamity,—and in this way to strengthen the hands of those who are so generously exerting themselves in our behalf,—I shall state what has come under my own knowledge;—although, as you are well aware, this disclosure must be not a little repugnant to his Grace's feelings, and his wish to be allowed to dispense his bounty without attracting the attention of the world. The Primate has, from time to time, since the commencement of the famine, sent remittances to clergymen in different parishes; and wherever a relief committee is established in a district in which any portion of the see property is situated he subscribes to it, and notifies his readiness to renew the subscription whenever it may be needed: for the *only* effectual plan of sustaining the exertions which are made in each neighbourhood to relieve the poor, is by a *continuation of remittances*: these, when taken singly, may appear small, but, in the Primate's case, the sums which he has already placed at the disposal of the relief and diocesan committees, for gradual distribution, amount to 2000*l*. I am not so



well acquainted with what has been done on his Grace's distant estates ; but I know that the agent of his paternal property received directions, at the first appearance of the famine, to take care of all the destitute poor on it. Similar directions were given to the manager of his estate in the county of Tyrone. In his demesne at Armagh, he gave employment, previous to the commencement of any public works, to forty persons, in addition to the same number of labourers who have constant work under him, and to whose families he has for the last five months been supplying meal at half of the market price ; having, for this purpose, laid in a store of it, at an expense of more than 800*l*. All this expenditure is in addition, you will remember, to the ordinary flow of that perpetual stream of charity by which he relieves cases of individual suffering in every part of Ireland, of which I have no note, and but a small portion of which is known to me or any one but himself and the recipient, in each case of his bounty.

I quite agree with you, that, unless facts are very clearly and distinctly stated, persons in England, unacquainted with the circumstances of this country, may imagine, or, at least, may be led by others to imagine, that funds sent over from thence to the Protestant clergy, would be chiefly, if not exclusively, employed in relieving members of the established church. Nor am I at all surprised that some who are endeavouring to get help for us, are anxious that a question of such importance should be set at rest. With this view, the subject was mentioned to the rural deans at their meeting, and had any of our good friends in England been present, he would have needed no further satisfaction than the look of amazement with which they heard that it was possible some persons in England *might* require to be informed that the Irish clergy do not allow the question of religion to narrow their distribution of the funds entrusted to them. It is unnecessary to tell you that they *never* do. But I fully concur with you in considering it to be one's duty, at such a crisis as the present, to waive all feelings of delicacy, and to prevent the possibility of mistake on such a subject. So far is it from being the fact, that the clergy are taking exclusive care of the members of their own communion, that it never occurs to them to ask what is his religion, when a wretched applicant comes to them for help. And, when the rural deans, in consequence of their attention having been called to this point, came to look into the lists of poor who receive relief out of the funds which the clergy have collected, it was found that a far more numerous body of destitute Roman Catholics than of Protestants, in proportion to their relative numbers in the population of each parish, were assisted by means of the charitable exertions of the Protestant clergy. And if, on the one hand, the great majority of the poor who are receiving relief are Roman Catholics, on the other, the largest share of the local subscriptions raised for this purpose comes from the Protestants. For instance, in Kilmore parish, close to Armagh, where the subscriptions raised by the rector and curate amounted to 156*l*., only 6*l*. of that sum were contributed by Roman Catholics. As to introducing religious controversy into their parishes, none of them

had a thought of such a thing : they all felt how unsuitable it would be in a season like this. I inclose a letter from the Rev. William Quain, rector of Dungannon, and rural dean of the surrounding district : it was addressed to the Primate, and you are at liberty to make any use of it you may see fit.

I wished much to add a word relative to the state of our church societies, and the grievous manner in which they have suffered from this calamity : but I must not trespass farther. You can imagine, however, how much grieved I was to hear the Secretary of the Additional Curates' Society say, when I saw him a few days ago in Dublin, that the committee are now compelled to entertain the question of reducing the salaries allowed to the curates. In these times, when the prices of provisions are so increased, to reduce a curate's salary. Miserable, most miserable is the prospect which is now before these valuable men. How are they to live on salaries reduced below their present scanty amount, which scarcely affords them the means of support ?

I remain, yours very sincerely,

ALEXANDER IRWIN.

Armagh, Feb. 20, 1847.

The letters referred to in Mr. Irwin's letter were addressed to his Grace the Archbishop of Armagh, and, we have no doubt, will receive that attention which they deserve.

*To the Lord Archbishop of Armagh.*

Kildarton, Armagh, 15th Feb. 1847.

My Lord,—In obedience to your Grace's desire, I forward a brief statement of the state of destitution in my district.

Kildarton district is about four miles long and two wide, containing an area of 4875 acres, and a population of about 3750. To any one who is acquainted with the ordinary mode of living of the cottier, weaver, and small farmer, it must be evident how dreadful must be the distress consequent upon the total destruction of the potato crop. And I have not known of a single meal of potatoes to have been used in the house of any poor man in this district for the last three months. In ordinary years, potatoes were their entire food ; and most even of the small cottiers and weavers had a stock of their own, without buying ; and all their wages and earnings could be expended in paying their rents, buying fuel, and clothing, and various little comforts. This year, all that even those who are most constantly employed are able to earn does not suffice nearly to buy a sufficient quantity of meal alone. Great numbers, before they would let their distress be known, or apply for alms, have pawned all their articles of clothing, and many of them even their blankets—as the number of pawnbrokers' tickets, which are produced to me in those houses which apply for the first time for aid, testifies, and as, I am sure, the crowded state of the pawnbrokers' offices will certify ; so that they now refuse to advance money as they used to do on various articles. The large farmers, too, having suffered very much from the loss of

their potato crops, and the failure of the flax crop last year, are unable to give employment as in former years. A great many men have gone to England to look for employment, and have left their wives and children behind them in great distress.

At present there are 170 families, consisting of 748 individuals, receiving such inconsiderable aid as our funds enable us to afford to them. The greater part of these have been receiving aid since the middle of last November. All the aid which we have been able to give is, half a pound of meal or rice per diem for each member of the family. And, except in cases of sickness, old age, or total want of employment, we have sold the meal or rice at one penny a pound; otherwise our funds would have failed long since. This allowance does not last the families more than three, or at most four, days in the week, even at the most scanty diet; and many of these families are obliged to fast for three or four days in the week, until the day for receiving their fresh allowance (which is given out on Saturday in each week) comes.

Many of the weavers cannot now obtain yarn to follow their trade, the employers having ceased to give it to them. Those who do continue to weave, and who work nearly the whole night at their looms, and whose health is very much impaired by their incessant labour, cannot earn more than from 4s. to 5s. a-week; and this, at the present rate of provisions, would not supply a family of six (and many of them have eight or ten) for more than three days.

"In the immediate neighbourhood in which I live, there are at least *thirty* families, consisting of about 150 individuals, without any employment whatever. The heads of fifteen of these families were last week dismissed from a public work which is going on in this neighbourhood—but not in the barony of Armagh. The Relief Committee in Armagh having decided, that only those poor who live within the barony of Armagh shall be employed on public works for which presentments have been passed in the barony, and my district being partly in the barony of Lower Fews, and partly in that of Oneiland West—in neither of which has there been any extraordinary presentment passed; nor is there any public work carrying on for the relief of the destitute poor; whereas, in the adjoining baronies of Upper Fews and Armagh, there are large sums thus employed to relieve the poor—in the former 100*l.* per diem. And I really feel convinced, that if something more than has been hitherto done be not quickly done for the relief of the poor of this immediate neighbourhood, there will soon be a great number of deaths, (as there have been two, at least, already,) if not from starvation, at least from hardship and insufficient food, clothing, and firing. The funds which I have collected, although I have met with a great deal of unexpected liberality from the National Club, (who gave me 30*l.*), from Mrs. Manwaring, of Wilton-crescent, London, (who sent me 13*l.*), from the parishes of Great and Little Warley, (which have sent me 12*l.*, and promised as much more each month,) and from your Grace, are nearly exhausted, though I have used all the economy possible in distributing them. The larger farmers of the district have agreed to tax themselves four-

pence per acre upon their holdings, and the landlords generally have agreed to add as much more; but the apprehension of a compulsory rate in the electoral poor-law divisions, under the new Relief Bill, has made them suspend their payments for the present; at a time when, owing to the impossibility, from the state of the ground and the weather, of having any work done in the fields, the distress is considerably aggravated. These farmers, who, in their own great distress from the loss of their own crops, as above stated, have come forward with this very liberal offer, are more than ordinarily taxed by relieving strangers who apply at their houses. Four principal roads passing through the district—those from Armagh to Belfast, Richhill, Tanderagee, and Newry—are constantly thronged with poor from the north and west of Ireland, on their way to Glasgow and Liverpool. And the great numbers of poor, too, who are attracted to Armagh from all parts of the county, by the relief which is given in Armagh, wander about among the neighbouring farmers; and, as far as I have an opportunity of judging, are never refused a trifling aid, even by the poorest farmer, as long as they have anything to share.

A committee has been formed of farmers of all different denominations, (there being no resident gentleman in the district,) with the sanction of the Earl of Gosford, the Lieutenant of the county, and they work together with the greatest harmony. The number receiving relief is about equal, of Protestants of the different denominations and Roman Catholics.

I am quite sensible that I have made a very inadequate statement of the destitution of my district.

I have the honour to be

Your Grace's obedient and obliged humble servant,

HENRY PURDON DISNEY.

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Dungannon, Feb. 11, 1847.

My Lord,—As your Grace, I well know, feels deeply anxious on the subject of the appalling distress and destitution which now prevails throughout this country, I beg to communicate some particulars as to what has been done for the relief of the suffering poor in this part of your Grace's diocese.

My feeling, from the time it became necessary to take measures for the relief of the poor, has been, that all religious distinctions should be merged in the primary consideration of rescuing them by all available means from the horrors of starvation. I thought that an appeal for pecuniary aid ought to be made to persons of every class of society and every religious denomination, and, to make this effectual, that the co-operation of influential persons of all denominations would be indispensable. Accordingly, accompanied by the priest, the presbyterian Minister, and three members of my own congregation, I went through the town with a subscription list, and succeeded in obtaining about 300*l*. I then, with one of the churchwardens, went (scrupulously avoiding to make any distinction whatever as to religious denomination) through every house in the parish in which it was probable that any destitute person lived, and took down the name, number of family,

amount of employment, &c. A book was then prepared, with these particulars carefully set down.

This book I carefully examined to-day, and it appears that there are 420 families belonging to this parish, who are receiving assistance from our relief fund. They may be described as follows:—

Protestant families	.	.	.	.	80
Roman-catholic ditto	.	.	.	.	342

The ratio of relief, therefore, administered to the two classes is higher than four to one.

A soup kitchen has been in operation for some time past, and soup is given out to these families on Mondays and Wednesdays, at the rate of one halfpenny the quart.

On Fridays, meal is distributed to them, at the rate of one penny the pound; and to consult the feelings of the Roman Catholics, the days for giving soup were fixed as now stated.

A society for the relief of the destitute sick has likewise been established. This is entirely under my own superintendence, while its operations are extended to the relief of the poor of all denominations. By means of the public works—the soup kitchen—the distribution of meal at one-third (nearly) its cost price—and the sick-room-keepers' society—the sufferings of our poor have, I am rejoiced to inform your Grace, been much alleviated, and there has been no instance among us of death from destitution.

The spirit of my proceedings here may be inferred from the preceding statement: it consists in making no religious distinctions in relieving the destitute, in procuring money wherever it can be had, and applying it to the relief of Protestants and Romanists indiscriminately; the only condition ever contemplated being the reality of suffering—the only question ever asked being, “Is the applicant really in want?”

There is a season for all things; the present is not the season for engaging in the work of proselytism. Controversial discussion with a starving people is plainly most unsuitable, and would only have the effect of depriving charity of all its graciousness.

A similar spirit actuates the whole body of your Grace's clergy in this part of your diocese. I can testify that they toil day after day—they attend relief committees most assiduously—they search out poverty in its most wretched haunts—they solicit subscriptions from every quarter—they strive with every energy of mind and body—and they do so emphatically for all,—for the suffering Roman Catholic as well as for the suffering Protestant. This, my Lord, is the simple truth, and your Grace will find that no one can or will gainsay it. It is not pleasant to speak of oneself, or the body to which one belongs, but sometimes it is necessary to do so to satisfy the claims of common justice, and to counteract the injurious influence of erroneous impressions.

The amount of relief administered here to Romanists and Protestants I have stated above to be as four to one. I write by this day's post to several clergymen in this neighbourhood, to inquire what

is the proportion in their parishes; and I am sure it will be found to be much higher in some—so high as ten to one. When their answers arrive, I will do myself the honour of communicating their purport to your Grace.

I have the honour to be,  
Your Grace's most obedient servant,  
His Grace, the Lord Primate. W. QUAIN.

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Kilmore, Richhill, Feb. 12, 1847.

My Lord,—In accordance with the desire expressed in your Grace's letter, I beg to furnish you with a faithful and accurate description of the state of destitution in this portion of your Grace's diocese. This district is four miles long and four broad, and contains about 4000 inhabitants. The population being very dense, there are few large farms in it; the great majority of them being only from two to ten acres in extent, and in consequence of the practice of subletting, which owing to the nature of the tenure, is very prevalent here. There are upwards of 800 families of mere cottiers; that is, nearly one half the population, who have no land excepting a small garden, for which they usually pay a much higher rent than its real value. The principle on which our committee has hitherto acted in the administration of relief is this:—

Our funds being limited, we do not relieve those families who have any saleable property in land or otherwise,—anything, that is, which can be converted into food,—inasmuch as there are so many families who have no property of any description, nothing to fall back upon in case of necessity, and who being unable to earn a sufficiency for their support, or being out of employment, or disabled by sickness, must necessarily starve unless relieved by the public. There are now 258 such families on our relief list, containing about 1200 individuals: of these there are 81 families who weave, and who last year could earn from two to six shillings per week by the loom, but many of the poor weavers are now disabled for work by sickness, caused by over-exertion, or by endeavouring to work on insufficient food; whilst many others are unable at the present time to procure any employment at all, their employers being unwilling to trust them with yarn, from the fear that they might be driven by hunger to dispose of it. The great majority of the remaining 177 families have now no employment of any description, the farmers being unable to maintain labourers, as they did in former years, and these families are consequently entirely dependent on our committee for their support. Our funds being very limited, we cannot afford to give more than will maintain each family, on the smallest possible allowance, for three days out of the seven in the week. How the majority of them subsist during the remaining four days in the week, it would be difficult to tell. Many of them live on turnips—many are unable to procure even this species of food, and I speak from personal knowledge of the facts, when I state, that very many families are frequently two and three days together without tasting a morsel of food. The consequences of

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all this privation and suffering are too plainly visible in their countenances; pale, and worn, and haggard, they are daily becoming more and more incapacitated for work. Diseases of various kinds, particularly dysentery, are to be found in almost every house, and, to add to their sufferings, their houses are cold and comfortless; fuel being extremely expensive here, they cannot afford to purchase it, and yet most of them have been forced by hunger to pawn almost every good article of wearing apparel or bed-clothing they possessed. Many families have no blankets of any description. Hunger and cold, by day and by night, cannot fail to produce their last sad effects upon their debilitated frames. I have carefully examined the parish register, and I find that the deaths are now more than treble what they have been in any former year, and they are constantly and rapidly increasing. No deaths have, I believe, been occasioned as yet by actual starvation, for the rector or his curates are sure to hear of the case before it reaches such an extremity; but the fearful increase in the number of deaths, as shown by the parish register, is, I have no doubt, occasioned by debility and sickness, caused by the severe privations which the poor are now undergoing. I may add, that most of the poor families in this district are bearing their sufferings with exemplary patience.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord, your Grace's very obedient humble servant,

JOHN FRED. LLOYD.

P.S.—I should have mentioned that the number of families on our relief list is increasing every week, and I may add, too, that although it is contrary to our rule to relieve those who have saleable property in land, yet many families who hold small farms, preferring to undergo any privation rather than part with their land, are enduring almost all the sufferings I have described above.

With regard to the proportion of relief received by the Protestant and Roman-catholic poor, the letter of Mr. Quain is a representation of the general state of things in Ireland. The following extract from a private letter from the Rev. Mr. Crosthwaite,\* of Durrus, received within these few days, not only proves that the same state of things exists in other districts, but gives some insight into the causes of Roman-catholic poverty.

“It would seem, from different paragraphs that I have read, that many persons in England imagine that the protestant clergymen here

\* The Rev. J. C. Crosthwaite begs to acknowledge the receipt of the following sums forwarded to him for the poor of the parish of Durrus, since the publication of the February number of the *Magazine*:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Rev. R. Mayo . . . . .	6	10	6	Miss Goring . . . . .	20	0	0
N. Fenn, Esq. 2nd donation . . . . .	5	5	0	Friend, per F. Rivington, Esq. . . . .	2	0	0
Friends in Oxford . . . . .	5	0	0	A Friend of the Brit. Mag. . . . .	0	10	0
Rev. W. J. Trower . . . . .	20	0	0	Mrs. Steel . . . . .	1	0	0
Mrs. W. J. Trower . . . . .	5	0	0	Mrs. Cheap . . . . .	1	10	0

are in the habit of confining their distribution of charity almost entirely to protestants, but a greater mistake could not possibly be made than to suppose such a thing. In all parts of Ireland with which I am acquainted, the very opposite is the fact. I have been in many different parts of Ireland; since I was ordained I have been placed in seven different parishes in this county; in none of them was the proportion of Roman catholics to protestants less than eight to one, and in every one of them the applicants for relief always were in a higher ratio—i. e., for one protestant looking for relief from me, there were a great many more than eight or ten Roman catholics. And I know it had been the case with the clergymen who preceded me, and I saw it to be the case with those under whom I acted as curate. How is it here now? Of the hundreds who have got relief at my house to-day, I am safe in saying that *not one thirtieth of the persons* relieved were protestants, nor *one thirtieth part of the relief* given to protestants. In fact, they are not, generally speaking, so much in want of charity. The fact is plainly proved in my parish at present, because, out of about 2000 on the public works, there are not 120 protestants. That there are some cases of miserable wretchedness amongst the poor protestants is, alas! too true, and that some have died, and are dying, of starvation, is also a sad fact. There are a few protestant families in this parish that are as miserable instances of wretchedness as it is possible to conceive; but they are persons of depraved and idle habits, who have always been in want, and whom I should think it wrong to encourage in wicked idleness. I know in towns the poor protestants have suffered more than they have in the country parishes, but I believe the proportion of wretchedness has in every place been greater, vastly greater, amongst the Roman catholics. It is a common remark in Ireland, if one sees a cabin of a cleaner and tidier appearance than ordinary, 'That is like a protestant home;' or if one gets into conversation with a stranger on the road, dressed in a more respectable way than ordinary, it is not an uncommon remark, 'I suppose you are a protestant.' Many will say that it must be so, for there is something degrading in the Roman-catholic system, both of doctrine and discipline; but, without entering into that question at all, there is enough in the pecuniary demands upon Roman catholics to cause a great difference, in the lapse of time, in the circumstances of the two sections of the population. The priests' incomes, and the building and repairs of the chapels, have been a heavy tax, from which protestants are exempt. And these demands are not like the voluntary contributions of the protestant dissenters in England. The priests' dues in Ireland are, to a considerable extent, a regular charge, and compulsory on the people. Their superstitious awe of the priest's curse, and the system of intimidation, and worse than intimidation, by which he rules them as with an iron rod, is quite enough, in ordinary times, to insure the payment of their dues with tolerable regularity. This being the case, the Roman catholics have hitherto been subjected to a heavy tax, which protestants had not to pay. Again, early marriages have prevailed much more amongst the Roman-catholic body. In this parish, for instance, where I have a rural population of about 700



protestants, I know several young men who had grown up to the age of 35 or 40, and had houses and farms of their own for years before they entered on married life. I could point out similar cases in the parishes adjoining this, and in the other parishes in which I have myself lived. But it is not so among the Roman-catholic part of the population; *I do not recollect one instance* in this great parish of a Roman catholic entering upon a house and farm until he is married, or remaining unmarried beyond the age of 23 or 25. I doubt whether there is one such. I do not say whether it is wise that it should be so or not, I am merely mentioning the fact. Indeed, it could hardly be otherwise, for the fee for marriage amongst the Roman catholics in Ireland amounts to more than all the fees added together that the young couple will have to pay for some years after they are married. Two pounds has been by no means an uncommon sum for the priest to exact as his fee from a poor couple, who have each lived *as servants in farmers' houses at the wages of five shillings a quarter*, and have been advised to marry *because they may have saved sufficient to pay the marriage money*. In the case of those poor creatures who rise to the scale of more respectable poverty, and are looked upon as *farmers*, from 5*l.* to 20*l.* is by no means uncommon as a marriage fee; the latter sum being paid by men whose whole stock may perhaps consist of five or six miserable cows and a horse. Now such being the case, I would ask, whether we can wonder that the priests should endeavour to get up as many marriages as possible. It is their interest to do it, and they have done it; and it has been one great cause of the greater degree of poverty existing amongst the Roman catholics than exists amongst protestants in the agricultural districts. In fact, the poverty by which we are surrounded, and for the relief of which we have sought the assistance of our benefactors in England, is *Roman-catholic poverty*. I do assure you, that in seeking that assistance, *the protestants have not entered into my mind*; for I could have given them all the assistance they needed myself. And so entirely is it the feeling of the clergy here, that a neighbouring rector asked me the other day, whether I thought he should be at liberty to expend 10*l.* which he had received from a member of his own family, on the relief of the poor protestants, for that he found he was giving *everything* to the Roman catholics. And it is just so—the crowd at my door has been so dense on many days lately, that the poor protestants have waited on the road to get an opportunity of speaking to me when I rode out through the parish, being utterly unable even to make their way to the hall-door, through the more destitute Roman catholics. And destitute indeed they are—more destitute than it is easy for you to conceive.”

In such a state of things, and where the whole income of the priest is to be made up from (so called) voluntary contributions, it is not to be wondered at that the person to whom the poor look for relief is the Protestant clergyman—especially as the priest would be likely to meet the applicant with a cross account for arrears of fees and dues. Even in the present fearful distress, we happen to know, from the most unquestion-

able sources of information, that priests to whom money has been entrusted for distribution have acted in this way, and that those who have had the courage to apply to them for some part of those funds (and very few have had the courage to do so) have been met with demands for fees long due, and in some cases have actually been driven away with the horsewhip. The following statements we have on the authority of a clergyman, whose veracity we have no hesitation in vouching for.

"You must know that, in some places, the men on the public works have consented to subscribe a few halfpence or pence weekly for the purpose of making up a fund for assisting persons disabled from their work by sickness or accidents, or for the purpose of buying coffins. On one of the roads in this parish such a fund was established, and the overseer being a great friend of the priest, the money was lodged in the priest's hands; the first week's collection was about six pounds, and the first application made for relief was the following:—A poor man, who had been working in a quarry, was disabled by a rock falling upon him in such a manner as to bruise his body and limbs to a frightful extent. The overseer accordingly gave his family a letter of recommendation for the purpose of obtaining from the priest a share of the funds. The latter stated him to be a fit object to receive *five shillings*, (not 5*s.* a week, but *the one sum.*) What was the poor sufferer's indignation, however, when his little son, whom he had sent with the application, came home crying, having received only 1*s.* 6*d.*, —and been beaten by the priest with his horsewhip, to mend the matter. Now the little boy I know well: he is a shy, quiet, nice little fellow, far from being likely to provoke such treatment. The whole matter has caused great dissatisfaction amongst some of the best disposed of the Roman catholics; for the poor man who had met with the accident was one of the best-conducted and most industrious in the whole parish. I have visited him and assisted him. He lives about eight miles from here, in the heart of the wildest of our wilds.

"Another circumstance I will mention. The priest was called the other day to visit a poor woman, who thought she was dying. I had heard of her illness, and had sent her half-a-crown; but when the priest went to her, she told him she was utterly unable to pay him anything, and he was obliged to anoint her *gratis*. Well, the poor woman recovered, and hearing that the priest had received some money to distribute amongst the poor, she went to beg for some portion; but no: she was driven away with the horsewhip, *because when she was anointed she would not pay him*. Her answer was, 'Why, your reverence, all the money I had was half-a-crown I got from the minister.' But that made no difference; she was driven away with the peace-giving salutation, 'Go along, you thief.'"

These stories will require no comment.

The following letters are taken from among a number marked for extract:—

" *To the Editor of the CORK CONSTITUTION.*

" 'They die so slowly, that none call it murder.'—S. T. COLERIDGE.

" 'He hath dispersed abroad, and given to the poor.'—PSALM cxii.

" Dear Sir,—It is a happy thing for my countrymen, pining with hunger or agonizing under lingering disease, that friends are rising up to help them. It is no longer said, 'why should we aid the poor on another's property?' A better spirit is abroad—there is a disposition evinced to listen to the cry of suffering humanity, from whencesoever it may proceed. The character of the charitable man described by the Psalmist, 'he hath dispersed abroad and given to the poor,' is becoming general. Recent circumstances lead me to make these remarks. 'A Catholic Lady' in Cork read of the sufferings of the peasantry in the parish of Clondrohid, and sent me her mite through the post-office. She will not have her name made known, perhaps feeling that good deeds, when ventilated, lose their fragrance. An English officer was lately shooting in this parish. He learned the craving wants of the people—he tells his wife and near relatives in England what he has seen, and in a few days he put their liberal offerings into my hands for a soup kitchen for the sick and needy. Let us hope our Soup Fund will not derive all its support from strangers only. We trust that those connected with the parish will give some monthly aid to our funds. How much of suffering would our poorer brethren have been saved, if soup kitchens had been timely got up in every parish! Two men were lately here, whose appearance manifested that spirit-quenching want had long been their familiar guest. They have waited for work since the end of October. They assured me they left home fasting, and had nothing to eat when they returned. One has six, the other seven to feed. They came again to know 'if I could give any account when the works would begin.' They said that all they and their families had had for the two previous days was '*a little warm water, with a grain of salt in it.*' The patience of the people is very remarkable. While suffering all the pangs of hunger, they meekly say, 'If it is the will of God, the work will soon overtake them.' A woman was here a few days since to have her boy recommended for work; her husband was on the roads, but she had eight in family, and *five* of her children were 'lying down' with influenza—one man's wages would not feed them all. I was in her cabin—her sad tale was true. As I left the hovel, a man put a pawnbroker's ticket into my hand; his coat was pledged. A man came to tell me 'he'd change if he could get anything for his children.' I remarked, he must think badly of our religion if he supposed we bought converts. He felt my rebuke, but said 'he'd do anything to feed his children.' A girl, about twelve years old, was here on Thursday, to ask for an order to the poorhouse; she had spent the previous night in the open air, ill sheltered by a rock from the pelting showers of heaven. Her scanty dress was drenched; her eyes were half closed with cold—she could not restrain her tears as she told her story. She is an orphan, and has resided hitherto in the most poverty-stricken part of the parish (Carriganimee). I asked her why none of the neighbours gave her shelter. She answered with eat simplicity, 'They'd be afraid I'd steal.' It must be that the

burden of her support was too great for the family that had harboured her since her parent's death. Before I went to church to-day, I was asked for aid for a family living in a wild and distant glen. The father died yesterday of fever, *three* of the children are 'down' with fever now. In the evening, a man came from his sick bed to ask for an order for soup without the usual payment (one halfpenny a quart) till he should get work on the roads. He has been six weeks ill, and is now more fit for the hospital than for the roads, but he has five children to feed. As I rode to Macroom lately, I saw about twenty men lying by the roadside. I asked why they were not working, 'it was dinner hour, they said, they had *no dinner to go home to*, their wives and sisters had no dinner to bring to them.' To go on would weary you—here we have no gentry—no shopkeepers to meet together, to subscribe their one, two, or three pounds to the soup fund; no families to send broken victuals to the soup kitchen. Two or three men cannot supply nearly 4000 famishing people with their daily bread; we must then look abroad. Next week we shall have two caldrons (one of one hundred gallons, the other of eighty) daily filled with nourishing soup for the sick and weak. But to keep these boilers filled, we must ask aid from those who feel for the children of wretchedness. It has been said, 'that the pleasure which accompanies acts of charity is a decisive proof that God intended to make us happy, in proportion as we are able and willing to promote the happiness of others.' Let, then, such of your readers as have the world's goods in abundance, seek for enjoyment, the purest man can enjoy on earth, by promoting the happiness and comfort of their poorer brethren. For our part, we will go on in the faith that all needful support will be continued to us. Hitherto God hath wonderfully blessed our efforts. He hath raised up friends to the poor in this parish, when we looked not for them—we make our case known, and trustfully leave the issue in His hands.

—Very truly yours,  
"J. T. KYLE.

"Clondrohid Rectory, Jan. 10, 1847."

*"To the Editor of the CORK CONSTITUTION.*

"Castletownsend Dispensary, January 20th, 1847.

"Sir,—I feel that I should not have discharged my duty to the suffering creatures amongst whom I am labouring, did I not make some allusion through your columns to the misery which to so fearful an extent prevails in parts of the parish of Castlehaven; but as your kindness has already been too much trespassed on by tales of misery, I shall do so as briefly as possible.

"Within the last ten days I have been called on to visit about 130 cases of fever, independent of numerous applications at the Dispensary from persons labouring under other diseases, consequent on insufficient and improper food.

"In a group of houses in a remote part of the district, I saw thirty, and in an adjoining group about forty cases of fever, combined with, or perhaps I should rather say caused by, the *most extreme destitution*. In the majority of cases whole families are prostrated by it, and crowded together on the same handful of straw, in a corner of their

miserable cabin, from which every vestige of furniture has disappeared, having been sold to procure food or used as firewood. I saw a family who had just recovered from fever exerting their feeble strength in breaking up for firing the *dresser*, which in better days had been the pride of the cottage.

"I will mention a few cases, from which a faint idea of the existing state of things may be obtained. About a week since I saw a man named Collins with his four children on the same bed in which I had seen his wife dying a few days before. Their only nourishment was water, and their only attendant a child six years old. The poor fellow, in the delirium of fever, went out and was found at night wandering naked amongst the rocks, and half dead with cold. In the adjoining house, a poor woman named Carty was breathing her last. A little further on, a man asked me to look at his only remaining child, three others having died within the last few days; and another poor fellow asked some assistance to bury the second of his children which had died since the previous Sunday. A few days ago, a poor famine-stricken creature called on me to visit her two brothers and sisters who were ill, saying that her mother and eldest brother had died the week before. On paying a second visit in three days after, I found the poor creature who had summoned me *lying dead*, and since that, two other brothers and a sister have died, making six adults who have been taken from one family, and I fear that by the time this reaches you, the remaining one will be no more. I saw a poor fellow named Wholly in a cabin not five feet high; he said that one of his children had just been buried, and in less than a week, he and his two other children were in their graves. A poor man named Crowle, with his child, lay unburied for five days in the midst of his family, (who were then and still are in fever,) owing to the fear of contagion, which exists to such a degree as to render it difficult to procure a person, even for payment, who would venture either to remove the dead or minister to the wants of the living.

"I could give a lengthened catalogue of such cases, but will only say that I know South Reen, and have been through almost every cabin in Skibbereen, in both of which places misery in the extreme exists, but I grieve to say that I could point out places in the parish of Castlehaven which would bear comparison with either.

"Noble efforts have been made by the resident gentry here towards the alleviation of the distress, but anything which can be done by private benevolence must be but as a drop in the bucket.

"I remain, Sir, your very obedient servant,

"DAVID HADDEN, M.D."

#### NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Editor feels it necessary to assure one of his correspondents, that "the pages of the British Magazine are not in future to be [he believes they never were] open to persons who accuse their brethren without daring to show their own face." On the other hand, they are not open to those who think to meet what they profess to consider as "heavy charges" against "orthodoxy," and "scandalous insinuations" by *nothing more* than idle talk about a "system of stabbing in the dark." One is tired of it; and it is really not worth printing. If his correspondent has a *single* word to say in *disproof* of the charges, or to show that the insinuations are scandalous, every attention shall be paid to it.

THE  
BRITISH MAGAZINE.

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APRIL 1, 1847.

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ORIGINAL PAPERS.

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THE NORWICH PRAYER-BOOK.

DEAR SIR,—You are aware that a copy of the Book of Common Prayer is in existence, or, at all events, was in existence, in which certain notes, written, as it was alleged, by King Charles I., were inserted. The book was formerly in the Public Library at Norwich; but in the year 1766 it was in private hands. I have not been able to trace it since that period, but I have no doubt the book is still in existence, and probably some of your readers may be able to inform the public of the present possessor of the volume.

Several copies were, I believe, taken of the notes; but I am not aware that they have ever been printed. It appears to me, that they possess so much interest, that many of your readers will be glad of an opportunity of reading them for themselves. You will perceive that many of the alterations were actually adopted in the Scottish Book of 1637.

A friend of mine has a Prayer Book, in which the notes in question were inserted by a former possessor, in the year 1766. From this volume I send you a copy for insertion in your magazine. The following memorandum is in the hand in which the notes are copied :—

“Copied from MS. notes said to be written by the King’s own hand in a Common Prayer Book in 4to, 1632, now in possession of the Rev. Mr. Primall, at Norwich, 14th Aug. 1766.”

In another hand,

Autograph R.

“CHARLES R.

“I gave the Archbishop of Canterbury command to make the alterations expressed in this Book, and to fit a Liturgy for the Church of Scotland. And wheresoever they shall differ from

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another Booke signed by us at Hamp<sup>t</sup> Court, September 28, 1634, our pleasure is to have these followed: unless the Archbishop of St. Andrews and his brethren who are upon the place shall see apparent reason to the contrary.

“At Whitehall, April 19th, 1636.”

You are aware that these notes exist in a book in the library at Lambeth Palace, and also in another in the Public Library at Armagh.

I am, very faithfully yours,

THOMAS LATHBURY.

It is very much to be regretted that hitherto all inquiries after the Prayer Book formerly in the library at Norwich have proved unsuccessful. In the meantime, as the copy of these notes and alterations, which Mr. Lathbury has had the goodness to send up for printing, has no sufficient attestation of its authenticity, and likewise bears marks of incompleteness, it seems more desirable to make use of a transcript of the notes which are preserved in the library at Lambeth, in a copy of the Prayer Book, a quarto, printed by R. Barker and the assignees of J. Bill, London, 1634. This Prayer Book seems to have belonged to Archbishop Tenison; and the notes appear to be in his handwriting. On a fly-leaf the Archbishop has made the following entry:

“The Alterations of the Common Prayer in the following Book were copied from the Book of AB<sup>m</sup> Laud, printed 1636, 4to, and now remaining in the Library of the City of Norwich.

“Almost all the Alterations are in the AB<sup>m</sup> own hand, some few only in the hand in which y<sup>e</sup> warrant for altering is written, and are therefore distinguished by adding under them y<sup>e</sup> letter S., supposing them to be y<sup>e</sup> hand of the Secretary.

“A few others in a different hand which are distinguished by adding Sc., supposing them to be made in Scotland according to y<sup>e</sup> tenor of the warrant.

“N. B. There are to be found some other variations in the printed Scotch Liturgy which do not appear among the written Alterations in the AB<sup>m</sup> Book, but they are few.”

It is not, however, by any means certain that all the alterations which were in Archbishop Laud's handwriting were suggested by him. The contrary, indeed, seems probable, if not a matter of certainty. When Prynne, in his *Rome's Master-Piece*, notices that the alterations were “written with his own hand”—the Archbishop replies in a note—“I had good reason to write them in my own hand, yet shall they never be proved to be all mine.” The likelihood is, that when the alterations proposed by the Scotch Bishops had been considered, such of them as were allowed by the King, were then written down by the Archbishop into the margin of the copy of the Prayer Book used for

the purpose—most of them in the King's own presence. But it is certain the Archbishop was, on principle, extremely reluctant to make any alterations at all; and it would seem probable that very few alterations—properly so called—were made by him; but that his part of the work consisted almost entirely in bringing the rubrics into a clearer and more intelligible form. His own account of the matter is given in the History of his Trouble and Trial, and is as follows:—

“ But because so much noise hath been made against me both in the Scottish Charge before answered, and in this Article about Popish innovations in that Service-book, and that I laboured the introducing both of it and them: I think it fit, if not necessary, to set down briefly the story what was done, and what I did, and by what command in all that business. And it follows.

“ Dr. John Maxwell, the late Bishop of Ross, came to me from his Majesty, it was during the time of a great and dangerous fever, under which I then laboured. It was in the year 1629, in August or September, which come that time is thirteen years since. The cause of his coming was to speak with me about a Liturgy for Scotland. At his coming, I was so extream ill, that I saw him not. And had death (which I then expected daily, as did my friends and physicians also) seized on me, I had not seen this heavy time. After this, when I was able to sit up, he came to me again, and told me it was his Majesty's pleasure, that I should receive instructions from some bishops of Scotland concerning a Liturgy for that Church; and that he was employed from my Lord the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and other prelates there about it. I told him I was clear of opinion, that if his Majesty would have a Liturgy settled there, *it were best to take the English Liturgy without any variation*, that so the same Service Book might be established in all his Majesty's dominions: *which I did then, and do still think would have been a great happiness to this state, and a great honour and safety to religion.* To this he replied, that he was of a contrary opinion, and that not he only, but the bishops of that kingdom thought their countrymen would be much better satisfied, if a Liturgy were framed by their own clergy, than to have the English Liturgy put upon them; yet he added, that it might be according to the form of our English Service Book. I answered to this, that if this were the resolution of my brethren the Bishops of Scotland, I would not entertain so much as thoughts about it, till I might by God's blessing have health and opportunity to wait upon his Majesty, and receive his farther directions from himself.

“ When I was able to go abroad, I came to his Majesty, and represented all that had passed. His Majesty avowed the sending of Dr. Maxwell to me, and the message sent by him. But then he inclined to my opinion, to have the English Service without any alteration to be established there: and in this condition I held that business, for two if not three years at least. Afterwards, the Scottish Bishops still pressing his Majesty that a Liturgy framed by themselves, and in some few things different from ours, would relish better with their country-



men. They at last prevailed with his Majesty, to have it so, and *carried it against me, notwithstanding all I could say or do to the contrary*. Then his Majesty commanded me to give the Bishops of Scotland my best assistance in this way and work. I delayed as much as I could with my obedience; and when nothing would serve, but it must go on, I confess I was then very serious, and gave them the best help I could. But wheresoever I had any doubt, I did not only acquaint his Majesty with it, but writ down most of the amendments or alterations in his Majesty's presence. And I do verily believe, there is no one thing in that book, which may not stand with the conscience of a right good Protestant. Sure I am his Majesty approved them all; and I have his warrant under his royal hand for all that I did about that book."\*

Such is the Archbishop's narrative of this transaction; and certainly it appears plain, not only that he was anxious to have avoided any deviation from the English Liturgy, but that the Scotch Bishops would have made their Liturgy still less like ours than they did, if the Archbishop had not effectually opposed them.

I shall now proceed to lay before my readers a copy of the whole of the alterations in the order in which they are entered in Archbishop Tenison's copy of the Prayer Book; and, in conclusion, shall add some notes, which will serve to show how much use the English Bishops and other Commissioners appear to have made of Archbishop Laud's suggestions, in their revision of the Liturgy in 1662.

**KALENDER: January.** At the word "Februarii" is this note:—

"Heare Februarij would be printed in a different letter lest that be mistaken by the ignorant for the name of some Saint. And it would so be done with the names of the other months thorough out."

*Con. of Paul.* "Print this in red letters. S."

*March. An. of Mar.* [Annunciation.] "Eccclus." is struck out in both Morning and Evening Lessons, and the note is,—

"Eccles. ii.

Eccles. iii. S."

*April. Marke Eu.* "Eccles." in the Morning and Evening Lessons is struck out, and the note is,—

"Eccles. iiiii.

Eccles. v. S."

*June. Barnab. Ap.* "Print this in red lettres. S."

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\* Troubles and Trial, p. 168. !

*October.* The first Lesson for the first of October, in the morning is added, "Exod. 6," and in the evening, "Josu. xx." has "Tobit 6" written over it.

**RUBRICS AT THE END OF THE PREFACE.** "And all Priests," &c. "Except they bee let by *preaching, studying of diuinity, or by some other vrgent cause.*" The words in italics are struck out, and these are substituted:—

"or hindered by some urgent cause, of which cause, if it be frequently pretended, they are to make the Bp. of the Diocese, or the AB<sup>r</sup> of the Province the Judge & Allowers."

**THE TABLE AND KALENDER EXPRESSING, &c. THE ORDER HOW THE PSALTER, &c. First paragraph.** After the words, "The Psalter shalbe read through once every Moneth," the rest of the paragraph is struck out, and these words substituted:—

"Save February, and in that month soe far as the Psalmes are appointed for 28 or 29 days in the Leape year."

*Second paragraph.* "And because January & March." The whole paragraph is struck out.

*Third paragraph.* "And whereas, *May, July, August, October, & December, &c.*" The words in italics are struck out, and "many months" substituted.

*Fourth paragraph.* "Now to know—Evening Prayer." The whole is struck out.

*Fifth paragraph.* "And where the Cxix Psalme, &c." In the margin is added:—

"And at the end of every part or any part of such psalms shall be repeated Gloria Patri."

**THE ORDER HOW THE REST OF HOLY SCRIPTURE, &c. Fifth paragraph.** "Ye must note also—hath his proper." To this is added:—

"Collect Epistle & Gospell as it is on Ashwensdaye & on every daye in the Holy week next before Pasch or Easter. But on all these days the psalms and lessons shall be the same which fall in course as they are in the Kalender."

**PROPER LESSONS.** "Mattens" struck out, and in the margin "Matins S."

*Circumcision.* "Deut. x. *from* And now Is." The word "from" is struck out, and this added, "&c. unto the end of the Chapter."

*Epiphany.* "Esay xl." "xl." is struck out, and in the margin, "Esay lx. S."

**THESE TO BE OBSERVED FOR HOLY DAYES AND NONE OTHER.**

(1.) After the Epiphany is added, "Of the Conversion of S. Paul."

(2.) After "S. Marke the Evangelist," is added, "Munday & Tuesday in Easter and Whitson weeks."

(3.) After the Ascension is added, "Of S. Barnabas."

A RULE TO KNOW WHEN THE TERME BEGINNETH & ENDETH. The rule is all crossed out.

THE ORDER WHERE MORNING & EVENING PRAYER SHALL BE USED & SAID. At foot of the page is the following :—

"CHARLES R.

"I gave the ArchB<sup>t</sup> of Canterbury command to make the alterations expressed in this booke & to fit a Liturgy for the Church of Scotland. And whersoever they shall differ from another Booke signed by us at Hampton Court, Sep. 28, 1634, our pleasure is to have these followed rather than the former, unless the AB<sup>t</sup> of S<sup>t</sup> Andrews and his brethren shall see apparent reason to the contrary. At Whitehall, April 19, 1636. S."

MORNING PRAYER. *First sentence.* "At what time," &c. The last three words, "saith the Lord," are struck out, and these substituted :—

"for I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth saith the Lord God; whearefore turn your selves and live."

*Sixth Sentence.* Between this and the seventh is added :—

"He that covereth his synnes shall not prosper, but he that confesseth & forsaketh them shall have mercye." Prov. 28.

*Confession.* The words, "after the Minister kneeling," are struck out, and these substituted :—

"after or with the Deacon or Presbyter all humbly kneeling."

*The Absolution.* The words, "*Priest alone*," are struck out, and these are substituted :—

"Presbyter aloane, he standing up & turning himself to the people but they still remaining humbly upon their knees."

In the clause, "and hath given power & commandement to his Ministers," the words, "his Ministers," are struck out, and this is in the margin :—

"to the presbyters of his church, the ministers of his Gospel."

*The Lord's Prayer.* "Then shall the Priest begin to say." The words, "begin to," struck out, and these substituted :—

"or singe The Lord's Prayer. And in thiss and all other places of the Liturgy wheare the last words (For thyne is the kingdom &c.) are expressed, the presbyter shall read them. But in all places wheare they are not expressed, he shall end with these words, But deliver us from evil, Amen."

*Before the Gloria Patri.* The word "*Priest*" is struck out, and this substituted:—

"Then all of them standing up the Presbyter shall saye or singe."

*Before the words, "As it was in the beginning,"* the word "*Answear*" is inserted.

After the words, "*Praise ye the Lord,*" is added:—

"Answear.

"The Lord's name be Prayed."

*First Rubric at the end of the Venite.* "And at the end of every Psalme," &c. After the word "*And*" is added:—

"as at the end of the Venite so also."

At the end of this first Rubric, the words, "*As it was in the beginning, &c.,*" are struck out, and these substituted:—

"And the people shall answer, (*As it was in the beginning*) every one standing up at the same."

*Rubric before the Te Deum.* "After the first Lesson shall follow," &c., the word "*follow*" is struck out, and this substituted:—

"be sayde or sunge."

*Te Deum. First verse.* "*Knowledge*" struck out, and "*acknowledge*" written in the margin.

*Rubric before the Benedictus.* "*used & said*" are struck out, and "*said or sunge*" substituted.

After the third Collect, this Rubric is added:—

"After this Collect ended followeth the Letanye, & if the Letanye be not appointed to be sayd or sunge that morning, then shall next be sayd the prayers for the King's Majestye with the rest of the prayers following at the end of the Letanye. And the Benediction."

**EVENING PRAYER.** *First Rubric before the Lord's Prayer.* The words, "*The Priest shall say,*" are struck out, and this Rubric is substituted:—

"After the Sentences, Exhortation Confession & Absolution as is appointed at Morning prayer, the Presbyter shall saye or singe."

*Rubric after the Lord's Prayer.* "Then likewise he shall say," the words, "*or singe,*" are added.

*Gloria Patri.* At the end of the Answer is added:—

"All standing up as often as it is repeated."

After "*Praise yee the Lord*," is added:—

"Answear.

"The Lord's name be prayed."

After the third Collect. This Rubric is added:—

"Then shall follow the prayer for the King's Majesty with the rest of the prayers at the end of the Letanye to the Benediction."

ATHANASIAN CREED. (1.) *Rubric.* "Easter" is struck out, and the words "Pasch or Easter" substituted.

(2.) *At the end of the Rubric is added:* "The presbyter and all the people standing."

(3.) *In the verse of the Creed,* "He therefore that *will be saved*: must thus think of the Trinity." The words in italics are struck out; and "would be saved, let him" are substituted.

(4.) *In the verse,* "For as the reasonable soule & flesh is one man: so God & man is one Christ," after the word "so" is added "he who is."

THE LETANIE. (1.) *Rubric.* "Here followeth the Letanie to be used," &c. After the word "used" is inserted—

"after the third Collect at morning prayer called the Collect for Grace."

(2.) *End of Rubric.* These words are added:—

"And without omission of any part of the other daily service of the Church on those days."

(3.) "In all time of our *tribulation, in all time of our wealth*." The words in italics are struck out and these substituted:—

"adversitye, in all time of our prosperitye, &c."

(4.) *Next verse.* "thy holy Church universally." Between "holy" and "Church" the word "Catholicke" is inserted.

(5.) *In the Petition for the Royal Family,* the words, "and the rest of the Royall Progeny," are struck out, and these substituted: " & the rest of the Royal Issue."

PRAYERS AT THE END OF THE LITANY. (1.) *Before the Collect for the Clergy,* "Almighty & everlasting God," is inserted this title:—

"A Prayer for the holy Clergye."

(2.) *In the same Collect,* the words, "which onely worketh great marueilles," are struck out, and these put in the margin:—

"who only worketh great & marvellous things."

(3.) *In the same Collect,* between the words "Bishops"—"and Curates," the word "Priests" is inserted.

(3.) *After this Collect follows:*

"A Prayer to be said in the Ember weeks for those which are then to be admitted into Holy Orders, and is to be read every day of the week beginning on the Sunday before the day of Ordination. Almighty God, the giver of all good gifts who of thy divine providence," &c.

(4.) *Prayer for rain.* "and the righteousness thereof," altered to "and thy righteousness."

*Prayer in time of warre.* "Confound their devices." "Confound" struck out, and "defeat" substituted.

*Prayer; O God, whose nature & property, &c.* The words, "for the honour of Jesus Christs sake," are changed to "for Jesus Christ his sake:" the words in italics being struck out, the final letter *s* being struck out of the word "Christs," and the insertion of "his" ordered in the margin, thus: "his. S."

*Thanksgiving for faire weather.* "Thy late plague;"—"plague" struck out. In the margin, "punishment. S."

*Thanksgiving for deliverance from the plague;* "middest of the Congregation." "The Congregation" struck out, and "thye Church" put in the margin.

COLLECTS EPISTLES & GOSPELS. *Rubric after the Collect for S. Steuens day,*—"Then shall follow—unto New yeeres day." To this is added:—

"But in stead of the words (& this day to be born) the presbyter shall say (at this time to be born,"\* &c.

*Rubric at the End of the Gospel for the Circumcision.* "If there be any Sunday."

To this is added:—

"And so likewise upon every other day from the time of the Circumcision to the Epiphany."

*The first day of Lent.* To this is added:—

"commonly called Ash Wensdaye."

*The Collect.* "Knowledging" altered into "acknowledging."  
*At the End of the Collect this Rubric is added:—*

"From Ash Wensday to the first Sunday in Lent shall be used the same Collect Epistle & Gospel which weare used on Ash Wensdaye."

*Easter Euen.* To this title is added:

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\* The old Collect for Christmas-day ran thus: "Almighty God, which hast given us thy only begotten Son to take our nature upon him, and this day to be born of a pure Virgin."

“Rub.) The Collect for Easter Even.

“O most gracious God look upon us in mercy & grant that as we are baptized into the death of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ so by our true and hearty repentance all our sins may be buried with him, & we not fear the grave. That as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of thee our Father so we also may walk in newness of life, but our sinnes never be able to rise in judgment against us. And that for the merit of Jesus Christ that dyed was buried & rose again for us. Amen.”

*Rubric after the Gospel for the twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity.*  
 “If there be any more Sundays—*Septuagesima.*” To this is added:—

“But the same shall follow the 24<sup>th</sup> Sunday after Trinity, & if there be fewer Sundays than 25 before Advent then shall the 23 or 24 or both be omitted, so that the five & twentieth shall never either alter or be left out, but be always used immediately before Advent Sunday, to which the Epistle & Gospel of that do expressly relate.”

*St. Luke the Evangelist. The Collect.* The words, “it may please thee by the wholesome medicines of his doctrine, to heale all the diseases of our soules,”—are altered to,—“grant we beseech thee that by the wholesome medicines of his doctrine, all the diseases of our soules may be healed.”

*Simon & Jude Apostles. Collect.* “Congregation” struck out, and “Church” substituted.

THE COMMUNION. *Fourth Rubric.* “The Table at the Communion time having a faire white linnen cloth vpon it, shall stand in the body of the Church, or in the Chancell, where Morning prayer & Evening prayer be appointed to be said. And the Priest standing at the North side of the Table, shall say the Lords Prayer, with this Collect following.” The words in italics are struck out, and the Rubric is thus altered:—

“The holye table at the Communion time having a faire white linnen cloth vpon it; with other decent furniture meet for the highe mysteryes thear to be celebrated, shall stand at the uppermost part of the chancel or Church, whear the Presbyter standing at the Northside or end theareof shall say the Lords Prayer, with this Collect following for due preparation. Sc.”

*Rubric before the Commandments.* “Then shall the Priest rehearse,” altered to “Then shall the Presbyter, turning to the people, rehearse.” Also the latter part of this Rubric, “& the people kneeling, shall after euery Commandement aske God mercy for their transgression of the same, after this sort,” is struck out, and the Rubric is thus altered:—

“The people all the while kneeling and asking God mercy for

the transgression of every dewty thearin, either according to the Letter, or to the mystical importance of the sayd commandment."

*Commandments.* On the words, "*God spake these words,*" is this note in the margin: "† The Commandments for this place to be printed according to the new Translation in Exod. 20. Sc."

*Rubric after the Commandments.* "Then shall follow *the Collect for the day* with one of these two Collects *following* for the King, *the Priest* standing up & saying,"— The words in italics are struck out, and the Rubric is thus altered:—

"Then shall follow one of these two Collects for the King, & the Collect of the day, the presbyter standing up, & saying."

*First Collect for the King.* "have mercie vpon *the whole congregation,* & so rule," &c., altered to "have mercie vpon thy holye Catholicke Church, & in this particular church in which we live so rule," &c.

*Rubric for the Epistle.* This is added: "And when he hath done he shall say, Heare endeth the Epistle."

*Rubric for the Gospel.* And the Epistle ended, *he shall say the Gospel beginning thus, The Gospel written in the Chapter of.*" The words in italics are struck out, and this rubric is thus altered:—

"And the Epistle ended the Gospel shall be read, the presbyter saying, The Holy Gospel is written in . . . Chap. of . . . at . . . verse. And then the people all standing up shall say (Glory be to thee O Lord.) At the end of the Gospel the presbyter shall say (so endeth the holy Gospel.) And the people shall answer (Thanks be to thee O Lord.)"

*Rubric for the Creed.* "shall be said *the Creed.*" The words in italics struck out, and the Rubric altered thus: "shall be said or sung this Creed all still reverently standing up."

*Rubric before the Sentences of the Offertory.* "saying one or more of these sentences," &c. After the word "saying" this insertion is ordered in the margin. "for the offertory. Sc."

*Rubric after the Sentences.* "Then shall the Churchwardens," &c. All this Rubric is struck out, and the following is substituted:—

"While the presbyter distinctly pronounceth some or all of these sentences for the offertory, the Deacon or if no such be present one of the Churchwardens shall receive the Devotions of the people thear present in a Bason provided for that purpose. And when all have offered he shall reverently bring the sayd bason with the oblations therein & deliver it to the Presbyter, who shall humbly present it before the Lord & sett it upon the Holy Table.

"[And after the divine service ended, that which was offered



shall be divided in the presence of the presbyter and the Churchwardens, whereof one half shall be to the use of the presbyter to provide him books of holy Divinitye, the other half shall be faithfully kept & employed on some pious or charitable use, for the decent furnishing of their Church or the publick relief of their poor at the discretion of the presbyter and churchwardens.<sup>1</sup>

"And the Preist shall then offer up & place the bread & wine prepared for the Sacrament on the Lord's Table that it may be ready for that service. And then he shall say. Let us pray for, &c. S.]"

*Prayer for the Church Militant.* "and specially to this Congregation heere present." These words are struck out, and the following substituted :

"(And we commend especially unto thy merciful goodness the congregation which is heere assembled in thy name to celebrate the commemoration of the most precious death & sacrifice of thy Son and our Saviour Jesus Christ.)

"When there is no Communion these words inclosed ( ) are to be left out."

After the words, "or any other aduersitie," the following is added:—

"And we also bless thy holy name for all those thy servants, who having finisht their course in Fayth, do now rest from their labours. And we yeeld unto thee most high prayse & hearty thanks for the wonderful grace & vertue declared in all thy saints who have been the choice vessels of thy grace and the lights of the world in their several generations: most humbly beseeching thee that we may have grace to follow the example of their steadfastness in thy faith & obedience to thy holy commandments; That at the day of the general Resurrection wee and all they which are of the mystical body of thy Son, may be set on his right hand & hear that his most joyful voice, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world &c."

*Exhortation.* "*We be come together,*" &c. "And as the Sonne of God did vouchsafe to yeeld vp his soule by death, upon the Crosse for your health: *even so, it is your duty to receiue the Communion together in the remembrance of his death,*" &c. The words in italics are struck out, and the passage altered thus:—

"And as the Sonne of God did vouchsafe to offer up himself by death upon the Cross for your salvation, even so it is our duty to celebrate & receive the communion in the remembrance of his death & sacrifice."

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\* In Mr. Lathbury's copy there is a note said to be in another hand, at foot of this alteration—"Autograph R."

—"offend God so *sore*." "sore" is altered to "grievously."

—"And yet will neither eate nor drinke this holy Communion with other"—altered to :—

"and yet will not receive this holy sacrament which is offered unto you."

*Rubric before the Invitation.* "Then shall the Priest say to them that come to receive the holy Communion." To this are added the words, "thiss Invitation."

*Rubric before the Confession* :—"either by one of them, or else by one of the Ministers, or by the Priest himselfe, all kneeling," &c. The words in italics are struck out, and the rubric is altered thus :—

"the Priest himself or the Deacon, both he & all the people kneeling," &c.

*Rubric before the Absolution.* "Say thus," struck out, and this in the margin :—

"pronounce the Absolution as followeth. Sc."\*

*Rubric after the Proper Prefaces.* "After which Prefaces shall follow immediately."—Added in margin :—

"this doxology. Sc."

*Rubric before the Prayer,* "*We do not presume.*" The words, "in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion, this prayer following." The words in italics are struck out, and these substituted :—

"communicate, this humble Access to the holy Communion as followeth. Sc."

*Rubric before the Prayer of Consecration.* "shall say as followeth." The last two words struck out, and the following substituted :—

"the prayer of Consecration as followeth. But then during the tyme of Consecration the presbyter which consecrates shall stand in the midst before the Altar that he may with the more ease & decency use both his hands which he cannot so conveniently do standing at the northside of it."

*Prayer of Consecration.* (1.) "his precious death,"—the words, "and sacrifice," are added in the margin.

"Heare vs, O mercifull Father, we beseech thee, & grant that we

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\* In Mr. Lathbury's copy is this, before the Sentences after the Absolution; "after 'Also' in rubric,—add, pronounce these consolatory (or sentences of Consolation) saying:—In another hand."

*receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine.*" The words in italics are struck out, and these are substituted:—

"most humbly beseech thee & of thy almighty goodness vouchsafe<sup>1</sup> so to bless & sanctify with thy word & holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread & wine that they may be unto us the body & blood of thy most dearly beloved son, so that we receiving them, &c."

(2.) "may be partakers of his." The words, "the same," are inserted before "his."

(3.) "in the *same* night." The word "same" is struck out.

(4.) The words, "tooke bread," and "tooke the cup," are underlined, and this direction is given:—

"(These Rubrics following are to stand in the margent Thus)

"† At these words (took bread) the presbyter that officiates is to take<sup>2</sup> paten in his hand, &c.

"† At these words (took the cup) he is to take the chalice in his hand, & lay his hand upon so much be it in chalice or flagons as he intends to consecrate."

*Rubric after the Prayer of Consecration.*

(1.) "Then shall the *Minister*"— The word "Minister" is struck out, and these words substituted:—

"Byshop if he be present or else the presbyter that celebrateth."

(2.) "to other *Ministers*." "Ministers" struck out, and these words substituted:—

"Byshops, presbyters & Deacons."

(3.) "helpe *the chiefe Minister*." The words in italics are struck out, and these substituted:—

"him that celebrateth."

(4.) "to the people *in their hands kneeling*." The words in italics are struck out, and these substituted:—

"in due order all humbly kneeling."

(5.) "And when he delivereth the bread he shall say." To this is added:—

"This benediction. Sc."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Mr. Lathbury's copy this word is said to be "in a different hand."

<sup>2</sup> In Mr. Lathbury's copy "the" is inserted with a note "in a different hand," and so also the word "in" before "chalice," in the next Rubric.

<sup>3</sup> In Mr. Lathbury's copy this and the preceding alteration are marked "in a different hand."

In the *Words of Delivery*, the latter clauses in both forms—*“and take & eate,”* &c., *“and drinke this,”* &c.—are entirely struck out, and after the words, *“everlasting life,”* at the delivery of the bread, is added this Rubric:—

“Heare the party receiving shall say, Amen: as also after the delivery of the Cup.”

*Rubric after the Lord's Prayer.* “After shall be said as followeth.” After the word “said” these are added:—

“This memorial or prayer of oblation.”

*The first Collect after the Lord's Prayer.*

(1.) “*O Lord and heavenly Father, wee thy humble servants.*”—These words are struck out, and the following are substituted:—

“Whearfore O Lord and heavenly Father according to the institution of thy dearly beloved son our Saviour Jesus Christ, we thy humble servants do celebrate & make heare before thy divine Majesty with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy son hath willed us to make, having in remembrance his blessed passion, mighty Resurrection & glorious Ascension, rendring unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same. And we, &c.”

(2.) “*Humbly beseeching thee, that all wee which be partakers of this holy communion, may be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction.*” The words in italics are struck out, and these substituted:—

“Whosoever shall be partakers of this holy Communion may worthily receive the most precious body & blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, & be fulfilled with thy grace & heavenly benediction and made one body with him, that he may dwell in them & they in him,” &c.

*After this first Collect is added the following Rubric:—*

“Rub. When all have communicated he that celebrates shall go to the Lord's Table, & cover with a fair linen Cloth or Corporal that which remaineth of the consecrated Elements & then say as followeth (Almighty and everliving God, &c.) being the Collect of Thanksgiving.”

*Rubric before the Gloria in Excelsis.* “Then shall be said or sung.” These words are added:—

“Gloria in excelsis in English as followeth.”

*After the Benediction.*

“Vide supra post offertorium. Sc.”

*Rubric before the concluding Collects.* "Every such day one." The words "or more" are added.

*Rubrics after the Collects.* (1.) "*And there shall be no,*" &c. "Except there bee a good number"—"good" is struck out, and "sufficient" is substituted.

(2.) "*And in Cathedral,*" &c., "with the minister." "Minister" struck out, and "presbyter that celebrates" substituted.

(3.) "And to take away the superstition, which any person hath, or might have in the Bread and wine; it shall suffice that the Bread bee such as is vsuall *to be eaten at the Table with other meates* but the best and purest wheate Bread that conueniently may bee gotten." The words in italics are struck out, and the Rubric altered thus:—

"And to take away the superstition, which any person hath or might have in the bread and wine; though it be lawful to have wafer bread it shall suffice that the bread bee such as is vsuall, yet the best and purest wheate bread that conueniently may bee gotten."

(4.) "And if any of the Bread & Wine remaine, *the Curate shall have it to his own use.*" The words in italics are struck out, and these are substituted:—

"Which is consecrated it shall be reverently eaten & drunk by such of the communicants only as the presbyter which celebrates shall take unto him, but it shall not be carried out of the Church. And to the end there may be little left, he that officiates is required to consecrate with the least, and then if there be want, the words of Consecration may be repeated again over more either bread or wine the presbyter beginning at these words in the prayer of Consecration (our Saviour in the same night that he was betrayed tooke, &c.)\*"

(5.) "*The Bread & Wine,*" &c. These words, "And the parish shall be discharged of such summes of money or other dueties, which hitherto they haue paid for the same by order of their houses every Sunday," are all struck out.

(6.) "*And note that every,*" &c. The words, "Easter to be one," are struck out, and these substituted: "Pasch or Easter shall be one."

(7.) "*And yearly at Easter, every Parishioner,*" &c. The whole of this Rubric is struck out.

PUBLIQUE BAPTISME. "Prayer of Consecration." "Congregation" is altered into "Church." And the same alteration

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\* It will be observed that the word "same" is retained in the form of consecration here cited, though in the form itself in the prayer, it is struck out, which seems strange, if the alterations in that prayer were made by the same person who drew up this Rubric.

is made in the address "Seeing now," after baptism, and in the Thanksgiving, "We yeeld thee hearty thanks," &c.

**CATECHISME.** At the commencement is this note: "This Catechism must be retained in your liturgy, and no other admitted in your several parishes."

**CONFIRMATION.** *Rubric.* "And all Fathers," &c. The word "Dames" is altered into "Mistresses."

**MATRIMONIE.** *Rubric before the final exhortation:* "All yee which be married." "The office of a man & wife." "Man" is struck out, and "husband" substituted.

**COMMUNION OF THE SICK.** *Rubric.* "and a good number to receive the Communion," &c. The words in italics are struck out, and these substituted:—

"A sufficient number, at least two or three."

**CHURCHING OF WOMEN.** (1.) *Rubric—nigh vnto the place where the Table standeth.* The word "Lord's" is inserted before "Table."

(2.) *Rubric.* Then shall the Priest say this *Psalm*. These words are added—

"Following, or else Ps. 27."

**COMMUNION.** *Title.* "To bee used diuers times in the yeere." The following words are added:—

"And especially on the first day of Lent, commonly called Ashwensdaye."

*First Rubric.* To the final words—"the Priest shall goe into the pulpit & say thus"—are added these—

"The people sitting and attending with reverence."

*The Exhortation.* (1.) The words, "were put to open penance and punished in this world," are struck out, and these are substituted:—

"Were put to open penance & did humbly submit themselves to undergo punishment in this world."\*

(2.) "Cursed is the man," &c. The reference to Deut. xxvii. 15, is added in the margin, and so likewise to all the rest.

(3.) "Cursed is hee that letteth in judgment," &c. The word "letteth" is struck out, and this is written in the margin—"hindreth stoppeth or perverteth."

(4.) "He shall powre downe raine vpon the sinners, snares,

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\* After this alteration, is this note in Mr. Lathbury's copy:—"In different hand. Quæ sequuntur sic notata [—] sunt Autograph R."

fire and brimstone, storme & tempest, this shall bee their portion to drinke." These words are struck out, and the following substituted :—

"For upon the wicked he shall rain snares, fire & brimstone, & an horrible tempest : this shall be the portion of their Cup."

**THE PSALTER.** *The Title-Page.* "After the translation of the great Bible." The words in italics are struck out, and these substituted :—

"Set forth by Authority in K. James' time of blessed memory."

This note is written in the margin :—

"You must look to the pointing of it as near as may be to old Translation."

**GODLY PRAYERS.** At the beginning is the following note :—

"His Majesty commands that these prayers following or any other (for they are different in several Editions) be all left out and not printed in your Liturgy."

These are the whole of the alterations and notes, as I have found them in Archbishop Tenison's copy. From Mr. Lathbury's copy, one is led to suspect the possibility, that those notes in the Norwich Book which Archbishop Tenison observed to be in the same hand as the royal warrant, and which he has marked with the letter "S.," may have been in the handwriting of the king himself.

The observations which I have made on these proposals and alterations have grown to too great a length to admit of their appearing conveniently in this paper. Next month I hope to lay them before my readers. The subject is curious, as these alterations seem to show, that we are indebted to them for the clearness of several of the Rubrics in our present Common Prayer Book. No question can be made that these alterations, drawn up for the Scottish Liturgy, received the careful consideration of the English Commissioners in 1661. Many of the suggestions were adopted; some were not. And this circumstance will, I think, be found to throw no small light on the spirit in which the Commissioners conducted that revision.

*St. Mary-at-Hill, London,  
March, 1847.*

JOHN C. CROSTHWAITE.

# ESSAYS ON SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

NO. XVI.

GARDINER AND PAGET.

THE facts already stated should probably lead us to doubt whether all that has been said of Bishop Gardiner's disgrace is to be believed; and the evidence furnished by those facts is confirmed, and carried forward to a still later date, by some documents which I will lay before the reader as soon as I have reminded him of certain things of which it is quite necessary that he should have a present recollection, in order that he may form a right judgment on the case. Some of these documents have been very often and familiarly referred to; but even those which have been quoted I have never seen given with that fullness, or in the juxtaposition, which is necessary in order to our deriving the information which they really offer.

It is not, I believe, doubted that from the time when Henry VIII. began to be incapable of interfering strenuously with public business—or, to say the least, from the time when it had become pretty clear that there was no chance of his ever calling to account those who used his name and power—the party of which the Earl of Hertford was the head determined to make way for themselves by getting rid of their opponents in a very summary and unceremonious manner.

It is very well to say that the infirm king was jealous of the Howards, and fearful of their giving disturbance to his son, for it is likely that he should think of this; and tolerably certain that if he did not, the notion would be brought before him, and forced on him, by some who undoubtedly did fear the Duke of Norfolk and his family; and who, whatever they might think about young King Edward, thought much more, and more intensely and affectionately, about themselves. The arrest of the Duke of Norfolk and his son was a bold (under other circumstances than those of the king, one would have said a desperate) stroke. The party succeeded, however, so far as to kill the son; but, though far from slack in their proceedings, were not quick enough by a few hours to destroy the father. The old Duke of Norfolk was, however, a prisoner, convicted, condemned, and attainted, who might be safely kept in the Tower; and so he was during all Edward's reign.

But before that time—while King Henry was yet living, though probably without his privy—the plan of the future government had been settled; and the two persons whom we find so early, and most deeply, concerned in these arrangements



—the persons who, though in very different circumstances and positions, seem to be united together in an alliance capable of overruling all resistance, and even the attempt at any—are the Earl of Hertford and Sir William (afterwards to be Lord) Paget. Even before the king was actually dead, they were in consultation; and within a few hours after the royal demise, and before the event had been declared to the parliament—in fact while it was kept a secret even from the king's son and successor—these two men had the king's will in their custody, and were consulting together how much of it they should make public. One does not know how to speak of such things without asking the reader to pause a moment and consider. Will he endeavour to realize such a state of affairs as a mere matter of fact? for without some such effort it is impossible to understand the history of the period, even though one reads over what is so called a thousand times.

As to the Earl of Hertford—how he became Duke of Somerset and Protector—what he did and what became of him—every reader of English history knows, or easily may know; and it is not to our present purpose to inquire. But probably the history and character of his “inward friend and counsellor,” Paget, is not so generally known; and a few particulars respecting him—as the chief, if not, indeed, the *original* and *only* voucher for King Henry's abhorrence of Gardiner—will not be out of place. I ought perhaps rather to say, will be absolutely necessary.

Sir William Paget, as I have already said, was the peculiar adviser and confidential agent of the Earl of Hertford. This has been stated by Strype, in a passage which is worth extracting.

“While King Henry lay on his deathbed in his palace at Westminster, Sir Edward Seimour, Earl of Hertford, and Sir William Paget, among others, were at Court; and Paget, being Secretary of State, was much about his person: whom, being a man wise and learned, and well versed in the affairs of state, both by reason of his office and his several embassies abroad, the earl prudently made choice of for his inward friend and counsellor. By the king's desperate condition, the earl well perceiving the crown ready to fall upon Prince Edward his nephew's head, before the breath was out of his body, took a walk with Paget in the gallery; where he held some serious conference with him concerning the government. And immediately after the king was departed they met again, the earl devising with him concerning the high place he was to hold, being the next of kin to the young king. Paget at both meetings freely and at large gave him his advice, for the safe managery of himself, and of the mighty trust likely to be reposed in him: and the earl then promised him to follow his counsels in all his proceedings, more than any other man's. To his failure in which promises, the said Secretary attributed

those miseries which afterwards befell the nation and himself; as he plainly told him in one of his letters."—*Mem.*, Vol. II. pt. i. p. 17.

We are not, indeed, told how long before the king's death this walk in the gallery took place; but it is scarcely possible to doubt that what was thus settled with Paget, was sufficiently understood by the rest of the council. Mr. Tytler has given a letter from the Earl of Hertford to Paget, written within twenty-six hours after the king's death, in which he *replies* to one *already received* from that inward friend and counsellor, containing suggestions as to whether the will should be opened before another consultation, and also as to the propriety of considering how much of the will it would be expedient to make public. In this reply the Earl expresses his concurrence in those suggestions, and adds as a brief postscript, "I have sent you the key of the will;" by which it appears that the keeping of that most important document lay with Hertford, and that he did not scruple to transfer the trust, without, so far as appears, any security, or even the privity of any third person, to the sole keeping of Paget.

On another letter, written on the following day, to the council—and that, too, before the fact of the king's death had been published—Mr. Tytler very justly observes, "When parliament and the nation yet believed Henry to be alive, the measures which were to be adopted under the new reign were already secretly agreed on by a faction to whom no resistance could be made. It is worthy of remark also, that Hertford, although still bearing no higher rank than one of the executors of the late king, is consulted by them as their superior, and already assumes the tone and authority of Protector, another proof that all had been privately arranged amongst them."\*

We see something, then, of the position which Sir William (afterwards Lord) Paget occupied; and we may naturally be led to ask, "What sort of man was he?" His life seems to have been (as far as circumstances gave him opportunity) a tissue of ingratitude, treachery, and falsehood. At the time to which I have just referred, he was the creature of the Earl of Hertford, and he continued so as long as the sunshine lasted; but before the time when he gave his evidence at the deprivation of Bishop Gardiner, (to which I have before alluded,) he had, with circumstances of peculiarly disgusting hypocrisy and treachery, betrayed his old master, and sold himself to his deadly enemy, the Earl of Warwick. And when this new master Warwick had made away with that old master Somerset, and had set up Lady Jane Grey, the faithful Paget signed the declaration that he would stand by her; but the next day, a letter being written to the Lady

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\* England under the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, vol. I. p. 19.

Mary by the privy council, he was so obliging as to become the bearer of it, and left his new master to shift for himself—though perhaps I should say his old master—for he seems to have been under early obligations to Warwick. By the time, however, that the Lady Mary had shown that she really was, and was to be, Queen of England, Paget seems to have forgotten all these old stories. One scarcely recognises the “earnest gospeller,” the partizan of Barnes the martyr, in the lively papist who received again in this reign the garter which had been stripped from him as a convicted and confessed scoundrel, and figured as Lord Privy Seal as long as that reign lasted. Elizabeth would have nothing to do with him.

Now this same Sir William or Lord Paget, so circumstanced, and so conditioned, at the latter part of the reign of King Henry VIII., was undoubtedly the bitter enemy of Gardiner—that is, he was one of the persons most fully determined to put him down, and prevent him from being troublesome. I am not aware that there is (nor do I know that we should look for) anything to account for this enmity beyond the plain facts that Paget was an unprincipled man, who had attached himself to the fortunes of the leader Somerset, and was driving on with all his might a cause which that leader wished to see carried, without, for his own part, particularly caring whether any man whom it might seem expedient to ruin had, or had not, been his own early friend and benefactor, and was or was not at the moment confiding in his good will and affection.\*

Thus much it seemed necessary to premise before I could properly lay before the reader some further evidence respecting the relative position of Bishop Gardiner and his royal master in the latter part of his reign. The facts stated in the preceding essay (if they are facts) must have belonged to a very late period of the king's life; but I do not know that their date can be accurately fixed. If we should ever find the Articles which were to touch the queen's life, and which the careless official dropped

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\* Strype, after no very flattering account of Gardiner, adds, “Yet let me subjoin one or two things to his commendation: he affected learned domestics, and countenanced learning in his family: he would take in young university men, such as were of good parts & great hopes; several of these so entertained by him were afterwards Bishops, as White & Brokes, and two were Secretaries of State, and advanced to the honour of Barons, and employed by the state in great embassies. One of these was Sir William Paget, to whom Leland thus writ;

Tu Gardineri petiisti tecta deserti,  
Eloquii sedem, pieri qui chori.

That is, that being young, ‘he went into learned Gardiner's family, which was the very seat of eloquence & of the muses.’ From his family, as he had been of his college of Trinity Hall in Cambridge, so he went to study in the University of Paris. And after some stay, returned again into the bishop's house; and soon after became secretary of state.”—*Mem.*, III. i. 466.

from his bosom, they may perhaps have dates. In the meantime we may go on with some documents which happily furnish us with those indispensable requisites for understanding history; and which require no farther preface. At least it is enough to add that in the course of the proceedings for his deprivation in the year 1551, the bishop put in a letter which he had formerly received from the king. The reader may remember that Henry died on the 28th January, 1547, and the letter is dated on the 2nd of December preceding. Having been thus made a part of the record of the proceedings of the commissioners, that letter was preserved; and it was printed by Fox in the first edition of his *Martyrology*.\* It was not a particularly interesting, perhaps not a very intelligible, document as it stood there by itself; but that was probably of very little consequence, partly because very few persons cared to read it, and partly because the few who did, knew that it was put in, not to give information respecting the subject matter to which it referred, but simply to shew the terms which the person who received it was on with the person who wrote it. Making, however, due allowance for the scarcity of the only book which contained it, we may say that the king's letter to Gardiner had thus been before the public more than two centuries and a half, when, in the year 1830, the government printed for the first time, from the stores of the State Paper Office, Gardiner's letter to the king, (to which that letter of the king given by Fox was an answer,) as well as a letter of Gardiner to Paget, requesting him to convey it to the king. The three letters thus singularly brought together after so long a separation are as follows:—

“CCLX. Gardiner to King Henry VIII.

“Pleasith it your most Excellent Majeste to pardonne me, that having noo such opportunitie to make humble sute to your Highnes presence, as the trouble of my mynde enforcyth me, I am soo bolde to moleste your Majeste with thiese my letters which be oonly to desyre your Highnes, of your accustomed goodnesse and clemencie, to be my good and gracions Lorde, and to continue such opinion of me, as I have ever trusted, and, by manyfold benefites, certainly knowen your Majeste to have had of me, and not to empayre it, as I veryly trust your Majeste wyl not, tyl your Highnes knowith, by myself, my dedes and bihaviour to deserve the same, which I trust never to see your Majeste hath bounde noon other of your subgettes in, thenne me, and I have ever, and doo make thaccounpte of your Majestes benefites, soo

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\* It was, I believe, omitted in all others, until the Comic Edition of Messrs. Seeley was published. In that the process has been reprinted—of course not very correctly, and therefore I quote the original edition. But those who possess the more modern edition only, may find the passages which I quote by the figures in the margin of their own copies, Vol. VI. p. 86, *et seq.*

as I esteeme them worthely, asmoche as any other hath receyved, wherewith I have and doo rejoyse and counforte myself, with a mynde, desire, and entent in service, which is al of duetie, in sum parte, to declare myn inward rejoyse of your Highnes favour, and that I wold not wyllingly offende your Majestie, for noo wordly thing. This is my harte, afore God, and noo man hath harde me saye to the contrary; and if, for want of circumspection, my doinges or saynges be otherwise taken, in this matier of land, wherein I was spoken with, I must and wyl lamente myn infelicite, and most humbly, on my knees, desire your Majestie to pardon it. I never said naye to any request made, wherewith to resiste your Highnes pleasour, but only, in most humble wise, toke upon me to be a suter to your Highnes goodnes, wherunto I have ben bolded by thaboundaunce of your Majestes favour, heretofore shewed unto me. Your Highnes hath made me, without my desertes; and though I deserve not the continuance of that favour, yet I wold gladly, by humble prayour and intercession, supplie my want, if I coulde, to have such help at your Highnes handes, as I knowe others to have had, to be entertaigned for reputacion, whenne ther service hath fayled; wherein I have had as gracious answer from your Majestie, as I coulde wishe, for the which I most humbly thanke your Highnes. And yet, because I have noo accesse to your Majestie, ne hearing of late any more of this matier, I cannot forbere to open truly my harte to your Highnes, with most humble request to take the same in most gracious parte, for whose most prosperous felicity I shal, according to my duetie, praye duryng my life. At London, the seconde of Decembre.

“ Your Majestes most humble

“ and obedient Subget, Servaunt,

“ and dayly Bedeman,

(Signed)

“ STE: WINTON.

(Superscribed)

“ To the Kinges most Excellent Majestie.”

“ CCLXI. Gardynner to Paget.

“ Master Secretary, after my right harty commendacions. I trusted to have seen youe here, or this tyme, and to have knowen by youe the Kinges Majestes pleasour; but your letters may be diverse, and therfor, as I thought to have wryten by youe to the Kinges Majeste at your beinge here, soo not hearing from youe, I have thought requisite to wryte to his Majeste, to supplie my present sute to his Person, which I wold gladly make, if it might stand with his pleasour. In the meane tyme, I praye youe deliver my letters, and also knowe, whither I maye cumme myself; which I have forborn, bycause I have been here appointed for execution of a commission, wherunto I attende, as the tyme requireth; and of the rest, such as came nowe to the Courte, wer specially sent for.

“ I here no specialte of the Kinges Majestes myscontentement in this matier of landes, but confusely, that my doinges shuld not be wel taken; whirof I am sory, if it soo be, and al other cares set aparte,

care onoly for this, that it shuld be thought I wanted discretion, to neglecte the Kinges Majestes goodnes towards me, which, as ye knowe, I have ever estemed onoly, and therupon made my worldly foundation. Nihil ambio, nisi Principis gratissimi benevolentiam, ne videar ingratus, a quo crimine semper longissime abfuit animus. Wherin to the rest of the worlde, I kuowe myself purged, quo nomine me duco infelicissimum, ut ingratitudinis nomine veniam in suspicionem Principi de me optime merito. I praye youe send me sum worde. And so fare ye hartely wel. At Southwark, the 2d of Decembre.

“Your assured loving Frend,

“(Superscribed) (Signed) STE. WINTON.

“To the Right Worshipful Sir William Paget Knight,  
oon of the Kinges two Principal Secretaries.”\*

“ The Coppie of a letter, sente from Kyng Henry the eyght to the  
Byshop of Winchester.

“Right reuerend Father in God, ryght trustye and wel-beloued, we grete you wel. Understanding by youre letters of the seconde of this instante youre mynde touchyng suche matter as hath lately on our behalfe bene opened vnto you by certayne of our counsell, we haue thought good for aunswere, to signifye, that yf your doynge heretofore in this matter had bene agreeable to such fayre woordes as ye haue nowe written, neyther you should haue had cause to wryte this excuse, nor we anye occasion to aunswere the same. And we cannot but maruayle of this part of youre letters, that you neuer sayd nay to any request made vnto you for those landes: considering, that being this matter propounded, and at good length debated with you aswel by our *Chauncelor* and *Secretorye*, as also the Chauncelor of our Court of Augmentacions, both ioyntly and aparte, you utterly refused to growe to any conformity in the same, sayeing, that you would make your answere to our owne persone: which as we can be well contented to receive, and will not deny you audience at any mete tyme, when you shall make suite to be harde for your said answer, so we muste in the meane thinke that if the remembraunce of our benefytes towards you, had earnestly remayned in your harte in dede, as you haue now touched the same in wordes, you would not have ben so precise in such a matter, wherein a great number of our subiects, and emongst others many of your owne cote (although they haue not had so good cause as you) haue yet without indenting delte both more louingly, and more frendly with vs. And as touching you, our opinion was, that if our request had ben for a free surrender, as it was for an exchange only, your duty had ben to haue done otherwise in this matter

\* Part II. p. 883, of “State Papers published under the authority of his Majesty’s commission, Vol. I., King Henry the VIII., Parts I. and II., 1830.” A note on the Bishop’s letter says, “This letter is holograph, and a contemporary indorsement fixes its date to 1546.” Another note says, “The tenth instrument signed by stamp in December, 1546, is a letter to the Bishop of Winchester in answer to his letter to the king concerning an exchange of land desired by the king”—that is, the letter here given from Fox.

then you haue: wherein if you be yet disposed to show that conformity you write of, we see no cause why you shoulde molest vs any further therewith, being the same of such sorte, as may well enough be passed without\* officers there.

"Yeuen vnder our signet at our maner of Otelands, the iiii. of December the xxxviii yere of our reigne."†

These letters, perhaps, taking them all together, are not very intelligible as to their subject-matter. It only appears, and that (to use the bishop's phrase) somewhat "confusely," that an application had been made to him on the part of the king, and that, by some hesitation, he had given, or was said to have given, offence to his majesty; but it is absolutely impossible to avoid gathering from them two things most important to our inquiry.

First—that if Gardiner really was, and for years had been, a cast-off courtier, hated and abhorred, the fact was very imperfectly known, or very oddly appreciated and dealt with, by the parties interested in it, and most likely to know all about it. Gardiner certainly does not write as if he thought it of himself; the king, (if we suppose the letter to have really come from him,) though secluded by illness so that none then came to the court but such as were "specially sent for," has no hesitation in granting him an audience in answer to his independent claim to make answer to his "owne person"—or if we suppose the letter to have been written by the Council without the knowledge of the king, and even by those who wished and intended to bring Gardiner into trouble, it is equally worthy of notice that they did not venture to represent his majesty as adopting any other style.

Secondly, it is obvious (and it adds greatly to the force of what has been already said) that up to that time "wily Winchester," as the puritan party loved to call him, was simple enough to believe that his old pupil was his friend. He evidently had full confidence in the viper whom he had cherished in his bosom, when he wrote this letter.

This misplaced confidence, indeed, continued even after the accession of King Edward. Mr. Tytler gives us a letter which, as he says, "introduces to us the celebrated Gardiner bishop of Winchester, in a collision which took place a week after Henry's death, between the prelate and my Lord of Oxford's players;" who had "advertised an entertainment in the Borough of Southwark, at the very time, it seems, that Gardiner and his parishioners resolved to have a dirge, or dirge, for his departed master;"‡ that is, on the first Sunday after the fact of the king's

\* So it stands; but probably it should be "with our."

† Fox. First Edition, p. 801.

‡ Ubi sup. p. 19.

death was known. The letter is curious; but our only business with it is to observe that the bishop, not being able to make anything of the justice of the peace to whom he had applied, wrote an account of the matter to Master Secretary in a familiar, and even playful, style, adding, "if ye will not, *propter invidiam*, meddle, send me so word, and I will myself sue to my Lord Protector," and subscribing himself "your assured loving friend." But in less than a month the bishop appears to have begun to find out his mistake. We have not his letter to Paget which elicited the reply, dated March 2, which Mr. Tytler has published, and which plainly shows that by that time Mr. Secretary had begun to be saucy and show his teeth. It is as follows:—

"My Lord,—After my right hearty commendations. I thank you for your good advices in your letter, and trust you will think, whatsoever some bodies shall (for that they want some piece of their own wilfulness) unjustly and slanderously either conceive or report of me, that I neither mean nor do nip or snatch any person, nor that unwisely I would usurp a greater power upon me than I have indeed (which is not great),—when that I could tempre myself from using of all that which I might have used, when time served me, with the favour and consent of him from whom all our powers were derived, provoked by him oftentimes to use it, (as he testified to divers,) and having his promise to be maintained in the same.\*

"In his days that dead is, (God have his soul!) I never did that I might have done. I never loved extremes, I never hindered any man to him but notable malefactors, and yet not to the extremity. I have borne much with divers men, and caused divers men to be borne withal; and by the judgement of mine own conscience have deserved benevolentiam of all. If any man will bear to me malevolentiam without cause, God judge between him and me. For private respects, I will not do anything wherein the public cause may be hindered. And in public causes I will say and do, as I have done always since I have been in the place, according to my conscience, without lending the same either to life, honour, wife, children, lands, or goods†; and yet not with such a frowardness or wilfulness but that a good man or a better conscience may lead and rule me.

"I malign not bishops, but would that both they and all other were in such order as might be most to the glory of God and the benefit of this realm; and much less I malign your Lordship, but wish ye well;

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\* If the reader is conversant with the depositions made against Gardiner at the time of his deprivation, he will understand the insolence and impudence of this allusion. If not it is better to let it pass for the present, than to deviate into an explanation which would occupy a good deal of room, and for which we may find a better opportunity.

† On this passage Mr. Tytler adds the following note, "Good set words these of Master Secretary Paget's, and yet in 1552 he was deprived of his office and fined 2000*l.* for peculation. Haywood, *Life of Edward VI.* Kennet, vol. II. p. 319."



and if the estate of bishops is or shall be thought meet to be reformed, I wish either that you were no bishop, or that you could have such a pliable will as could well bear the reformation that should be thought meet for the quiet of the realm.

"Your Lordship shall have your commission in as ample manner as I have authority to make out the same, and in an ampler manner than you had it before; which I think you may execute now with less fear of danger than you have had cause hitherto to do. No man wisheth you better than I do, which is as well as to myself; if you wish me not like, you are in the wrong; and thus I take my leave of your Lordship. From Westminster this 2nd of March 1546.

"Your Lordship's assured to command,

"W. PAGET."

Thus much, then, brings the history fairly into the reign of Edward VI., and to a period when the enemies of Gardiner felt themselves secure in power, and able to say and do what they pleased with him. But I have already quoted a very sensible remark of a writer in the *Biographia Britannica*, who, after expressing his surprise that Bale, in his memoir of Katherine Parr, had said nothing of the bishop's atrocious attempt on the life of that queen, adds—"Nor is it less strange that when matter was sought much further back to charge him with, *this* should not be remembered in the proceedings at *his deprivation* under the succeeding reign."\* This observation is very just, and very important; and its only fault is that it does not go half far enough. It *is* strange, if any such thing ever happened, that it should have been unnoticed by his enemies at a time, and under circumstances, when there seemed to be every temptation to bring it forward, and press it against the obnoxious bishop. But is it not more strange—almost incredible, if the popular story is true—that in the proceedings for the deprivation of Bishop Gardiner no hint whatever was thrown out of his ever having lost the favour of the late king, or of his being put into or put out of his will, until he himself provoked it, by adopting a line of defence which no man in his senses could have thought of unless he knew that he was on safe ground, and that what he stated was not only true but notorious. In the document which is entitled "A longe matter proposed by the Bishop of Winchester," and which he exhibited to the commissioners at Lambeth, at the fourth session, Jan. 8, 1551, are the following articles:—

"2. Item, that the sayd bishoppe being charged with manye and sondrye commaundements, to be by him executed, doone and obserued in oure late soueraygne Lordes time that dead is, was neuer found faulty nor any fault obiected and proued agaynste him, but hathe

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\* *British Magazine*, March, 1847, p. 259.

beene alwayes, and yet is a true, paynfull, and iuste sernaunte, and subiecte in that behalfe, and so commonlye had, accepted, taken, reputed and accompted amonges the best sorte, and wyth all sortes of Personnes of all degrees, beyng not hys aduersaryes nor ennemyes, *ponit et supra*.

"3. Item, that the said bishop hathe bene alwaies hetherto, and yet is esteemed, taken and reputed a manne inste of promyse, duelye obse-rynge the same, and bath not bene called or troubled heretofore by any maner of sute, or other vexatyon in anye Courte of thys Realme, spirituall or Temporall for anye suche pretence or occasyon as is aforesayd, vntil the time he was sente to the Tower the morow after he preached, before the Kings maiesty in hys manor or pallace called the Whitehal at Westminster, being the next day immediatly folowyng, and the laste daye of June. which shall be full iii. yeres at the same day next comming, and thys was and is trew, publyque, notoryous, manifest and famous. *ponit et supra*.

"4. Item, the sayd Byshop was in such reputacion and estimation of the counsellors of our late souereigne Lorde that dead is, as being one of his maiestyes pryuy counsel til his maiesties death, that he was by their good contentment vsed in counsayll to haue the speach in their name to the Embassadors of Scotlande, the french kinge, and the Emperoure, within xiiii. dayes or there about of the death of our late souereign Lord. *ponit et supra*."—Fox, p. 783, 1st Ed.

This "longe matter," as I have already said, was proposed by the bishop himself on the 8th of January, and it seems to have been in order to meet it that, "Thinterrogatories ministred by thoffice" were issued on the 20th of the same month. Two of them were as follows:—

"4. Item, whether you know or haue hard saye that the said late King expresly willed him the sayd B. no more to be of the priuy counsell with the kinges maiestye our soueraigne Lord that now is, and omitted and expresly refused to haue him named emonges other counsayllors in his testament, to be of the counsel as is aforesayd.

"5. Item, whether ye know or haue hard say, that the said Bishop being aforenamed as an executor in the testament of the sayd late King, was a litle before his death at his declaring of his last will put out by his highnes, and so by him refused to be any of his sayd executors: for what causes the sayd bishop was so put out, and what the said late kyng sayd of the sayd byshop at the same tyme."—Fox, 1st Ed., p. 793.

It was necessary that the Lord Paget should meet these Interrogatories. Let us see how he did it.

"The xi. Session vpon the matter of Gardiner bishop of Winchester in the house of the Lord Paget, without temple barre, before the foresaid commissioners iudicially sitting, T. Argall Notary being present the day aforesayd, that is, the. xxiii. of January.

"At which sayd time and place, M. Davy Clapham and Jhon Lewis promoters of the office, did product Sir William Paget of the

On the 27th, the Lords were ordered to be in their robes, that the royal assent might be given to it; which the Lord Chancellor, with some others joined in commission, did give by virtue of the king's letters patent. And it had been executed the next morning, if the king's death had not prevented it.\*

The reader will see that, strictly speaking, the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk had scarcely been completed during the life of Henry VIII., and therefore, that when Gardiner speaks of occurrences after that attainder, he is speaking of a period obviously later than any at which any quarrel or disgrace with the king could have taken place. Paget's assurance, however, did not fail him; he replied—

“To the v. and vi. articles, the sayd lord Paget answereth, that after thattainder of the Duke of Norfolke, (as he remembreth) in the vpper and nether house of the parliament, the late kyng of moste worthy memorie, willed hym the sayde lorde Paget to require thesayde byshops graunt of the hundreth poundes, mentioned in the articles: but in suche sort his maiestie willed it to be requyred, as he loked for it rather of dutie, then of any gratuitie at the byshops hand: to whome the sayd lord Paget sayeth of certayne knowledge (as men may knowe thynges) he the sayde kyng woulde haue made request for nothyng, beyng the sayd byshop the man at that time, whome the sayde Lorde Paget beleueth, his maiestie abhorred more then any man in his realme: whiche he declared greuously at sondrie tymes to the sayde lorde against the said B. euer namyng him with such termes as the said lord Paget is sory to name. And the said lord Paget thynketh, that dyuerse of the gentlemen of the pryue chamber are able to depose the same. Neuerthelesse *it may be*, that he the sayde lorde Paget, did vse another forme of request to the said B. then the said king wold haue lyked yf he had knowen it: which *if he dyd*, he dyd it rather for dexteritie, to obteigne the thyng for his frend then for that he had such speciall charge of the sayd kyng so to do: And also the sayde Lord Paget saith, that afterward *it myght be*, that he vsed such comfortable words of the kynges fauourable and thankfull acceptation of the thyng, at the sayde byshoppes hande, as in the article is mentioned: whiche *if he dyd*, it was rather for quyete of the sayde Byshoppe, then for that it was a thyng in dede.

“To the seuenth article, the sayd Lord Paget sayth, that it may be, that the sayd bishop was vsed at the time mentioned in the article, with the Ambassadors, for the counsels mouth, because that none other of the Counsell that sate aboue hym, were so well languaged as he, in the french tonge. But the sayde Lorde Paget beleueth, that if the sayde kyng that dead is, had knowen it, the Counsell would haue had litle thanks for their labour.”—Fox, 1st Ed., p. 816.

The unfortunate bishop had clearly met with more than his

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\* Burnet, Hist. of Reformation, I. 332.

match. What could he do with such a man but remind the Commissioners that in his case, as in that of some others who had not been sworn, "the sayde othe geuing was not by speciall consent remitted, but especially and expressly by the parte of the sayd byshop requyred," and that therefore "their deposition by theecclesiastical lawes hath no such strength of testimonie, as the Judge should or might for the knowledge of truthe, haue regard to them." He added, however, and it seems to me to show both that he knew his enemy, and that he did not fear him : —

"The sayde byshop dare the more boldly alleage this exception ; and so much the rather, that the Lord Paget hath in his deposition evidently, and manifestly neglected honor, fayth, and honestie, and sheweth hym selfe desirous beyond the necessarie aunswere, to that it was demanded of him, (onely of ingrate malyce) to hyndre, as muche as in him is, the sayd byshop, who was in the sayd Lorde's youth, his teacher, and tutor : afterwarde his maister, and then his beneficiall maister, to obtayne of the kynges maiestie that dead is one of the roomes of the clerkshyp of the Signet for him : whiche ingrate malice of the sayd Lord Paget, the sayde byshop sayth in the depositions manifestly doth appeare, as the sayde byshop offereth hym selfe readie to proue and shewe. And moreouer the sayd byshop against the Lord Paget allegeth at such tyme, as the said Lord Paget was produced against the saide byshop, the same Lorde Paget openly in the presence of the iudges, and other there present, sayde howe the sayde byshop did flie from iustice, whiche made him notoriously suspected, not to be affected indifferently to the truthe (as seemed him) and without cause therein to speake, as enemy to the sayde byshop."—Fox, 1st Ed. p. 864.

Much that is interesting might be added on this point, from the evidence in this process ; but perhaps what has been given from it, and from other sources, may lead us to believe that Bishop Gardiner did not indulge in vain boasting, when, in his letter to the Protector Somerset, he referred with affectionate recollection to old times, and his old master, and boldly added, "NO MAN COULD DO ME HURT DURING HIS LIFE."\*

I am, &c.,

S. R. MAITLAND.

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\* Fox, p. 736. 1st Ed.

# ANCIENT CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS OF A CITY PARISH.

(Continued from page 250.)

Thys is the Accompt of Willm. Halhed and of Synkyn Tapeser late wardeynns of the Rentes and gooddys of the chirch of saynt Andrewes Hubberd besyde Estchepe of london made frome the xxiiij day of Aprel in the yere xxxviii of kyng Harry the Sext unto the [*sic.* the later date being omitted. The account, however, is carried through five years, as appears from the rent received. The next account will be found to commence on the 24th of April in the fifth year of Edward IV., five years after the commencement of this account, which embraces, therefore, the period from April 24th, 1460, to April 24th, 1465.]

## Resceytes.

Furst the accompt by them Resceyuyd in the Boxx whan they come in to thayre Offyce Wyth a barr of Syluyr xix<sup>s</sup> i<sup>d</sup>.

## The Rent.

Item, Resceyuyd of Jhon Walker for the hows that he occupied By iiij yere And of Thomas Hunton occupying the same howse for a hole yere the summa . xvi<sup>li</sup>. xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>.

Summa, xvii<sup>li</sup>. xij<sup>s</sup> v<sup>d</sup>.

## Knyllis Pittys and Bequestys.

Item, Resceyuyd of Jhon Wycam of the bequest of Jhon Martyn . . . . . xl<sup>s</sup>.

Item, Resceyuyd of Allison Jamys for the pytt and the knyll of Salmon Jamys . . . . . x<sup>s</sup>.

Item, Resceyued of Isabell Bellamy of her bequest . . . . . xx<sup>s</sup>.

Item, Resceyuyd of Wastnest Wynys modyr a barnes of syluyr whych wayed v. ownces & quarter which was solde for . . . . . xi<sup>s</sup> xi<sup>d</sup>.

Item, Resceyuyd of Jhon Kyng for the Ryngyng of the grete bell & for the wast of iij. torches . . . . . iiij<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.

Summa, iij<sup>li</sup>. viij<sup>s</sup> ij<sup>d</sup>.

## Quarteragys and Howslyng Syluyr.

Item, Resceyuyd on v Estyr dayes for howselyng monye . . . . . xlvij<sup>s</sup>.

Item, Resceyuyd in the Chyrch for xx quartragys . . . . . viij<sup>li</sup>. xvj<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>.

Summa, xj<sup>li</sup>. iiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>.

Discharge.

Paymentes made by the sayde Wardeynns within the Tyme of this  
Accompt.

For the Rent.

Furst I payd to Saynt Maryspitill for quit Rent Goo- ing owt of Thōmas Huntonis howse by v. yere The yere viij <sup>a</sup> . . . . . Summa,	xl <sup>a</sup>
Item, payde for the Obytt of Julyan Fayrehere By v. yere . . . . . Summa,	xl <sup>a</sup>
Item, payd to Syr Jhon Patye syngyng for the sayd Julyan Fayrehere by iij termys . . . . .	vi <sup>u</sup> . xij <sup>a</sup> . liij <sup>d</sup> .
Summa, x <sup>u</sup> . xij <sup>a</sup> . liij <sup>d</sup> .	

Paymentys towchyng the Chyrche of Saynt Andrews.

Furst, payde to the waxchaundler for wax for the Beme- lyghte, and for the paschall and other lyghttyes within the Tyme of thys Accompt . . . . . Summa,	liij <sup>u</sup> . vij <sup>a</sup> . x <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payda to the Talowghechaundler for oyle and Talow Candyll . . . . . Summa,	xxv <sup>a</sup> . j <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payde for waschyng of Surplys & Auter clothys, and A mending of dyuers Surplys and Aubes at diuers Tymes . . . . .	xij <sup>a</sup> .
Item, payd for scowryng of Candylstyeckys & of the bolles of the Beme att dyuers tymes and amending of the lampes . . . . .	v <sup>a</sup> . liij <sup>d</sup> . ob.
Item, for Cartyng A way dung & Rubrusche at dyuers Tymes and amending of the Crosse in Carpentry and Macynry . . . . .	liij <sup>a</sup> .
Item, for A mending of the church durr and for tymber worke A bowghte the pillar & for thre tuckyng gyr- dyllys and setting vp of the Canape . . . . .	xij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for Flaggys and Garlandys and for mending of dyuerse pewes for haspes Garnettys and nayle . . . . .	liij <sup>a</sup> .
Item, for a baskett to put in the Juellys and for Frese and for iij Flasketts . . . . .	ij <sup>a</sup> . vij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for ij new Surplys and for an olde Surplis . . . . .	v <sup>a</sup> . x <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payd for Rynging of a knyll for Salmon James & to a Torche & for a kay to the chyrch yard durr and for ij Crewettys . . . . .	liij <sup>a</sup> .
Summa, vj <sup>u</sup> . xi <sup>a</sup> . vi <sup>d</sup> . ob.	

Reparacyon of the Chyrch.

Item, payd to petyr Glacier for makyng Clene and mending of Glaswyndowys & for glas . . . . .	x <sup>a</sup> . liij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payd for the orgaynnys & for the setting in the chauncel. For nayle borde & workemanschyp & for the Tymbyr on the glaswyndowse . . . . .	v <sup>u</sup> . vijij <sup>a</sup> . vijij <sup>d</sup> .

Item, payd for clapsyng and glewing of the bokys and for ijj sconcyys and a dysch of yrynn for the senser . . .	ijj <sup>a</sup> iij <sup>d</sup>
Item, payd for ij newe Formes & for setting vp the Canape and for the hyre of ij prestys for to syng in Ester weke . . .	iiij <sup>a</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>
Item, payd For payntyng of the George & the Crystouyr and for the mendyng of the best Chalys and for the mendyng of the keueryng of the Font . . .	ix <sup>a</sup> iij <sup>d</sup>
Item, payd for a kay to the chyrchdurr and for ij padlocks and for amending of a loke & a bolte of yryn . . .	xvij <sup>d</sup>
Item, payd for the making of ij <sup>a</sup> passyon baners. For Tar- taryn. For the frence. For the stauys. For the ij <sup>a</sup> Crossys. And for the smale Stauys . . .	xxvi <sup>a</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Item, for scovring of the Clothe at hye Awter . . .	vij <sup>d</sup>
Item, paiede to Wodehovs son for pleyng at Orgonns . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup>
Summa, viij <sup>u</sup> v <sup>a</sup> iij <sup>d</sup>	

#### Reparacyon on Walkers howse.

Item, Payd to a Tyler and hys man For iij dayes and di. wyrkyng vppon Walkers howse. Andfor v sackys lyme And for v. li. sawndyr . . .	vij <sup>a</sup> ij <sup>d</sup>
Summa, vij <sup>a</sup> ij <sup>d</sup>	

#### Reparacyon of the foresayde howse whan Thomas Hunton toke it.

In primis, payde to dyuers dawbers and laborers. For lombe & sonde & for thayre hyre.	
Item, payde to a Carpenter for hys labowre. and for tymber For a Sege stole. For a dressing borde & for odyr borde.	
Item, payde to lege Iremonger For nayle and hynges and bokys. And to a laborer for Castyng of a Gong.	
Item, payd to a Mason and hys laborer for there. And for chanel stone. payyng Stone And for the boredyr of a Chymney.	
Item, payd to a Tyler and hys man for there hyre and for Tyle. Tyle pynns. And to Willm. Granger For lyme.	
Item, payd to a plommer for a Cesterne And for Cartyng A way dungg & Robrusch.	
Item, paied for a durre & a Schelffe, j seler durr & making of wyndowes in the kechyn & the Covnter in the halle iij <sup>u</sup> xv <sup>a</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>	
Summa, iij <sup>u</sup> xv <sup>a</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>	

#### Reparacyon of the Bellys And of the Clocke.

Item, Payde for a bell whele And for Amending of dyuers bell whelys. For mendyng of the clappers And payd for v. new bawdryckys . . .	vij <sup>a</sup> iij <sup>d</sup>
Item, Payd for A Ropa for the Grete payse And for the mendyng of the same payse. For Amending of the Clocke at dyuers Tymes And amending of the lytell payse . . .	xi <sup>a</sup> vi <sup>d</sup>
Summa, xix <sup>a</sup> ix <sup>d</sup>	

Reparacyon of the Coopys [Copes.]

Item, Payde for the Amēdyng of ij <sup>o</sup> coopys And for	
Bokeram. thredyn lacys And for Seryd Clothe . . . . .	ix <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, we paied for a Sawter booke . . . . .	vi <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for amēdyng of Coopys & vestimentts . . . . .	xvj <sup>d</sup> .
Summa, xvij <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> .	

Allowawnce.

Item, allowed to Walkers howse in paying of the Rent . . . . .	xliij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to Syr harry For Erenest . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to Mayers child for dawnsyng with the hobye hors . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, Allowed to Thomas Hunton is howse in paying of the Rent . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payd for makyng, wrytyng & Engrosyng vp of this Accompte . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, paied to Thomas the Childe for pleyinge at the Orgonnys . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> . iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paiede for Amēdyng of a Cope of golde with reperaunce . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> . iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Summa, xi <sup>s</sup> . iiij <sup>d</sup> .	

Summa totalis paied in oure tyme amounteh xxxij<sup>li</sup>. xix<sup>d</sup>. ob.

So remaynyth cler of this Accovmpte in to the box cler. xliij<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>.

This is thaccompt of Thomas Vnderwode And Thomas Vnton Wardeins of the Rentys and goodys of the Chirche of Seint Andrewe Huberd beside Estchepe of london made from the xxiiij day of Aprill the fift yere of the reigne of kyng Edward the fourth vnto the xxiiij day of Aprill the Sixt yere of the reigne of the said kyng which is by An hole yere. [From April 24th, 1465, to April 24th, 1466.]

Receytis.

First, receyued in the boxe at their commyng in to their Office . . . . .	xliij <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> .
Summa pr.	

Receytis of Rent.

Item, resceyued for the rent of the tenement wherein the said Thomas Vnton dwelleth that is to sey for An hole yere past At Midsomer the fift yere of the reigne of kyng Edward the fourth ij <sup>li</sup> . vi <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> . and for three quarters of A yere past at Ester the sixt yere of the reigne of the said kyng. . . . .	Summa totalis, v <sup>li</sup> . xvj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> .
Summa pr.	



## Receytis of Quarterages and Paschall Siluer.

Item, for Ester quarter quarterages anno v <sup>o</sup> . . . . .	vij <sup>s</sup> iij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for quarterage at Allhalowtyde . . . . .	xvj <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for quarterage at Candelmasse the same yere . . . . .	vij <sup>s</sup> iij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for paschall siluer at Ester anno vi <sup>o</sup> . . . . .	vij <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup> .

Summa, xxxix<sup>s</sup> ij<sup>d</sup>.Summa totalis Receyued ix<sup>l</sup>. xix<sup>s</sup>. v<sup>d</sup>.

## Paymentis made by the said Wardeins in the tyme of this their Accompt.

First, payed to the morow masse preest for his Salarye for A quarter At Midsomer Anno v <sup>o</sup> . . . . .	xxxiiij <sup>s</sup> iij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for reparacion don on the Chirche as appereth by iij billes . . . . .	liij <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for Amendyng of the bokes . . . . .	xiiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, payed to the morow masse preest for half A yere past at Cristmasse A <sup>o</sup> v <sup>o</sup> . . . . .	iiij <sup>l</sup> . vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payed to the priour of Seint mary spitell for quyte rent . . . . .	viiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, to a plommer for Amendyng of A goter of lede . . . . .	x <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to the lavendre for wasshyng of clothes of the Chirche . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to a player at organes . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to John Girdeler for Corpus Christi day . . . . .	viiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, payed to Anneys Vndrewode for wasshyng . . . . .	xvj <sup>s</sup> .
Item, to Margarete Rede for wasshyng . . . . .	vj <sup>s</sup> .
Item, to Bernard for makyng of the lokks . . . . .	xvi <sup>s</sup> .
Item, payed to an obite of Gilyan Fairfele . . . . .	vij <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for makyng of a Clok . . . . .	vi <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for Ale . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for wasshyng ayeinst [against] Ester A <sup>o</sup> vi <sup>o</sup> . . . . .	x <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for makyng of the Chirchyng pewe . . . . .	viiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for Talow Candell . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> iij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for Amendyng of A gutter . . . . .	x <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for the wast of ij lb. & di. of the pascall weying xiiij lb. . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> . x <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for A Tapie for the fonte . . . . .	viiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for A lb. Candell for Judas . . . . .	viiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for iij galons and A quarter of laump oyle . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> iij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for wasshyng of ij Auter clothes & ij towels . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for ij busshell colys . . . . .	j <sup>s</sup> . ob.
Item, for brode . . . . .	ob.
Item, for the engrossyng and writyng of this Accompt . . . . .	xvi <sup>s</sup> .

Summa totalis payed, ix<sup>l</sup>. xvi<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>.And so remayneth cler in the box, ij<sup>s</sup>. ix<sup>d</sup>.

This is thaceompte of Thomas Wattys and Richard Crakenthorpe. wardeins of the rentes and godes of the chirche of Saynt Andrewe Huberd be syde Estchepe of london made from the xxiiij. daie of Apryll in the sixte yere of the reigne of kyng Edwarde fourte. vnto the xxiiij. daie of Apryll in the viij<sup>th</sup>. yere of the reigne of the saide kyng whiche is by ij hole yere. [From April 24th, 1466, to April 24th, 1468.]

Receytes.

First, Receyvid in the Boxe at theyre comyng in to Offyce ij<sup>s</sup>. ix<sup>d</sup>.  
Summa pr.

Receyvvd of Margarete Kene for occupying the benche vnder the chirche walle for ij yeress. . . . . ij<sup>s</sup>.  
Summa pr.

Pittes. Knylles. and for waest of torches.

First, Receivid for waest of Torches for a man that dyed within the Garlande . . . . . summa ii<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>.  
Item, of John Hurtle for torches for ij dyuerse tymes . . . . . iiij<sup>d</sup>.  
Item, of Willm. Graungier for a woman that died within his hous . . . . . iiij<sup>d</sup>.  
Item, receyvvd of Richard Jonnes for pytte. & knyll of his wyfe . . . . . x<sup>s</sup>.  
Item, of Willm. Graungier for pyt & knyll of his wyfe . . . . . v<sup>s</sup>.  
Item, receyvvd for beryng of a woman that dyde next the garlande . . . . . x<sup>d</sup>.  
Item, of Willm. Cassen Taylor for beryng of his child . . . . . x<sup>d</sup>.  
Item, of Maister Peet for buryng of his man . . . . . ij<sup>s</sup>.  
Item, of Thomas Carter for buryng of his childe . . . . . iiij<sup>d</sup>.  
Summa, xxij<sup>s</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>.

Paskall Sylayr.

Receyvvd for ij yeress for the paskall . . . . . xvij<sup>s</sup>. x<sup>d</sup>.  
Summa pr.

Quarterages.

First, receyvvd at whitsontyde for Ester quarter for the first yere . . . . . vij<sup>s</sup>. ij<sup>d</sup>.  
Item, at lammas for Myddyssomer quarter . . . . . summa vij<sup>s</sup>. vi<sup>d</sup>. ob.  
Item, at All halowen tyde for Mighelmas quarter summa vij<sup>s</sup>. v<sup>d</sup>.  
Item, At Candilmas for Cristymas quarter. . . . . vij<sup>s</sup>.  
Summa for one yere, xxxij<sup>s</sup>. i<sup>d</sup>. ob.

Item, Receivid for Estir quarter in the next yere foloyng vij<sup>s</sup>. v<sup>d</sup>.  
Item, for Myddyssomer quarter in the same yere. Summa vij<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>.  
Item, for Mighelmas quarter next foloyng . . . . . ix<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>.  
Item, for Crystymas quarter next ensuyng . . . . . vij<sup>s</sup>. xi<sup>d</sup>.  
Summa for this yere, xxxv<sup>s</sup>. vij<sup>d</sup>.

Item, Receyvid and gaderd of dyuerse persoones for to make nwe surples. . . . . Summa xiiij<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>  
 Item, Receyvid for hous rente for a hole yere for the hous where harry Silver dwellith in . . . . . Summa iij<sup>li</sup> vi<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>  
 Memorandum. that the seide hous was voyde and vnocupied the first hole yere that the saied chirche wardeyns occupied in their offyce.

Summa, iij<sup>li</sup> xv<sup>d</sup>.

Summa totalis of all chaerges and receytes cometh to ix<sup>li</sup> xiiij<sup>s</sup> x<sup>d</sup> ob.

Paiements and discharges for the saied ij yeres.

First paid to Thomas More for amending of a belle whele . . . . . viij<sup>d</sup>  
 Item, to Maister Jhon for a preest that servid in the chirche vppon palme Sondaie, in Thomas Vntones, and Vnderwodes tyme . . . . . summa vi<sup>d</sup>  
 Item, to Thomas Crowcher for a key to the vestre durr . . . . . iij<sup>d</sup>  
 Item, for flaggs and garlands for ij yeres vppon corpus Christi daie . . . . . xij<sup>d</sup> ob.  
 Item, to a pavior for amending of the pavement afore the chirche durr . . . . . iij<sup>d</sup>  
 Item, paide for iij belle ropes . . . . . summa ii<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>  
 Item, to the Rente gaderer of seynte Mary spytell for ij yeres rent . . . . . xvi<sup>d</sup>  
 Item, to Thomas Crowchier for a lok in the vestre . . . . . viij<sup>d</sup>  
 Item, paide for a nwe whele to one of the belles, summa iij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>

Summa xxv<sup>s</sup> ob.

Item, paide for a cowpe of laton that hangeth at the hye Autier . . . . . iij<sup>s</sup>  
 Item, to Jhon clerk for burying of Richard Jonnes wyfe . . . . . ii<sup>s</sup>  
 Item, paide for a shoffull, price . . . . . iij<sup>s</sup>  
 Item, for ale gyffen to the syngers vppon the chirche halidaie . . . . . vi<sup>d</sup>  
 Item, for j quarter of j C. waxe for the beme light . . . . . xiiij<sup>s</sup> vi<sup>d</sup>  
 Item, for amending of iij Clapers to the belles, summa ii<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>  
 Item, to a mason for to kever the pittes of Ric. Jones wyfe and of Willm. Graungiers wyfe . . . . . summa xij<sup>s</sup>  
 Item, to John Ritchemonde & to John Clerke for makying clene of all the candilstikkes and the Bolles in the rode lofte . . . . . summa ii<sup>s</sup>  
 Item, for iij Bawderykkes to hang with the belle clapers . . . . . iij<sup>s</sup>  
 Item, to a man that plaied vppon the organnes in Cristymas . . . . . xij<sup>s</sup>  
 Item, for ij obytes of Willm. Fayerfeeld and Julyan his wyfe . . . . . xvij<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>  
 Item, for makying of the waxe for the Beme light . . . . . xxiij<sup>s</sup>  
 Item, for Tukkyng girdell for preestes price . . . . . iij<sup>s</sup>  
 Item, for lynnyn clothe for nwe surples . . . . . xxiij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>

Item, for makyng of iij surples, a rochet of nwe clothe, and for amending of old surples, and markyng of Autier clothes . . . . .	v <sup>s</sup> . vi <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for a boord for the pentys over the chirche dorre and for makyng & setting vppe of the same . . . . .	vi <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to John clerke for amending of the bokes . . . . .	xx <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for correkkyng and wrytyng of the Inventaries . . . . .	xiiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for Ale to the clerkes vppon seynt Andrewys daie . . . . .	vi <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for wasshyng of Surples Autier clothes and other clothes be longynge to the chirche, for ij yeres wasshynge . . . . . summa	v <sup>s</sup> . iij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for makyng of ij endentures for Thomas Clerke of white chapell paryssh . . . . .	x <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payde to the saide Thomas for fourteenyghts service Summa, iij <sup>l</sup> . xvij <sup>s</sup> . iij <sup>d</sup> . ob.	xvij <sup>d</sup> . ob.
Item, payde to Thomas Crowcher for prykettes of yerne [iron] and setting vppon the chirche durr. Item, for a lok. a keye and a bolte to the vestre durr . . . . .	ii <sup>s</sup> . iij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for a coord to hang vppe the canape and for a maunes labour . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for ale to the clerks vppon the dedicacion. and chirche halydaie and for an organ player for the same ij daies Summa	xv <sup>d</sup> .
Item, spent for Ale to dyuerse of the paryssh when Johu Clarke delyuered vppe the chirche godes . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to John Motte carpenter for makyng & stuffe of a defence a yeinst the chirkhes walle . . . . .	ii <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to a laborer to dyg ij holes to set in the postes . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to a yong man that kepte the organnes in Cristymas Item, to the raker for makyng clene of the chirche yerd and cariage a waye of duste and dung for ij hole yeres	ii <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for makynge clene & rede okeryng of Harry Sylvers hous . . . . .	xiiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to a man that sette the klok . . . . .	xxij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to John Halle for ij tymes scowryng of a grene couerlet . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for Coles and frankencense at Ester for ij yers . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for Talowe candell to Thomas Wattes for ij yere . . . . .	xviij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for amending of a gotter of lede in Harry Sylvers hous . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> . vi <sup>d</sup> . ob.
Item, to Crowcher for amending of Richemondes wyfes pwe . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for wyre to the paskall . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for makyng of Judas candell . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for makyng of the paskall and for waest of hit for ij yeres . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for money spent a bout John clerk that is dede, more then can be resceivid of his quarterage by the some of . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> .
	xxiiij <sup>d</sup> .

Item, paide for v. galonnes and a pottell lampe oyle price	v <sup>+</sup> vj <sup>+</sup>
Item, paide to a joynor for amending of a belle whele	ij <sup>+</sup>
Summa, xxx <sup>+</sup> ob.	

[After this entry, which is at the bottom of the page, occurs a hiatus, the following leaf having been cut out of the book. The next entry is on the top of the page, and belongs to the account for the year 1468. One of the Churchwardens, Richard King, is named at the end of this account.]

#### Quarterages.

First, resceivid at Whitsontyde for Estir quarter	x <sup>+</sup> v <sup>+</sup> ob.
Item, resceivid at lammes for myssomer quarter	vij <sup>+</sup> i <sup>+</sup>
Item, resceivid at halowen tyde for myghelmas quarter	vij <sup>+</sup> x <sup>+</sup> ob.
Item, resceivid at candilmas for cristymas quarter	x <sup>+</sup> ij <sup>+</sup> ob.

Summa of the quarterages, xxxvij<sup>+</sup> vij<sup>+</sup> ob.

Summa totalis of all Resceites, vijij<sup>+</sup> xiiij<sup>+</sup> iiij<sup>+</sup>

#### Paientes made by the saide Wardeyns for the saide yere.

First, paide to an organ plaier vppon the daie of the translacion of Seynt Andrewe	vi <sup>+</sup>
Item, for Ale to the clarkes the same daie	ij <sup>+</sup>
Item, paide for Amending of the clokke	ij <sup>+</sup> iiij <sup>+</sup>
Item, paide to Crowchier smyth for a lok to a dorr in the steple	vij <sup>+</sup>
Item, to william goldsmyth for amending of the mon-strance	iiij <sup>+</sup>
Item, paide vppon corpus Christi daie for garlandes & flagges	
Item, for a small rope in the rode lofte	vij <sup>+</sup>
Item, to John Clerke for burying of Robert Peet	ij <sup>+</sup>
Item, to Crowchier smyth for the amending of a belle claper and for a keie to the store hous dorr	xj <sup>+</sup>
Item, paide to a carpenter and to a dawber for makyng of a thing in the north side of the chirche for droppying of candell	vijij <sup>+</sup>

#### Summa, vijij<sup>+</sup>

Item, paide for a carte lode of sande	vi <sup>+</sup>
Item, for laying of a stone vppon Robert Peet	vj <sup>+</sup>
Item, for a purse for the boxe	i <sup>+</sup> ob.
Item, paide to the Rente gaderer of seynt mary spytell	vij <sup>+</sup>
Item, for lampe oyll to Robert Nonde for the hole yere	iiij <sup>+</sup> ix <sup>+</sup>
Item, for j quarter of j C. waxe for the beme light	xv <sup>+</sup> ix <sup>+</sup>
Item, paide to a warkman that rede okyrd [red ochred] and whited the chorch	iiij <sup>+</sup> iiij <sup>+</sup>
Item, paide for cole for the same wark	iiij <sup>+</sup>
Item, for xvijb rede lede [red lead] price	xx <sup>+</sup>
Item, for coles to make fyr	i <sup>+</sup>
Item, for Scowryng of the candel stykkes grete and smale	vijij <sup>+</sup> ob.
Item, for a Rope to the almes belle	vij <sup>+</sup>
Item, for wasshyng of all the chirche clothes for the yere	ii <sup>+</sup> x <sup>+</sup>

Item, for rede okir . . . . .	v <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for nayles and hokes, and oyle, for skowryng of the bolles in the rode losfe, and to a woman for skowryng of theym . . . . .	vi <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paide for makyng of a qwysshon . . . . .	xxij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for makyng of the waxe in the rode losfe . . . . .	xxj <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to Crowchier smyth for the amending of the claper for the grete belle . . . . .	vijj <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to William Graungier for iiij sakkes lyme, for the chirche . . . . .	vijj <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for wrytyng of the endentures bet wix vs & Rafe clerk . . . . .	xj <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to Margarete kene for ij haly water stykkes . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paide to Sir Richard for his halfe yere wages . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paide for makyng of ij endentures be twix Okley and vs and for brede and ale . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Summa, v <sup>li</sup> vi <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> .	
Item, paide for pynnes and hokes . . . . .	i <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to Rafe the clerkes wyfe for amending of a vestyment and a surples . . . . .	v <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to Crowchier smyth for amending of a chest & the klok . . . . .	iiij.
Item, alowed to harry Sylvir when he paide us rente . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paide for the Obyt of Julyan faierhed . . . . .	ix <sup>s</sup> xi <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for overæying of the evidences of Julyan faierhed . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paide to the Chambirleyn and to the maiers clerke with other expences. And for enrollng of the testament of the said Julyan . . . . .	xlv <sup>s</sup> x <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paide for nailles spente in the hous wher Okley dwelith in . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for C. and di. iiij penny nayells . . . . .	vi <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for di. C. iiij. penny nayells . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for a paire garnetts for the shoppe dorr in the same hous . . . . .	v <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for iij penny nayells and ij penny nayells . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for a garnet to the halle wyndowe . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to a laborer for iij daies labour in the same hous . . . . .	x <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for a paire garnetts vppon the stalle, over the seller dorr . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for a lode of breke to the same hous . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to Crowchier smyth for ij dogges yerne weying xl. lb. quarter . . . . .	v <sup>s</sup> .
Item, to the saide crowchier for a lok to the shoppe dorr . . . . .	vijj <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for a keye to the Counting hous dorr . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for a keye for the hattche at the steyres end . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for amending of a lok and a keye for a chambre dorr . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to a carpenter for j C. & di. and x. fete elmen boord for the parclose of the schoppe. And for all other tymbre warke . . . . .	ix <sup>s</sup> v <sup>d</sup> .

Item, paide to the Raker for cariage of erthe oute of the said hous	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Summa, iij <sup>li</sup> . xviiij <sup>d</sup> . iij <sup>d</sup> .	
Item, paide to plommer for amending of a gotter and for ij lb. sawdir	xij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to a mason for warkmanship in the same hous	iiij <sup>d</sup> . ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to a plommer for amending of a gotter a nother tyme	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to William Graungier for lyme spent in the same hous	ii <sup>li</sup> . ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for makynge clene of the Chirche yerd ayeinst palme sondaie	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for scowryng of the laton wark to a founder	xiiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to harry Nevyll man for playing vppon the organnes	xiiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for talogh candell spent in the chirche for the hole yere	xij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to Thomas Wattes for i bushell & di coles for gode fridaie & ester even spent in the Chirche	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paide for makynge of the paskall & for waest of waxe	xx
Item, for engrosyng and wrytyng of this accompte	xii <sup>d</sup> .
Summa, xiiij <sup>li</sup> . v <sup>d</sup> .	

Summa totalis of all the paiementes, x<sup>li</sup>. vi<sup>d</sup>.

And so the somme of the said paiementes draweth more  
then the somme of the Resceites by . . . . . xxxi<sup>li</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>.

Whiche is owying at this accompte vnto Richard kyng,  
one of the saide wardeyns.

## ANTIQUITIES, ETC.

### THE CONSUETUDINARY OF ST. OSMUND,

FROM A MANUSCRIPT FORMERLY BELONGING TO ST. PATRICK'S  
CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN.

(Continued from p. 267.)

*Adaptacio seruicij dominice prime in aduentu et in aliis dominicis  
cum suis exceptionibus.*

**M**odus seruicij huius dominice locum habet omni die dominica sim-  
plici per annum, excepto quod in aduentu, et a lxx<sup>to</sup> usque ad  
pascha utuntur diaconus et subdiaconus casulis.\* In aliis uero tem-  
poribus dalmaticis et tunicis. Preterea in predictis temporibus in-  
choatur missa sine gloria in excelsis, et terminatur sine *Ite missa est*.

\* A hand of the fifteenth century has written in the margin here, "Quare hoc."

In aliis uero cum *gloria in excelsis* inchoatur, et cum *Ite missa est* terminatur. Preterea nulla die dominica per annum dicitur prosa ad missam nisi in aduentu domini quando de dominica agitur, et die dominica qua cantatur *Dum medium silentium* ratione uenerationis temporis natalis domini. Preterea qualibet die dominica per annum dicitur *alleluia* ad missam nisi a lxx<sup>a</sup> usque ad pascha. Tunc enim tractus cantatur sine *alleluia*, et sine prosa a iiii<sup>or</sup> de superiore gradu in cappis sericis ad gradum chori ita quod omnes illi quatuor simul primum uersum incipiant que [*sic*] duo ex parte chori principalis consequantur, aliis duobus interim in extrema parte prime forme sedentibus, et ita alternis uicibus singuli uersus ab illis quatuor dicuntur, totus tractus dicatur choro interim sedente, ita quod omnes simul tractum ipsum terminent. In prima tamen dominica xl<sup>e</sup> et in dominica palmarum, tractus in choro alternis uicibus cantatur hinc inde modo predicto.

*Feria ij<sup>a</sup> aduentu modus exequendi officium misse.*

**F**eria ij<sup>a</sup> in aduentu idem modus seruitii seruatur que in precedente dominica, quibusdam exceptis, scil. quod in hac feria intrat sacerdos cum suis ministris ad officium exequendum, in initio officij ipsius misse. Preterea epistola ad gradum chori legitur. Gr. ab uno solo puero in superpellicio ad gradum chori cantatur; *Alleluia* ab alio puero tali loco et habitu. Euangelium non pulpito sed in presbiterio super pulpitum ad hoc paratum, uersus aquilonem conuerso diacono, quod unus ceroferariorum post lectam epistolam, in loco debito disponat et ornat. Dum legitur euangelium subdiaconus textum teneat in faciem ipsius legentis, ceroferarijs diacono assistantibus, uno a dextris, reliquo a sinistris. Preterea post lectum euangelium, sacerdos textum ministerio diaconi deosculetur, sed tunc non thurificetur, nec chorus incensetur. Nunquam enim chorus incensatur post euangelium ad missam, nisi quando *credo in unum deum* dicitur, sed tunc semper. Preterea pax a diacono choro apportatur per duos extremos de ij<sup>a</sup> forme. Cetera ut prius. Preterea hac feria ante terciam, dicitur missa in capitulo pro fidelibus cum diacono et subdiacono albis tantum indutis, quod semper obseruatur in omni missa pro defunctis, nisi quando pro episcopis ipsius ecclesie defunctis celebratur, et in crastino omnium sanctorum. Tunc enim dalmaticis et tunicis utuntur.

*Adaptatio misse huius ferie in aliis feriis per annum.*

**S**imilis quoque modus seruicij seruatur omnibus feriis per annum, excepto quod a lxx<sup>a</sup> usque ad pascha non dicitur *alleluia* ad missam, sed per totam xlmam, ij<sup>a</sup> et iij<sup>a</sup> et vj<sup>a</sup> feria semper usque ad pascha dicitur tractus in choro modo predeterminato. Preterea omni feria per annum nisi in aduentu et lxx<sup>a</sup> utuntur diaconus [*sic*] dalmaticis et tunicis,\* nisi in vigiliis et iij<sup>or</sup> temporibus, tunc enim sunt in albis. Preterea in vig. nat. domini acolitus dum oratio ante epistolam

\* In the margin there is this note in a hand of the fifteenth century: "quibus temporibus uti debeat tunicis et quibus dalmaticis." In the preceding chapter there occur also, in the same hand, similar summaries of the directions given in three different places, but the margin has been so cut down by the binder that the notes are but partially legible.



dicatur, ad gradum chori ueniat, et ibi lectionem ante epistolam legat. Quo lecta, epistola ibidem sine intervallo legatur. Preterea in omni *iiij<sup>or</sup>* temporum *iiij<sup>a</sup>* feria, acolitus simili modo lectionem legat ante epistolam; sed *dominus uobiscum* precedat orationem, et cum cantus intervallo epistola sequatur. Simili modo in sabbatis *iiij<sup>or</sup>* temporum primam lectionem legat acolitus, deinde sequentes in *ij<sup>a</sup>* forma discurrant pro dispositione magistri scholarum, et in superpellicis, ita ut in ultima a sacerdote legatur. Cantus uero per singulas lectiones singuli pueri pro dispositione cantoris in superpellicis cantent. Post ultimam tantum lectionem cantent duo de *ij<sup>a</sup>* forma in superpellicis ad gradum chori; sicut et pueri. Tractus uero post epistolam duo de *ij<sup>a</sup>* forma in cappis nigris ad gradum similiter cantent. Preterea\* per totam *xl<sup>iam</sup>* post nonam cantatur missa in capitulo pro defunctis, nisi fiat anniuersarium uel trigintale.

*De modo exequendi officium in die nat. domini.*

**I**n die nat. domini post *te deum laudamus* excellentior sacerdos primam missam cantet cuius ministerium expletur sicut in dominica excepto quod diaconus et subdiaconus et acolitus utuntur dalmatica et tunica et pallio. Preterea cum *gloria in excelsis* missa dicitur: lectio ante epistolam in pulpito ab aliquibus duobus pro dispositione cantoris [*sic*] in cappis sericis cantetur, et sine intervallo epistola legatur. Graduale in pulpito in cappis sericis a tribus de *ij<sup>a</sup>* forma; *alleluia* a tribus excellentioribus in capis sericis ibidem dicatur. Preterea si episcopus exequitur officium, omnes ministri in chorum ad prosam cantandam ueniant preter principalem diaconum et principalem subdiaconum, et ibi moram faciant. Diaconi et subdiaconi in medio chori sint cum rectoribus chori donec principalis diaconus a pulpito post lectum euangelium redeat. Preterea in processione ad euangelium legendum, crux precedit que a dextris erit legendi euangelium, facie crucifixi ad legentem conuersa; lecto euangelio principalem diaconum committentur [*sic*]† ceteri diaconi a choro usque ad altare procession-aliter, ita quod bini procedant diaconi, deinde precedat principalis subdiaconus in ultimo ordine subdiaconorum, uno subdiacono incedente ei a dextris, alio a sinistris. Postea sequantur diaconi ordine simili dispositi. Et hoc ipso modo [et] ordine ad introitum misse dominum episcopum precedant. Preterea ad incensandum ad post *credo in unum*, duo ueniunt turribula. duo subdiaconi cum duobus textis.

Si autem episcopus non celebrauerit unum textorum acolitus ex parte cantoris deferat; primo autem est incensandus cantor deinde principales rectores chori ex utraque parte sui. Deinde rectores secundarij. Postea chori solito more eodem ordine sequatur [*sic*] osculando textum. In pace danda primo deosculetur diaconus principalem subdiaconum a quo ceteri diaconi pacem sumant. Deinde duos secundarios rectores qui primo pacem deferant cantori, et eius duobus collateralibus rectoribus principalibus. Postea ipsis principalibus pacem ipsam ex parte de-

\* Here, in the same handwriting as before, is the following note—"Nota: quod missa pro defunctis cantari debeat omni die in *xl<sup>ia</sup>*

† Read *comitentur*.

cani et cantoris deferentibus, secundariis uero ex parte cancellarij et thesaurarij.

*Modus exequendi officium secunde misse eodem die.*

**S**ecundam missam celebrabit sacerdos quem episcopus ad hoc elegerit, eodem modo ut in prima dominica in aduentu, excepto quod quidam de ij<sup>a</sup> forma legent lectionem ante epistolam in superpellicio quam continuo sequatur epistola. Preterea diaconus ab episcopo benedictionem accipiet ad pronunciandum euangelium, et post lectum euangelium per episcopum transeundo prius eum incensabit et postea subdiaconus textum ei apertum deosculandum porriget. Pacem quoque statim post deosculatum subdiaconum ipsi episcopo diaconus porriget. Cetera omnia ut prius.

*De officio tertie misse eodem die.*

**P**reterea missam celebrabit episcopus uel excellentior alius sacerdos absente [episcopo] simili modo ut primam, preter processionem in qua omnes diaconi ad missam ministraturi processionaliter incedant.

*De aptatione Seruicij hujus diei in omnibus aliis festis cum regimine chori.*

**S**imilis modus seruicij obseruatur in omnibus dupplicibus festis non continuis et in continuis etiam, excepto quod ibi non semper excellentior sacerdos exequatur officium, sed secundus gradus dignitatum. Preterea fiet descensus ut in natali et in pascha et pentecoste. Similis quoque modus seruatur in omni festo et in omnibus octauis et feriis infra oct. cum regimine chori, excepto quod in predictis feriis cantatur *alleluia* in pulpito a rectoribus chori, habitu non mutato. Preterea si aliquod festum ix. lectionum in xl<sup>a</sup> fiat aliqua feria ante tertiam missa de festo dicatur, in dalmaticis et tunicis. Post nonam uero missa de ieiunio utraque ad principale altare.

*De modo exequendi officium misse in festo iij<sup>a</sup> lectionum.*

**S**imilis modus obseruatur in festis trium lectionum qui in feriis : exceptis prostrationibus, et exceptis festis in quibus inuitatorium a duobus cantatur. In talibus enim festis Gr. a duobus pueris in superpellicijs ad gradum chori cantatur ; *alleluia* uero a duobus de ij<sup>a</sup> forma eodem loco et habitu. Qui modus seruicij seruatur in commemorationibus beate marie per annum. In festo tamen trium lectionum quo *alleluia laudate pueri* dicitur, cantatur idem *alleluia* a duobus pueris in superpellicijs ad gradum chori.

*Quando coopertende sunt ymagines.*

**S**ecunda feria prime ebdomade xl<sup>e</sup> ad mat. omnes cruces et ymagines et reliquie et vas eciam continens eucaristiam sint cooperta usque ad mat. in die pasce, a sabbato etiam precendente usque ad iij<sup>a</sup>m feriam ante pascha velum quoddam dependeat in presbiterio [sic] inter chorum et altare quod per totam xl<sup>am</sup> in feriis quando de feriali agitur debet esse dimissum, nisi dum euangelium legitur, tunc enim extollitur interim et eleuatum dependeat quousque sacerdote

dicatur *fratres orate*. Et si in crastino sequatur festum ix. lect. de cetero eo die non dimittitur, nec etiam ante proximas feriales mat. Si tamen fiat in ipso [*sic*] missa de ieiunio dimittetur uelut usque ad inceptionem euangelii, et non ulterius.

**Q**uarta autem feria ante pascha dum passio domini legitur ad prolationem ipsius clausule *uelum templi scissum est*, predictum uelum in aere a presbyterij [*sic*] decidat. Hac etiam die ad vespertas usque ad missam in crastino campane pulsantur, sicut in dominicis diebus. Chorus uero non regitur. Luminaria sicut in dominica palmarum accendantur; a. in ij<sup>a</sup> forma cantetur ab uno solo puero. Nulle preces ad vespertas, nulla memoria ad vespertas, collecta habitu non mutato ad gradum dicatur; nec vespere de sancta maria in conuentu dicantur, nec ab hinc usque in crastinum post oct. pasche. Completorium solito more absque prostratione et sine psalmo penitentiali sollempniter dicatur, cum versibus; a. post *nunc dimittis* in ij<sup>a</sup> forma cantandis.

*De accensione candelarum in cena domini ad mat.*

**I**n cena domini ante mat. xx<sup>ti</sup> quatuor candeles accendantur. Quarum singule ad inceptionem cuiusque a. et respons. extinguantur. Similiter fiat in vi<sup>a</sup> feria et sabbato a. super psalmos in superiori gradu de [*sic*] discurrant per ordinem facta inceptione ab aliquo de excellentioribus ex parte chori. Et hic ordo persequendus est, per duas sequentes dies: *Gloria patri* omnino intermittitur. Prima a. in laudibus a primo de ij<sup>a</sup> forma ex parte chori incipitur. Secunda a suo pari ex opposito. Deinde ceteri per ordinem in eadem forma discurrant. Qui ordo per sequentes noctes continuatur. Nullum capitulum ad has matutinas dicitur, nec ymnus. Dum ultimus psalmus in laud. dicitur lumen ubi uideri nequeat abscondatur. Finita v<sup>a</sup> antiphona in laudibus, omnia luminaria per ecclesiam extinguantur; a. super *Benedictus* ab excellentiore incipitur.

*De modo officiendi crisma eodem die.*

**E**adem die ad introitum misse procedat episcopus cum processione festiua ordinata ad altare, ut in aliis duplicibus festis. Assistent etiam ei due [*sic*] de excellentioribus personis ecclesie in cappis sericis ad deducendum eum ad altare qui intersint confessioni, unus a dextris reliquus a sinistris, locis tamen reseruatis principali diacono et subdiacono, qui facta ablutione abscedant. Deinde peragatur seruitium solito more, usque *Te igitur*; ordinentur ministri in ecclesia tres amittibus\* tria deferentes uexilla, et alii tres ministri diaconi simili habitu tribus syndonibus humeros precincti ad deferendum tres ampullas oleo mundissimo plenas, vnā de oleo infirmorum, aliam de oleo sancto. Tertiam ad secrandum [*sic*] crisma. Vnaqueque autem ampullarum discretionis titulum super se habeat scriptum, prima oleum infirmorum, secunda oleum sanctum, tertia crisma. Vnus etiam sit in albis ad deferendum tabernaculum sericum. Tres quoque archidiaconi in

\* *Amitibus*, i. e. in amices, perhaps we ought to read *in amittibus*.

cappis sericis, scil. Archidiaconus Berkesirie, et duo vicennius Wiltesirie. Tercius archidiaconus Dorset. Singulis singulas ampullas implentibus oleo a se ad hoc comparato; percantatoque *te igitur*, usque *sed uenie largitor admitte* antequam dicatur *per quem hec omnia d. s. b. c.\** Archidiaconus Berkesirie accedat per medium chori ad altare quem precedat minister deferens oleum infirmorum, precedente et alio ministro cum uexillo. Deinde episcopo super ampullam ipsam ter crucis [signum] faciat ac ter sufflet in ea, ministro oleum deferente et subministrante. Deinde faciat episcopus exorcismum audientibus tantum ministris qui secus altare stant, sine *dominus uobiscum* et sine *oremus*. Hijs peractis archidiaconus cum suis ministris eodem modo quo accessit abcedat. Deinde peragatur missa usque quo perueniatur ad benedictionem super populum. Tunc accedat archidiaconus Wiltesir eo modo et ordine quo alius archidiaconus accessit cum ampulla continente olenum sanctum, super quam tibi† signum crucis faciat episcopus, et ter sufflet in ea, et sic olei exorcismum ad baptizandum modo predicto perficiat. Postea orationem dicat episcopus super oleum cum *dominus uobiscum*, et cum *oremus*. Post hec reuertente episcopo ad sedem suam, preparentur ministri per sex ordines ad deportandum crisma. In primo ordine procedant uexilla. In secundo duo ceroferarij albis induti. In tertio duo thuribulo [sic] in simili habitu. In quarto duo subdiaconi a latere episcopi ueruentes [sic], habitu non mutato, deferant duos codices euangelii. In quinto Diaconus cum oleo ampullam deferat ad crisma consecrandum, super quam deportetur tabernaculum. Eundem etiam precedant tres pueri in superpelliciis cantantes ymnum, *O redemptor*,‡ et alios versus qui secuntur choro semper repetente primum versum. In vi<sup>to</sup> ordine due cruces deportentur a duobus acolitis ad altare ministrantibus, habitu non mutato, sed tabernaculo una a dextris deferentis ampullam, alia a sinistris subsequentes. Deinde archidiaconi, archidiacono dorset in medio constituto, et ita processionabiliter ad altare accedant. Ymno dicto reuertatur episcopus ad altare et porrigatur ei ampulla cum oleo que habet crismatis inscriptionem. Deinde misceatur ei balsamum ab episcopo super quam episcopus ter crucis signum faciens, et ter sufflans in ea, conuersus ad orientem in dextro cornu altaris ita benedicat crisma dicens alta uoce, *Veni creator spiritus* cum genuflexione, et ita totus ymnus cantetur, ut primus versus a clericis secus altare stantibus cantetur. Secundus a toto choro, et ita alternatim, ymnus cantetur. Quo dicto sequatur benedictio s. *hec commixtio liquorum* etc. Deinde oratio

\* i. e. Domine semper bona creas. The beginning of the Prayer of Consecration in the Mass.

† For *Tibi*, read *ter*. The transcriber mistook a contraction in the MS. he was copying, and read *t'* as if it was *t*!

‡ This Hymn begins thus:—

O Redemptor sume carnem  
Temet continentium  
Audi Iudex mortuorum  
Una spes mortalium  
Audi voces preferentium  
Domini pacis premium.

*Processionale ad usum Sarum*, p. lvi. Lond. 1556.

cum *dominus uobiscum* et cetera orationes sequentes. Quibus dictis episcopus dicat alta uoce *per omnia secula seculorum. Dominus uobiscum. Sursum corda. Gratias agamus*; cum sequente prefatione. Post predictas prefationes minister ampullam crismatis deferens eam sindone qua precinctus est cooperiat, eamque in dextra parte altaris quousque *agnus dei* cantetur cum reuerentia teneat. Postea episcopus dicat alta uoce *per omnia secula seculorum*. Deinde diaconus qui legit euangelium *humiliate uos ad benedictionem*. Deinde sequatur benedictio super populum. Post benedictionem dicat episcopus, *Et pax eius*. Tunc cantor incipiat *agnus dei*, et deferatur uas crismatis a predicto ministro episcopo deosculandum, postea etiam loco pacis in chorum deferatur eo ordine quo chorus soletthurificari, sicque cantor inchoet *com*. Et ita seruicium debito more compleatur.

*De modo exequendi in uigiliis officium mortuorum.*

**I**n uigiliis mortuorum trium lect. extra tempus paschale, a. super psalmos ad *placebo* in superiore gradu inchoetur; a. super *magnificat* versiculis a. m. similiter psalmi quoque post m. et post *Benedictus* in eodem gradu inchoetur [*sic*], orationes dicantur a sacerdote habitu non mutato nec loco, sed ad altare conuerso uel prostrato. Ad *dirige* uero tam a. super psalmos quam ad laudes quam ad *Benedictus* in superiore gradu inchoetur; versiculi similiter; lectiones uero in secunda forme legantur, et Responsoria similiter ab hisdem lectoribus cantentur habitu non loco mutato. In prostratione autem tenentur esse clerici dum oratio dominicalis dicitur ante lectiones; post *Benedictus* quoque eodem modo quo post m. ad *placebo*. Sciendum etiam quod nunquam in uigiliis mortuorum fiunt processiones in paschali tempore nec in aliquo festo iii. lect. uel ix. lect. nec in commemoratione beate marie virg. nec in off. sanctorum nec in feria. In uigiliis uero ix. lect. simplicibus prima a. super psalmos ad *placebo* in superiori gradu inchoetur. Cetera omnes antiphone in prima forma discurrant, excepta a. super m. et prima a. super psalmos ad *dirige* et prima a. ad l. et a. super *Benedictus*, que in superiori gradu discurrant. Tres prime lect. in prima forma legantur habitu nec loco mutato. Omnia quoque Responsoria ab eisdem lectoribus cantentur. Tres medie lectiones in ij<sup>a</sup> forma cum suis Responsoriis eodem modo dicantur. Tres ultime lectiones in superiore gradu eodem modo cum suis uersibus dicantur, ita tamen quod secundus uersus ultimi Responsorij in eodem gradu ab opposito dicatur. Tertius similiter ex parte chori in eodem gradu dicatur. Cetera ut supradictum est sunt exequenda. Iste modus seruicii mortuorum locum habet in omni anniuersario et trigintalis, post primam diem trigintalis. In anniuersariis tamen simplicium canonicorum, ultimum Responsorium a duobus de superiori gradu dicatur ad gradum cum suis uersibus tribus, habitu non mutato. In primo quoque trigintali simplicis canonici eodem modo ultimum Resp. dicatur; sed tamen post ultimum Resp. ab ipsis cantoribus ad gradum repetatur et a choro percantetur. Preterea sexta lectio in superiori gradu cum suo Resp<sup>o</sup> dicitur. In anniuersariis uero archidiaconi uel subdiaconi aut succentoris modus seruicii fiat sicut in prima die trigintalis simplicis canonici. In anniuersariis Cantoris, Cancellarij, The-

saurarij, a. que in simplicibus vigiliis solent esse in prima forma, in ij<sup>a</sup> forma discurrant. Cetera uero in prima die tringentialis canonicorum. In anniuersariis decani simile seruicium quod de ceteris personis, excepto quod tercium Resp. cum precedente lect. in ij<sup>a</sup> forma, et quinta lect. cum suo Resp<sup>o</sup> in superiori gradu dicatur. De personis uero ecclesie in episcopis [*sic*] promotis in aliis ecclesiis fiat seruicium mortuorum anniuersariis iuxta dignitatis sue exigentiam quam ante promotionem in ecclesia saresbiriensi habuerunt. De aliis uero episcopis omnino extraneis, et pro regibus pro quibus fit seruicium, eo modo fiat qui in anniuersariis canonicorum simplicium. Sciendum tamen quod de illis solum modo fit seruicium in anniuersariis qui scribuntur in martilogio. Sciendum autem quod in anniuersariis iiii<sup>or</sup> principalium personarum excellentior sacerdos exequatur officium, episcopus uero in anniuersariis episcoporum suorum\* predecessorum suorum officium exequatur.

*In anniuersariis episcoporum Sarum ecclesie.*

**I**n anniuersariis episcoporum Sarum ecclesie totum seruicium discurret sicut in dupplici festo Sancti Johannis baptiste, habitu tamen non mutato in legendo uel cantando. Tabula etiam de lectionibus legendis et Resp<sup>iis</sup> cantandis disponitur sicut in predicto dupplici festo, excepto quod hic nullum Resp. a tribus cantatur nisi ix. Executor autem officii in orationibus dicendis locum non mutat. Quando uero fit seruicium pro corpore presente pro non canonico, omnes a. preter quinque principales in ij<sup>a</sup> forma discurrunt. Due prime lectiones cum suis Resp<sup>iis</sup> in prima forma. Tertia et iiii<sup>a</sup> in ij<sup>a</sup>. Quinta et deinceps in superiore gradu. Singula uero Resp<sup>a</sup> a duobus ad capud [*sic*] corporis ad orientem conuersis cantantur. Ultimum uero a tribus. Idemque cum repetitione cantetur. Ita quod ab ipsis cantoribus inchoetur. Singuli versiculi a duobus pueris ibidem dicantur. Cetera ut in aliis uigiliis predictis. Si fuit corpus canonici cuiuscunque eodem modo fit seruicium sicut in anniuersariis episcoporum ecclesie.

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Here ends the Consuetudinary of St. Osmund. In another paper or two I hope to complete the account I have already begun, of the curious Manuscript from which it has been transcribed.

*Trinity College, Dublin.*

JAMES H. TODD.

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**ARCHBISHOP WARHAM'S VISITATION IN THE YEAR 1511.**

(Continued from page 277.)

836. *Item.* For a garden lying at Fairhok now in the hands of Thomas Cosyn by the year iii.d.

[Thomas Cosyn appeared and admitted that he was bound to pay the annual sum of iii.d. for the land called Fayrholke; and

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\* For *Suorum*, read *Sarum*.

immediately offered the Churchwardens *iii.d.* for the year last past. The Commissary enjoined him to pay thenceforward regularly on pain of excommunication.]

837. *Item.* The executors of William Best withdraweth *iiii.d.* for a parcel of land in Bredfield by the year *iiii.d.*

[The Churchwardens appeared and stated that the executors had settled with them in the presence of the parishioners.]

838. *Item.* That Robert Cowell withdraweth for half an acre *vi.d.*

[Robert Colwel appeared and said that he was not bound to pay the said rent of *vi.d.* per acre to the church of Goodwinston ; but that if his liability could be proved, he would pay. The Churchwardens said that the predecessors of Sir Robert Colwell had well and truly paid the rent annually. The Commissary enjoined him either to pay the Churchwardens before Easter, or else to appear on the Thursday following the Sunday *in albis* to shew cause why he should not be compelled to do so. On which day the Churchwardens appeared and stated that he had settled with them.]

#### ECCLESIA DE LEUELAND.

839. *Compertum est.* Omnia bene.

[Of course *no acta.*]

#### ECCLESIA DE BOKTON UNDER BLEAN *vel* BOCTON BLEAN.

840. *Compertum est.* That the wife of William Norton of Feversham withdraweth from the parish church of Bokton *iii.l. xiii.s. iiii.d.* due out of v. yards of land in Grovelond of the bequest of one Robert Walter and payable by Simond Warnecourt [or Warnicourt] late husband to the said Norton's wife called Helene the which Simond did constitute the same Heleyn his executrix.

[William Norton appeared in the name of his wife, the widow and executrix of Simon Warnecourte, and prayed a copy of the article. The Commissary assigned him one, and admonished him to appear on the Thursday next after the Sunday *in albis* and answer it. On which day he appeared and said he was not bound to pay the *lxiii.s. iiii.d.*, and gave his answer in writing. Afterwards, the Churchwardens took upon them to prove Symon Warnecourtes promise to pay the said sum on the Thursday next after the Sunday *in albis*. On which day they appeared, and produced John Tenaker senior, Thomas Hamond, James Tenaker and John Elston, whom in the presence of the said William Norton the Commissary admitted and caused to be sworn and examined. Whose sayings and depositions having been seen and understood, the Commissary enjoined the said William Norton to

appear on Wednesday the 14th of July to hear his decision and decree. On which day the said William Norton appeared, and the Commissary enjoined him either to pay the money or to appear before the Lord Archbishop to shew cause why he should not be compelled to do so.]

841. *Item.* John Cok Farmer of Pratts Place in Feversham withholdeth ix.d. yearly from the said church growing out of Northfeld belonging to the said place.

[John Cokke appeared and admitted that the church did receive ix.d. a year on account of lands called Northfeld for Peterpenne. The Commissary enjoined him to pay the ix.d. before St. John the Baptists day under pain of excommunication.]

842. *Item.* That the Abbott and covent of Feversham proprietaries of Bokton Blean withholdeth from the Vicar of the said Bokton all the tithes of Cliffmershe due to the vicar of the said vicarage of Bokton.

[Master John Richardson appeared as proctor of the Abbot and Convent of St. Saviour in Feversham, and prayed a copy of the article, and undertook to exhibit an answer in writing on the Wednesday next after the Sunday *in albis*. On which day he appeared, and in the presence of the said vicar of Bokton he gave in a negative answer in writing, and immediately undertook to produce and exhibit a composition by virtue of which the vicar ought not to have any tithes of Clyfmersh. The Commissary enjoined him to exhibit this composition on the Thursday next after Corpus Christi day. On which day, the said prior having died, the Commissary adjourned the matter to the xxvith of November; and on that day the Abbot appeared personally, and having exhibited the composition, was dismissed.]

#### ECCLESIA DE OWER *vel* OORE.

843. *Compertum est.* That Thomas Pirfote and Richard Aleyn executors of Henry Baker withholdeth of the said Henry's bequest xxxiii.s. iiiii.d.

844. *Item.* Of the said Henry's bequest they withdraw from the church vi.s. viii.d.

[The Churchwardens appeared and stated that the executors resided out of the Diocese; whereupon the Commissary remitted the matter to the Lord Archbishop.]

845. *Item.* That John Hornysley oweth for a bequest of Johane Hornysley widow iii.l.

[John Horneseley appeared and confessed the debt, and the Commissary enjoined him to pay it before the feast of the Assumption under pain of excommunication.]



846. *Item.* That John Seale of Ore oweth to the church afore-said by the gift of Johane Hornysley vi.s. viii.d.

[He appeared and confessing the debt declared himself to be ready to pay it. The Commissary enjoined him to do so before St. John the Baptists day, under pain of excommunication.]

#### ECCLESIA DE PRESTON.

847. *Compertum est.* That the cieling of the chancel of Preston is not repaired in the default of the Abbot of Feversham and the lede in the fault of the parson.

[The Abbot appeared by Master John Richardson his proctor; and the Commissary enjoined him to do all necessary repairs to the chancel before the feast of the Assumption under pain of sequestration.]

848. *Item.* It is not hilled as it should be.

[He was also enjoined to repair the roof of the chancel before the said time, under the same penalty.]

849. *Item.* The churchyard is not kept from vile beasts.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and the Commissary enjoined them to repair the fence, and keep the churchyard free from such animals before St. John the Baptists day under pain of excommunication.]

850. *Item.* That the church will fall down except they have help for there be but iii. owners in that parish and of little substance.

[The said Churchwardens stated that the Archbishop's official had directed them to make a cess on the landholders in the parish for the repair of the church, and to repair it sufficiently before Michaelmas. The Commissary enjoined them to obey those injunctions under pain of excommunication.]

851. *Item.* The church windows are not repaired.

[He also enjoined them to repair the church windows before the feast of the Assumption under the same penalty.]

852. *Item.* That William Dooke cometh to William Fornokyn's house against his will and hath had his chamber, bed, and washing these v. years, and paid him nothing therefore nor will not.

[William Dooke appeared and stated that he had paid William Fornokyn for his room; but denied that he had been guilty of adultery with his wife. The Commissary enjoined him to clear himself *quarta manu* on the Wednesday next after the Sunday in *albis*; and he did so, &c.]

853. *Item.* That the Prior of Canterbury withholdeth the tithe wood of Bagying paid in time past to the same vicarage, saying he is privileged; to the great damage and hurt of the same vicarage.

[The Prior of Christchurch appeared by the Treasurer of the same, and stated that he was not bound to pay tithes for the wood called Baggingwoode; and that he was prepared to answer to the vicar at the common law. And the Commissary dismissed them.]

#### ECCLESIA DE TENHAM.

854. *Compertum est.* That Robert Avale of Feversham, one of the ministers of the goods of John Drayton, oweth, and hath done vi. years past, xxi.s.

[Robert a Vale appeared and acknowledged that he administered the goods of John Drayton, but that they were not sufficient to pay his debts. He said, however, that he was willing to pay the churchwardens according to the same rate, and the Commissary enjoined him to account with the parishioners before the feast of Pentecost under pain of excommunication.]

855. *Item.* That John Venor oweth for v. years ago, by the bequest of John Norman that willed certain lands and marshes to be sold for the use of the church vi. l. x.s.

[John Vynor of Feversham appeared and stated that he sold the tenement and lands of John Norman for xx marks to one Thomas Burge of Tenham. The remainder of the *acta* not being quite intelligible, shall be given in the words of the Register—  
 “Et dicit quod dictus Thomas dedit sibi quinque marcas pro regardis de predictis x marcis debitis dicte ecclesie satisfecit liij.s. iiii.d. et quod remanet in manibus suis xlv.s. Et dicit quod dies solutionis dicte summe sunt in festo Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste prox. xv.s. In festo Purificationis tunc prox. xv.s. et in festo Nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste tunc prox. xv.s. Dominus Commissarius injunxit eidem Johanni Vynor ad solvendum Iconomis dicte ecclesie xx.s. citra festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste, et xx.s. in festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli prox. tunc sequen. sub pena excommunicationis.” How these calculations were made, or are to be reconciled, it would not perhaps be easy to decide, or worth while to enquire.]

856. *Item.* That the executors of Thomas Hayward withholdeth from the church aforesaid certain money bequeathed both by the said Robert [*sic*] and his father also to the sum of xvi. l. xiii. s. iv. d. to buy a cross withal.

857. *Item.* The said executors withold a noble bequeathed by the said Robert to thamending of the bells.

858. *Item.* The said executors withhold xii.s. for breaking of the ground in the church of Tenham for William Hayward and his wife, and for Robert Hayward.

[The executors of Robert Hayward appeared, and acknowledged the legacy and debt to the church. The Commissary enjoined them to provide the Cross before St. John the Baptist's day; to pay the noble for the bells, and the xii.s. burial fees before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.]

859. *Item.* That of old usage and custom, and it was wont, that the church should have out of the parsonage, that is to say vi.s. viii.d. and half a seme of wheat.

[The Churchwardens stated that the custom was well observed.]

860. *Item.* M. Chich oweth in his time for iii years vi.s. viii.d. a year, sum xx.s.

[Katharine Chiche his widow appeared and stated that she had administration of his goods, and that she had laid out and paid to the amount of x.l. beyond the sum of the inventory. She added that she had never heard of this debt to the church, and did not believe that it had any real existence.]

861. *Item.* Richard Godyn of Rochester left in the hands of Thomas Burgers vi.s. viii.d.

[Thomas Burges appeared and confessed, and was enjoined to pay over the money before St. John the Baptist's Day, under pain of excommunication.]

862. *Item.* Simond Falk for ii years xiii.s. iv.d.

[Symon Fylk appeared, and said he was ready to pay; and the Commissary enjoined him to do so before Easter under pain of excommunication.]

863. *Item.* William Hayward for ii years xiii.s. iv.d.

[His executors received the same injunction.]

864. *Item.* James Abraham vi.s. viii.d.

[James Abraham of Lynstede appeared and confessed the debt; and the Commissary enjoined him to pay it before St. John the Baptist's Day, under pain of excommunication.]

865. *Item.* M. John Colman xx.s. for iii years.

[He appeared, and stated that the sum was in the hands of Robert Hayward. The Commissary enjoined the executors of Robert Hayward to pay it before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.]

866. *Item.* That Thomas Furmengere of Syttingburne, William Derton and William Wreke, of Tenham, feoffees of certain lands that Nicholas Codde willed to be sold to buy surplices and rochets to the church, withholdeth it and will not pay it, the which sum extendeth to xx.s.

[William Derton and William Wreke appeared, and stated that Richard Codde left the church xx.s. to buy surplices, but that the house whence the money was to be raised was not yet sold. In default of the appearance of Thomas Formenger of Sydingborn, the Commissary decreed that he should be cited for the Wednesday next after the Sunday *in albis*. On which day he appeared, and the Commissary enjoined him to sell the house and pay the Churchwardens the legacy before Michaelmas, under pain of excommunication.]

867. *Item.* Robert Northwoode withdraweth *vid.* a-year of the land called messuage and land at Derton.

[William Roper of Harietisham appeared, and confessed that he had in his possession lands formerly held by Robert Norwoode in the parish of Tenham, of which the church had a right to receive *vi.d.* annually. The Commissary enjoined him to pay it to the Churchwardens before St. John the Baptist's day under pain of excommunication.]

868. *Item.* Richard Walter of Lynsted withholdeth a croft called Willows *vi.d.* by year, the which is behind ii years.

[He appeared, confessed that he had the lands called Willows, and was enjoined to pay *xii.d.* arrears, and *vi.d.* in future annually.]

869. *Item.* That there is a chauntry of *iv.l. vi.s. viii.d.* by year, and so it is that we have no manner of service done in our church the space of these ii years.

[The Commissary remitted this *compertum* to the Lord Archbishop.]

870. *Item.* That the chancel lacketh reparation in tiling and glazing.

[The Commissary enjoined M. John Colman Receiver of the Archdeacon of Canterbury Rector of Tenham, to do all needful repairs to the Chancel, in both tiling and glazing, before Michaelmas, under pain of sequestration.]

871. *Item.* That Thomas Roper oweth to the clerk for his wages of iii tenements for the space of vi years *vi.s.*

[He appeared and paid the clerk.]

872. *Item.* To the sexton *xii.d.* for his wages of ii years.

[He stated that he had paid the sexton.]

873. *Item.* Thomas Kyng of Upchurch having a tenement in Tenham oweth to the clerk for his wages *iiii.s.*

[Thomas King of Upchurche appeared, and acknowledged that he had a tenement in the parish, and was enjoined to pay the arrears demanded before the Feast of the Assumption under pain of excommunication.]

874. *Item.* To the Sexton *ii.s.*

[He was enjoined to pay it before the said time, under the same penalty.]

875. *Item.* That the churchyard is not conveniently enclosed.

[The Churchwardens appeared and the Commissary enjoined them to repair the fence before St. John the Baptist's day under pain of excommunication.]

876. *Item.* That the glass windows are not sufficient.

[They were enjoined to repair them before the Feast of the Assumption under the same penalty.]

877. *Item.* That Robert Hayward bequeathed to a priest to sing for him *iiii* years *xl* marks, whereof is done *i* year and  $\frac{1}{2}$ .; the residue is behind.

[The Executors of Robert Hayward were enjoined to provide a proper chaplain for the purpose during the rest of the period, and to begin such service at Easter under pain of excommunication.]

#### ECCLESIA DE OTTREDEN *vel* OTRENDEN.

878. *Compertum est.* That Thomas Burton of Davyngton withdraweth *iiii* ewes and the profit of them by the space of *ii* years.

[He appeared and confessed that he had the ewes, and said that he intended to account with the Churchwardens. The Commissary enjoined him to do so and to pay them before St. George's day under pain of excommunication.]

879. *Item.* Simond Pakman withholdeth *xxiv.s.* of the goods of the said church.

[He appeared and the Commissary enjoined him to pay the money to the Churchwardens before St. John the Baptist's day under pain of excommunication.]

880. *Item.* John Coper withholdeth a cow with the increasment by the space of *iii* years.

[John Cooper appeared and said that he was not his father's executor and that none of his father's goods had come to his hands. Having been sworn he was dismissed.]

881. *Item.* That John Sharp and Godfrey Sharp executors of John Sherp withholdeth vi ewes xii years, every year xviii.d., sum xviii.s.

[They appeared, and denied any knowledge of their father's having had any such sheep, but said that if it could be proved they would make restitution. The Churchwardens were assigned the Wednesday after the Sunday *in albis* (being the 22nd of April) for proof, when they appeared and produced Nicholas Clerk, Hugh Pakenham, and Thomas Burton as witness who being admitted and sworn deposed that John Sharp deceased had in his lifetime confessed that he had in his possession six sheep belonging to the church. The Commissary thereupon enjoined the said John and Godfrey Sharp to deliver six ewes to the Churchwardens before Michaelmas under pain of excommunication.]

882. *Item.* That Robert Noris of Magna Chart withdraweth from the said church ii kine with their profits x years, xx.s.

[Robert Norys of Magna Chartre appeared and stated that he was in treaty with the Churchwardens respecting both the cows and their profits; and as it were at the point of agreement; and the churchwardens said the same, and that they hope to come to a good understanding.]

#### ECCLESIA DE DAVYNGTON *vel* DAVINGTON.

883. *Compertum est.* That there is no chalice, books, nor vestments but such as my Lady of Davyngton hath with her place.

[The Churchwardens appeared and stated that in their belief they were not bound to provide a chalice, books, or vestments. The Commissary enjoined them to do it before Michaelmas, or else to appear on the Monday next after that feast, to show cause why they should not be compelled to do it under pain of excommunication.]

884. *Item.* That the church is uncovered.

[The *acta* only state that the Commissary enjoined the Churchwardens "ut supra;" which perhaps means, that they should do the repairs required before the same time, under the same penalty.]

#### ECCLESIA DE LYNSTED *vel* LYNSTEDE.

885. *Compertum est.* That there lacketh a Vicar and the church is not so well served as it was wont to be.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and stated that the church was well served.]

886. *Item.* That Sir Robert Downe, a soul priest, they know not verily whether he serveth for the soul, or for the parish;

yet he receiveth the duties of the church and God's service is nothing the better kept, nor they know not whither to resort for a priest if nede should be.

[Sir Robert Downe 'capellanus' appeared and said that he had in that church an annual service for a soul. He stated also that during the vacancy of the vicarage he had served the cure by appointment of the Official; that he was constantly in the parish, slept at the vicarage, and was ready at all hours to minister the sacrament, and other things necessary, to the parishioners.]

887. *Item.* The said Sir Robert is a dicer, a karder, and a tennis-player, and giveth ill ensample to many.

[The said Sir Robert stated that he had had an injunction from the Lord Archbishop about this detection. The Commissary enjoined him to obey such injunctions under pain of the law.]

888. *Item.* That one John Wynstone keepeth not his church as a christian man should do, but worketh on the holydays.

[John Wynston appeared and confessed that he sometimes absented himself from church. The Commissary enjoined him to attend the divine service on Sundays and holydays, under pain of excommunication.]

889. *Item.* That Elizabeth Miller withdraweth certain duty for wax of the church and other things at the burial of her husband, the which she will not pay, that is to say *xiii.d.*

[Elizabeth Myller confessed that she owed the church *xiii.d.* for tapers burning at the burial of her husband. The Commissary enjoined her to pay it before St. John the Baptists day under pain of excommunication.]

890. *Item.* That there is certain duties in the Archdeacons hands of *vi.s. viii.d.*

[M. John Colman receiver of the Archdeacon said that the *vi.s. viii.d.* was in the hands of Robert Hayward. The Commissary enjoined the executors of Robert Hayward, who were present, to pay the Churchwardens before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.]

891. *Item.* That the executors of Robert Hayward withold *vi.s. viii.d.*

[This seems to refer to the same money as the preceding; and the injunction was the same.]

#### ECCLESIA DE GRAVENY.

892. *Compertum est.* That the door out of the churchyard into the chancel is broken wherby the Church may be robbed.

[The fermour of the Rectory appeared in the name of the Prior

of St. Mary Overy's London the proprietary. The Commissary enjoined him to repair the door leading from the vicarage to the chancel before St. John the Baptists day under pain of sequestration.]

893. *Item.* That the church lacketh reparation as well in the walls as in the covering of it.

[The Churchwardens appeared and were ordered to repair in both kinds before Michaelmas under pain of excommunication.]

894. *Item.* The east window of the chancel is broken.

[The fermour was enjoined in the name of the proprietary to repair it before the feast of the Assumption under pain of sequestration.]

(To be continued.)

## CORRESPONDENCE.

The Editor begs to remind his readers that he is not responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

### MR. ARNOLD IN REPLY TO MR. ELLIOTT.

#### LETTER V.

SIR,—Mr. Elliott seems to think that I am *morally* bound, not only both to *read* and *reply* to all his letters, but also to purchase the *Horæ*. Now really, if I *choose* to leave to your readers the comparison between my arguments and his replies, I certainly believe that no moral obligation will be violated by my silence. It is, however, my full intention to read his two first Replies, and to answer them if I think it necessary.\* As to the *Horæ*, if he reflects a moment upon the bulk and price of that work, comparing them with my known estimate of its real worth, he can hardly wonder at my disinclination to purchase it for my own library. I *have* his Reply by me, and I am now answering *that*, not the *Horæ*.

#### THE SECOND WOE.

Mr. Elliott made "*the four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates*" the *same* four angels who, in chap. vii. 7, were seen by St. John "standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that the wind should not blow on the earth, nor on the sea, nor on any tree." I reminded him of Heinrichs' caution against confounding these two quaternions of angels, quoting both the caution and the reasons on which the propriety of it is founded: *sunt*

\* I need not trouble the reader with *how* or *how often* my wish to obtain the requisite numbers of your Magazine has been disappointed. There is little doubt, I hope, that I shall possess them in a few days.



*illæ naturæ bonæ, hæ malignæ, illisque locus prorsus diversus a nostro assignatur.* Mr. Elliott replies, that neither Heinrichs nor I allege any proof of this difference; "the two quaternions, in fact, were alike commissioned to the same office of desolating the Apocalyptic earth; the one and only datum whence to judge of their nature. And, whether good or bad, whichever nature be ascribed to the one, must, by every rule of common sense, be ascribed to the other."\*

This strange canon of criticism asserts that the commission given to these angels is the "only datum whence to judge of their nature;" and it apparently leaves us without *any means* of determining whether we are to ascribe a good or a bad nature to the two quaternions in question. Both it, however, and "every rule of common sense" make it absolutely necessary (we are told) to ascribe the same nature, whether good or bad, to both.

Is it, then, impossible that the power to desolate the earth may be given now in the way of *direct commission to good angels*, and now, in the way of *permitted agency to bad ones*? It seems to me that Heinrichs has very adequate reasons for the asserted *diversity* of nature between the four angels of this chapter and the four of chap. vii.; for surely he is right in asserting that the four in this chapter are *malignæ naturæ*. They "are bound in the great river Euphrates," and the "Sixth Angel which had the trumpet" receives a commission to *loose* them. We are familiar with the *binding of evil spirits*: not to refer to St. Peter and St. Jude, we read in the Apocalypse itself of Satan's being bound by an angel who came down from heaven, and of the necessity that he should afterwards "be loosed a little season" (chap. xx. 2, 3, and 7). Here the same words are used (*δέω* and *λύω*). Is there any authority for holding that *δέω*, to bind, can be used of merely *restraining for a time* the punitive agency of a good angel? and even if the verb itself could be so used, can it possibly have so vague a figurative meaning, when it is made *definite* both by the mention of a *particular locality, in which such angel is confined*, and also by its being *opposed* to the notion of *loosing* (of *unbinding*, that is, and *liberating*) which occurs in the same sentence?

That the angels in chap. vii. are *good* angels, is not, I presume, disputed. At all events, there is nothing in the text to distinguish *them* from the other angelic ministers of God's wrath. If, therefore, Mr. Elliott allows, as I can hardly doubt he does, that the other angels whom St. John saw receiving or executing their commissions of vengeance, were *good* angels, I think he ought to allow that there was sufficient reason for Heinrichs' admonition; and also that the commission given is not the "one and only datum whence to judge of their nature."

Mr. Elliott, in his Reply, does not enter upon the question of the *difference of place*. The four angels who were standing on the four corners of the earth (in chap. vii.) represented, according to him, the Caliphs; and the progress of the Caliphs having been signally checked when they settled at Bagdad, their representative angels may be said

to have been "bound in the great river Euphrates," from which they are now, when the second Woe is about to commence, let loose for the purpose of representing the Turks.

On the meaning of *δεδεμένους* (which is construed correctly in the English Bible: "*that are bound*") Mr. Elliott is guilty of a very careless misrepresentation of what I said on the subject. He gives in *inverted commas* the following words, as being used by me: "Mr. Elliott's rendering of the word *δεδεμένους* is a great mistake. It should be, those *that are bound*."

My words really were: "Mr. Elliott tells us that *δεδεμένους* does not mean '*who are bound*,' but '*who have been bound*,' which is a great mistake: '*I am bound*,' is itself a perfect tense, and is the exact meaning of *δέδεμαι*, when no reference to present time makes it necessary to translate it by '*I have been bound*.'"

Mr. Elliott's statement conceals his original mistake, that "*who are bound*" is *wrong*; and makes me state by implication, that "*who have been bound*" is *never* a correct rendering, whereas my words really imply that *such* a reference to present time as belongs to our English perfect definite, "*I have been bound*," might even make it *necessary* to translate it so.

With reference to the horsemen's breastplates "*like fire, jacinth, and sulphur*," (=, according to Mr. Elliott, *red, blue, and yellow*, the favourite colours of the Turkman warriors,) I asked, "whether the Ottoman warriors ever wore *scarlet, blue, and yellow breastplates*?" To this Mr. Elliott answers by asking, "Does Mr. Arnold mean to assert that the Ottomans did *not* wear breastplates, nor (*sic*) the Seljuks (whom he avoids noticing) before them? or that over the breastplates they did not wear vests of the colours specified, such as to strike the beholder's eye? of which *visible appearance* the evangelist speaks."—Really the question whether a man wore a *breastplate of a certain colour* does *not* mean to deny that he wore any breastplate at all; nor has it anything to do with his *throwing over his breastplate a vest* of the colour mentioned. The Apostle says that he saw "*breastplates of fire, and of jacinth, and of brimstone*." With what probability can it be urged, that he did *not see* breastplates of these colours, but *common breastplates, with vests or mantles of coloured stuffs thrown over them*? Who would call a *breastplate with a scarlet mantle thrown over it a scarlet breastplate*? If the mantle *quite concealed* the breastplate, would not a warrior so clothed *appear* to be a warrior in a *scarlet mantle*? if it only *partially concealed* it, would he not appear like a warrior *with a scarlet vest thrown over his breastplate*?

It is indeed sad work to discuss this *Turks'-dresses* question, in reference to inspired Hebrew poetry; but it is important, in my opinion, that this mode of dealing with the Apocalypse should be exposed in all its inconsistency and absurdity. This *literal (!)* fulfilment of what *such* a fulfilment would turn into an inspired conundrum, is set down, alas! in our national "Family Bible."

This "Family Bible" also agrees with Mr. Elliott in interpreting the *fire*, and *smoke*, and *brimstone* that issued out of the lion-like mouths of the horses, to mean, "*great guns and gunpowder*,"

(Fam. Bib.) Mr. Elliott makes the *lion-like heads* to indicate "chief rulers of the Turkish cavalry, strong and destroying as lions, and the fire, smoke, and brimstone, issuing from the lion-like mouths, certain instrumentalities of destruction, *visibly directed by and associated with those rulers*—viz., the artillery of the Ottoman Turks."\*

Let us examine this point—which I did not enter upon in my pamphlet, in which I merely noted the explanation as "not very satisfactory to me."

The words of the Apostle are: "*And out of their mouths issue fire, and smoke, and brimstone. By these three* (the best editions add *πληγῶν*, i. e., ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν πληγῶν τούτων) *was the third part of men killed, by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone, which issued out of their mouths.*" (Chap. ix. 17, 18.)

Here we have *three destructive agencies, emphatically distinguished as separate agencies*. It is first stated *generally* that the third part of men was destroyed by *these three*: and then, to prevent, as it were, a mistake, the *three* are again separately enumerated, *each* with its own article, "*by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone.*" The *smoke*, as itself one of the *τρεις πληγαί*, must be a thick *pestilential vapour*, emitted by the avenging monsters. Heinrichs compares Ov. Met. vii. 104, *Vulcanum naribus efflant Bripedes tauri, tactæque vaporibus herbæ Arent, &c.*

But we are required to receive as a self-evident proposition, that these *three separate agencies*, the *fire*, the *pestiferous smoke*, and the *brimstone*, are to represent *balls of lead*, propelled by means of an explosive powder, of which *brimstone* is indeed one ingredient; the explosion being accompanied by *fire* and *smoke*—both of which are *perfectly innocuous*! I own that it seems to me not only very unsatisfactory, but absolutely absurd, to suppose that the *three distinct agencies*, the *τρεις πληγαί*, of the *fire*, and the *smoke*, and the *brimstone*, indicate "certain instrumentalities of destruction," (to use Mr. Elliott's phrase,) which the Family Bible has the merit of expressing by the homelier but more definite names of "*great guns and gunpowder.*"†

We now come to the Turkish Pashas, and their *horse-tails*. The following is the passage of my Remarks which relates to this subject:—

"But Mr. Elliott's solution is very different: 'Their power is in their tails' [Michaelis, he tells us, reads *αι ἐξουσίαι*, 'their authorities are in their tails']: 'for their tails were like unto serpents, and had heads': i. e. 'these serpent-like horse-tails were associated with rulers or governing authorities.' If we confine ourselves to plain terms, refusing to use this convenient phrase, '*to be associated with*,' rather than the plain '*have*' of the Bible, the explanation would seem to be this: The *tails having heads*, means that the *tails have governing authorities*; and the *tails having governing authorities*, means (by simple conversion) that the *governing authorities have tails*, (') and then all is plain sailing

\* Page 33.

† Let me mention that Mr. Elliott's solution contains no explanation of the agreement between the *fire*, *smoke*, and *brimstone*, and the *θώρακες πυρίνους, ὑακινθίνους* (=nigricantes or ferrugineos), *θειώδεις*.

enough : 'The ensign of *one, two, or three horse-tails* marks distinctly the dignity and power of a Turkish Pasha.'

Mr. Elliott is very indignant at this reduction of his reasoning to its simplest form. He accuses me of a *burlesquing tone*, affected from Mr. Maitland (!) "to put the thing (if so it may be) in the ridiculous." It is, however, but "a *little mouse-like charge*;" and how does the reader think it is met? By assuming that the accusation against him is simply that of using the convenient phrase *to be associated with*, instead of the plain *have* of the Bible!

Hence his answer consists in proving or maintaining that those who *have* things are also *associated with* those things.

"Really," he says, "I should suppose that, if the horse-tails *had* heads at their extremity, they were *connected* or *associated with* those heads, and the heads with them. In Mr. Arnold's own case, may I not presume that his head is on his shoulders, not detached, like Lord Lovat's; and that thus his neck and body not only *have* a head, but are *connected with* it?"

This attempt at "the *burlesquing style*" I am not able indeed to refer to the original from whom it is "affected," but I will venture to decide that it is *not Mr. Maitland's style*.

But Mr. Elliott must know that the question, whether we *are* or *are not associated* with the things we *have*, was never mooted, and is utterly irrelevant : he knows that he is charged with being guilty of a piece of *illogical reasoning*, which would have been *impossible*, even for him, if he had not used the *vague* term of being *associated with*, instead of the plain term *to have*. "The *serpent-like* tails of the horses *have heads*;" substituting for the *signs* the (according to him) *things signified*, we get the proposition that "horse-tail ensigns" have "governing Pashas;" and this proposition cannot be made even to sound like sense, till the plain *have* is changed into "*are associated with*," when we get "*horse-tail ensigns* are associated with *governing Pashas*;" and even this is hardly sense till it is *converted* into "*governing Pashas* are *associated with horse-tail ensigns*."

There is surely something in this riddle-making style of dealing with the prophetic Scriptures, that *deadens all sense of meanness and incongruity*, even in men of cultivated minds. What but this narcotic influence could allow a man like Mr. Elliott to conceive the Almighty exhibiting to his entranced apostle, as a symbol of a *one, two, or three-tailed Pacha*, a *snake-like tail terminated by a head*? to exhibit the rulers or magistrates of a tribe or nation, by *appending their symbols to the symbols of their official insignia*? It would be idle to dwell on all the particular incongruities contained in Mr. Elliott's solution of *his own* enigma : to point out, that in the vision the head *is a part of* the tail itself, the officer a *part of* his own badge of office; the *Pasha attached to*, and *forming a part of*, his own horse-tail. I say *horse-tail*, for, as no head was the joint head of *two or three tails*, so the symbol cannot represent any but *unicaudine* Pashas.

But Mr. Elliott "must not overlook Mr. Arnold and his German authorities' *counter-solution* of the enigma in vision. The *original* of the figure, proclaim the triumvirate of Messrs. Wetstein, Heinrichs,

and Arnold, is to be found in the *amphisbæna*; a species of snake that has two heads, one at the tail, as well as the *proper* head in front."

My words were: "Wetstein, Heinrichs, Ewald, &c. refer to the description of the *Amphisbæna*: '*Geminam caput amphisbæncæ, hoc est et a caudæ: tamquam parum esset uno ore fundi venenum.*' But Mr. Elliott's solution is very different." I add the last words, because they imply, I allow, that the preceding reference to the *amphisbæna* was meant to be a *solution* of the enigma, instead of what it was really meant to be, an *illustration* of a head placed at the end of the tail. It is obviously impossible that the whole figure of the complex monster, the horse, with its lion-like head and snake-like tail, could even be supposed to be a simple representation of the, whether real or fabulous, *amphisbæna*.

Mr. Elliott is very fond of representing himself as an impartial judge, and me as an advocate . . . "the retained (!) advocate against the Horse." His reply is a strange illustration of this difference. We have just seen his misrepresentation of my remark about the meaning of *δεδεμμένος*. Observe, now, the proceeding by which he obtains the power of affixing the nickname of a *triumvirate* upon me in conjunction with two others. I name three writers, (*Wetstein, Heinrichs, Ewald,*) adding an &c., (not an unmeaning one, since it includes *Herder, Bengel,* and *Moses Stuart*, amongst those to whom I can immediately refer.)—Three being already named, to add one would make up a *quartumvirate*, even if the &c. were unmeaning; and a *quartumvirate* has no unpleasant association attached to it. Hence our judge suppresses the name of one principal witness, that he may nickname the evidence of the remaining three the *proclamation of a triumvirate*.—"But," says Mr. Arnold, "the intent of the serpent-like head, depicted behind, and here apparently insulated\* from the other, was 'to account for so large a portion of mankind being killed by the deadly emission of smoke, fire, and brimstone.' But how so, when this smoke, fire, and brimstone was only emitted from the lion-like heads in front? Surely the solution of Apocalyptic symbols is hardly Mr. Arnold's forte."

True, it is not: but it is equally true, I think, that no solution can be correct which does not make the assertion that the tails are like serpents, having heads, account for the death of the third part of men by the fire, and the smoke, and the brimstone: since it is connected with that assertion by the conjunction *for*, and obviously states a fact by which their destructive agency was increased. There is, at all events, a *duumvirate*, who "*proclaim*" that both heads breathed forth flames—"Non solum ore spirant ignem, &c., sed et caudæ," (*Heinrichs*): "*Si equi hi ore duplici, et capitis proprii et alterius capitis caudam finientis ignem continuo efflant, quantum et terrorem et noxam miseris mortalibus incutiant?*" (*Ewald*.) If Mr. Elliott wishes to make up a "*triumvirate*" in favour of this opinion, I have no objection to make up the third member; though I should be very unwilling to "*proclaim*" it with absolute confidence.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

T. K. ARNOLD.

Lyndon, March 16, 1847.

\* What is the meaning of this assertion about the insulation of the head at the end of the tail?

## ON REV. XII, 1, 2, COMPARED WITH ISAIAH, XLVI, 7—9.

REV. SIR,—The apparent contradiction in the two passages referred to above has led Mr. Tyso to reject the idea, that the description in Rev. xii. relates to the Jewish church at the time of its final restoration. The explanation given by Dr. Todd is no doubt well known to those of your readers who take an interest in the study of the prophecies. I have thought that the following extract from the author whom I quoted in my letter, which you did me the favour to insert in your March number, may probably be judged worthy of a perusal by yourself and some of your readers.

“Huc usque aliquoties de futura gentis Judaicæ conversione allegatum est illustre emblemata de muliere parturiente, et inter dolores intensissimos prolem masculam enitente, Apoc. xii. Huic autem sensui nequaquam obstat locus hic propheticus, ubi gens Judaica dicitur *parere et prolem edere, antequam ut parturiens correpta est dolore*, h. e. sine doloribus. Etenim *distinguendus est sensus passivus nascendi a sensu activo gignendi et pariendi*. De isto passivo agit emblemata apocalypticum, quo genti Judaicæ, in luctu pœnitentiæ ad nativitatem spiritualem tendenti, gravissimi dolores per afflictionem antichristianam aucti, tribuuntur. De hoc activo agit hæc prophetia, qua gens Judaica jam regenita consideratur ut fecundissima mater, non solum in sui generis hominibus, sed etiam in aliis gentibus regenerandis, seu ad fidem in Christum perducendis. Quod negotium ipsi succedet loco dolorum, cum sancta et magna animi voluptate; utpote nihil magis in votis habenti, quam ut Messiam suum tamdiu abnegatum omnibus gentibus in salutem ipsarum prædicet. Et cum Deus in gente Judaica partim convertenda, partim a jugo et furore antichristiano liberanda, stupenda patraverit opera, illis olim in Ægypto editis majora; istis ad notitiam aliarum gentium divulgatis hæc obstupescant et subserviente universali evangelii præconio, non quidem sine ulla, at sine magna tamen mora ad Christum convertentur: id quod hic v. 7. et 8. indicatur et supra sub emblemata *nubium volantium et columbarum ad columbarium suum se recipientium* exhibetur.

“Cum vero, quod genti Judaicæ tribuitur, opus ipsius Dei sit, uti in ista, sic etiam in reliquis populis, hoc indicatur verbis v. 9, quod cum is in regno naturæ generandi et pariendi facultatem subministret, in regno gratiæ non minorem sit subministraturus; seu non commissurus ut postquam gentem Judaicam in statum nativitatis spiritualis perduxerit, ipsam respectu aliarum gentium sinat esse matrem infœcundam.”—D. Joach. Langii Clav. Apocalypt. in Jesaiam. Cap. lxvi. 7—9.”

This passage seems at all events to be worthy of consideration. There are one or two other extracts from the same work, in which explanations deserving of attention of difficult passages are given, which I should be glad to send if you feel inclined to insert them in the Magazine. How far the book is really a scarce one, I know not; but as I have made several attempts to procure a copy since the time when Mr. Maitland had the kindness to lend me his, and have not yet been

able to meet with one, I should presume that it is not very easily accessible; and accordingly I should think that the opinions of an author, who seems to have been a man of extensive learning and sound judgment, on certain difficult passages in the writings of the prophets, will be acceptable, at all events, to some of your readers.

I remain, Reverend Sir, most respectfully yours,

M. N. D.

## LETTERS OF SAINT BERNARD.

(Continued from page 327.)

EPIST. LXXXVIII.

TO OGERIUS, MONK.

He says that the press of his many occupations has hitherto prevented him from complying with the wishes of his correspondent: and that even then he could only write shortly. He forbids the publication of a little work of his, till it should have been corrected.

1. I SAY nothing of my want of skill, I make no humility of profession, or profession of humility, nor will I make any pretence from the insignificance, not to say abjectness, of my name and office; because whatever I may say of this sort, thou wilt consider not a real excuse, but a pretext for delay, since thou interpretest what I thought very reasonable modesty, sometimes as indiscretion, sometimes as false humility, and sometimes as real pride, as thou wilt. Wherefore I will assert none of these things, which perhaps thou wouldst not believe; but I will signify this, which I beg thee in thy affection for me entirely to believe; namely, that during the whole of this time since thy messenger (not the first, but another one) left me, I have not had a moment of leisure to do what thou requirest, on account of the evil of my days, and the shortness of my nights. Even now thy last letter found me so much occupied, that it would take a long time even to write to thee in my own excuse the matters which have occupied me. I could hardly read it during dinner, at which time it was first brought to me; and this letter, such as it is, I have barely been able to write by stealth, by snatches, by anticipating the time, briefly and in haste. Which brevity it is for thee to consider whether thou canst be content with.

2. For to say the truth, my Ogerius, for thy sake I cannot but be impatient with my very duties, although my conscience is witness that they have no other ends but those of charity; whose authority alone could prevent me, who am debtor both to the wise and the unwise, from satisfying thee hitherto. What then? doth charity deny thee what from charity thou askest? Thou hast asked, prayed, knocked; and charity hath refused thee. Why be angry with me? If thou wilt, if thou dare, be angry with charity; for she, to whom thou lookest for thy object, herself forbids thee to receive it. See, even now she complains of this long discourse, and is angry with thee its cause;

not that thy zeal displeases her, which is her own gift ; but she would have it according to knowledge,<sup>1</sup> that thou beware of hindering greater things by lesser. Thou perceivest how reluctantly I am held back from writing to thee at greater length, in that, led away by the delight of conversing with thee, and the desire to satisfy thee, I am resisting my mistress, charity, who has long been bidding me cease and I cease not. Oh how much matter for answer is there in thy letter ! and if I could have done as I wished, I should perhaps have written quite enough for thee as well as for myself ; but she who forbids me is my lady, yea is my lord. For God is love,<sup>2</sup> and He so ruleth me, that I must obey Him rather than thee or me. Since then we must thus obey God Who is love, rather than men ; unwilling and sorrowful, and not denying what thou askest, still I must delay it for a time ; lest while wishing in humility to satisfy thy desire, in real pride, under the vain pretext of lowliness, I a worm of earth should here below appear to attack that tower of strength, which, as thou truly testifiest, governs even the Angels above.

3. The book which thou requirest, I myself had asked for from him to whom I had given it, before thy messenger came ; but I have not yet received it. I will take care that at least when thou comest, if indeed thou ever dost come, thou shalt have it, see it, and read it ; but not transcribe it. For that other book which thou tellest me thou hast transcribed, I had sent to thee to be read, not to be transcribed ; it is for thee to consider for what purpose or for whose benefit thou hast done so. As for thy sending it to the abbot of St. Theoderic who now has it, though it was not at my desire, yet am I not displeased at it, for how should my book shrink from his eyes, to whom my whole soul, if it could, would lay itself open ? But alas, how inopportunistly has the name of such a man occurred to me, when from lack of time this letter already ought to end, and I cannot dwell a little, as he deserves, on the sweet recollection of him ? I entreat thee, think it not burthensome to endeavour to go to him, and let no one have the aforesaid little work to copy or to read, till ye have both looked through the whole of it, conferred on it, and corrected it, where it needs correction, so that in the mouth of two witnesses every word may be established.<sup>3</sup> And then I leave it to your joint opinion to decide, whether it ought to be shown generally, or only to a few, or even to one, or to none at all ; and also whether that little preface, which thou didst prefix to it out of other letters of mine, be suited to it, or a better one should be sought for.

4. But I had almost forgotten the complaint in the beginning of thy letter, that I had charged thee with falsehood. I do not remember ever saying so ; but should there have been anything of the sort, (for I would rather believe myself oblivious than thy words false,) be assured that it was said in joke, not in earnest. What ! could I impute levity to thee, or think that with thee there is yea and nay ?<sup>4</sup> Far be

<sup>1</sup> Rom. x. 2.<sup>2</sup> 1 John, iv. 16.<sup>3</sup> Matt. xviii. 16.<sup>4</sup> 2 Cor. i. 18.



it from me to suspect thee of this, who art blessed in the yoke of truth which thou barest from thy youth up, overcoming the wantonness of thy years by the gravity of thy conduct. Nor am I so foolish as to think the mere utterance of the mouth, without duplicity of the heart, to be falsehood; nor so unobservant of thee as to forget, either the desire which thou hast long felt, or the obstacle which has hindered thee from effecting it.

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EPIST. LXXXIX.

TO THE SAME.

He excuses the brevity of his letter by alleging the sacredness of the season, as calling rather for silence: also his own profession and inexperience, causing him to shrink from undertaking the office of a teacher.

1. Thou art angry, perhaps, or to speak more gently, thou marvellest at receiving from me so short a letter instead of that longer one which thou hadst hoped. But remember, according to the wise man, that there is a time to every purpose under heaven; a time to keep silence, and a time to speak:<sup>1</sup> and when shall silence have its time, if even this holy season of Lent is claimed for our conversation?—a conversation which occupies us the more the more laborious it is; for we are not able face to face to speak readily what we will, but are obliged in absence to compose carefully for each other what we ask and are asked. And while thus absent I think, compose, write, and send what thou art to receive and to read, where, I ask, is my leisure and quiet silence? But thou wilt say I can do all this in silence. I marvel if thou shouldst really think so. For what a tumult in the mind of him who composes! in which jangles the multitude of words, in which many sentences and many meanings clash, what occurs is rejected, and rejected is again taken up; when the whole attention is given to the beauty of the words, to the order of the thoughts, to the clearness of the expressions, to their profitableness for instruction, in a word, to the care of what to say and in what place; and many other things which the learned in these things more curiously observe! And sayest thou that I can be quiet so? callest thou *this* silence because the tongue is silent?

2. However, it is unsuitable not only to the time but also to my profession, that I should attend to this matter as thou askest, nor could I possibly do it as well as thou wouldest wish. For whether as a monk, which I seem, or a sinner, which I am, my business is not to teach but to mourn; and for an unlearned man (which I truly confess myself) the most unlearned thing he can do is to presume to teach what he does not know. As unlearned then I am not ready, as a monk I dare not, as a penitent I like it not. Indeed, on this account it was that I fled far away, and abide in solitude, with the prophet purposing to *take heed to my vows, that I sin not with my tongue*.<sup>2</sup> for

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<sup>1</sup> Eccles. iii. 1, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. xxxix. 1.

the same prophet saith, *A man full of words shall not prosper upon the earth;*<sup>1</sup> and another scripture, *Death and life are in the power of the tongue.*<sup>2</sup> But *silence*, saith the prophet Isaiah, *is the service of righteousness;*<sup>3</sup> and as Jeremiah teacheth, *It is good for a man to wait in silence for the salvation of the Lord.*<sup>4</sup> To this service, then, of righteousness, this mother, nurse, guardian, of all virtues, (not to seem wholly to refuse thy request,) I invite and exhort thee, and whoever like thee wishes to advance in virtue, though not by word of doctrine, at least by the example of my silence; that by silence I may teach thee silence, who by thy speech compellest me to teach what I do not know.

3. But what am I doing? Thou wilt surely laugh to see me, who so pretend to condemn much talking, already running into so long and wordy a discourse; and while exhorting thee to silence, fighting against silence by my loquacity. I have to tell thee, that our brother Guerricus, of whose conversation and penitence thou didst desire comfortable tidings, is, as far as we can judge from his conduct, walking worthily with God, and bringing forth fruits meet for repentance.<sup>5</sup> The book which thou askest of me, I have not now by me; for a friend of ours has been as earnest in keeping it with him, now for this long time, as thou art in asking for it. But, that I dismiss not thy pious request wholly unanswered, I send thee another lately published by me, on the Praise of the Virgin Mother; which, as I have no copy of it, I beg thee to return to me as speedily as possible, or to bring it thyself, shouldst thou come hither soon.

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EPIST. XC.

TO THE SAME.

He reminds him that true affection needs not a long letter and many words: and tells him that he is convalescent, after an almost hopeless disease.

1. Thy short letter hath a short answer; for I willingly take occasion from thy brevity to reply briefly also. And truly what serves it to talk in few and vain and transitory words, about true, and, indeed, as thou sayest, eternal friendships? With whatever variety of periods, abundance of words, diversity of writings, thou attempt to show and set forth thy love to me, I well know that thou expressest less than thou feelest; nor dost thou err in thinking the same of me. When thy letter came to my hand, in my heart it found thee its writer; and this letter of mine, I am well assured that thou art present with me as I write it, and I with thee as thou readest it. We indeed are weary with much writing to each other, and our messengers with carrying our letters; but are our spirits weary of love? Enough, then, of that, which cannot be done without toil; and let us have more of that, which the more earnestly it is done the easier surely it becomes. Yea, let our minds repose from composing, our lips from conversing, our

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<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxl. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Prov. xviii. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Is. xxxiii. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Lam. iii. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. iii. 8.

fingers from writing, our messengers from running; but let not our hearts cease from daily and nightly meditation in the law of the Lord<sup>1</sup> which is love. This is a work, which the more we are idle in, the less do we repose; the busier we are in it, the more rest it brings to us. Let us love, and be loved; by the one profiting ourselves, by the other our friends; for whom we love, in them truly we repose; those who love us, for them we find rest in ourselves. Moreover, to love in the Lord, is to have charity; to endeavour to be loved for the Lord's sake, is to minister to charity.

2. But what am I about? I, who have promised brevity, shall be thought an example of prolixity. If thou desirest—nay, because thou desirest—to hear of our brother Guerricus, know that he runs, not as uncertainly; so fights he, not as one that beateth the air.<sup>2</sup> But as he knows that it is not of him that fighteth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy,<sup>3</sup> he begs for thy prayers, that He who hath given unto him to fight and to run, grant him also to conquer and to obtain. Your abbot I salute with my heart through thy mouth, who is most dear to me not only for thy sake, but also for his own good report; and look forward most thankfully to seeing him at the time and place which thou didst promise. I also have to tell thee, that lately, the hand of the Lord being somewhat more heavy upon me,<sup>4</sup> I was smitten and fell, the axe was laid to the root of that barren tree,<sup>5</sup> my body, and I feared my time was come to be cut down: when lo! again hath the merciful Lord spared me to the prayers of thee and my other friends, but with a hope of promised fruit for the future.<sup>6</sup>

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EPIST. XCI.

TO THE ABBOTS ASSEMBLED AT SUESSIO.

He urges the abbots to a zealous discharge of the business upon which they were met. He strongly commends their desire of improvement: and tells them not to heed, if any lukewarm and dissolute persons chance to murmur and carp at their proceedings.

To the reverend abbots assembled in the name of the Lord at Suessio, Brother Bernard, Abbot of Clara Vallis, the servant of their sanctity, sends greeting, desiring that they may see what is right, establish it, and abide by it.

1. I am angry with my occupations, which prevent me, though in body only, from being present at your assembly. For the spirit cannot be kept from you by distance or multitude of cares; that prays for you, rejoices with you, reposes in you. No: the assembly of the saints cannot be without me, nor can distance or absence wholly shut me out from the council and congregation of the just; least of all, from that council, in which not the traditions of men are obstinately defended or superstitiously observed, but diligent and humble search

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<sup>1</sup> Ps. i. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. xxxii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. ix. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. iii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. ix. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Luke xiii. 6—9.

is made, what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God.<sup>1</sup> Thither I am borne with an entire affection, there I abide in devotion, share in the delights of love, cling in like-mindedness, continue instant in emulation.

2. Lest, therefore, those who cry over you, There, there,<sup>2</sup> should taunt you (which God forbid) with having met for nought, strive, I beseech you, to make good your ways and your endeavours, which truly cannot be too good. For even suppose that you may be over-just, or over-wise; yet plainly you cannot be over-good. And, indeed, I read, *Be not righteous overmuch*.<sup>3</sup> I read, *Not to be more wise than he ought*;<sup>4</sup> but do I find also, Be not over-good? or, Not more good than thou oughtest? None can be more good than he ought. Paul was already good; and yet, far from being content, he gladly forgot those things which were behind, and reached forth to those things which were before,<sup>5</sup> striving ever to make himself better than he was. God alone wisheth not to be more good than He is, because He cannot be so.

3. Away, then, from me, and from you those who say, We would not be better than our fathers, while professing themselves children of the lukewarm and the dissolute, whose memory is accursed, because they have eaten sour grapes, and their children's teeth are set on edge.<sup>6</sup> Or, if they boast of forefathers of a holy and good memory, they should at least imitate in sanctity those whose indulgences and relaxations they uphold for law. And yet holy Elias said, *I am not better than my fathers*;<sup>7</sup> not, that he wished not to be better. Jacob saw on the ladder angels ascending and descending;<sup>8</sup> saw he any standing or sitting? To stand in suspense on a fragile ladder is quite impossible; and in the instability of this mortal life, nothing remains in the same state. We have here no abiding city, and our future one we possess not yet, but seek for: thou must either ascend or descend, for in the attempt to stand thou wilt certainly fall. Surely then he is far from being good, who wishes not to be better; and where he begins not to wish to be better, there he ceases to be good.

4. Away also from me and from you thou who call good evil and evil good.<sup>9</sup> Those who call the service of righteousness evil, what good thing will they call good? Our Lord spoke one word, and the pharisees were offended;<sup>10</sup> but these new pharisees are offended, not at a word, but at silence. By this alone ye perceive that they seek occasion against you: but let them alone; they be blind leaders of the blind.<sup>11</sup> See to the welfare of the little children, not the murmurings of the evil-minded; and care not to offend them, who are not healed but by your hurt. But neither is it to be expected that what ye resolve shall entirely please even your own people; for if that were necessary ye could do little or no good. Ye will do better to provide for their good than for their pleasure; more faithfully will ye draw them to God though unwilling, than leave them to their own heart's desire. I commend myself to your holy prayers.

<sup>1</sup> Rom. xii. 2.<sup>2</sup> Rom. xii. 3.<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings, xix. 4.<sup>4</sup> Matt. xv. 12.<sup>5</sup> Ps. lxx. 3.<sup>6</sup> Philip. iii. 13.<sup>7</sup> Gen. xxviii. 12.<sup>8</sup> Eccles. vii. 16.<sup>9</sup> Ezek. xviii. 2.<sup>10</sup> Is. v. 20.<sup>11</sup> Matt. xv. 14.

## EPIST. XCII.

TO HENRY, THE KING OF ENGLAND.

He bespeaks the king's favour for certain monks whom he sends to build a monastery in England.

To Henry, the illustrious King of England, Bernard, Abbot of Clara Vallis, sends greeting, desiring that he may in his earthly kingdom faithfully serve, and humbly obey, the King of Heaven.

In thy land is held the prey of my Lord and thine; that prey, which he chose rather to die for than lose. I have resolved to pursue it, and to send some of our soldiers, who, if it please thee, shall seek, recover, and bring it back with a strong hand. To this end I have sent over these present emissaries, to examine carefully, and report faithfully on the state of the matter. Do you assist them as the messengers of your Lord, and in them benefit your own empire. And may He, unto his own honour, and your welfare, unto the safety and peace of your country, lead you in happiness and fame to a good and tranquil end.

## EPIST. XCIII.

TO HENRY, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

He respectfully salutes him.

To the illustrious lord, Henry, by the grace of God Bishop of Winchester, Bernard, Abbot of Clara Vallis, greeting in the Lord.

I have rejoiced to hear from many persons, that my lowliness has no small place in the favour of your Highness, of which I am undeserving, but on that very account am I grateful for it. Wherefore I return you favour for favour, not indeed adequately, but at least as I best can; and, small though it be, I have no fear that when offered, or rather returned, it will be spurned by you, who did so lovingly gain, and graciously anticipate it. But I will write no further now, till I learn from your answer, if you think me worthy of one, how you accept these few words. Whatever reply you wish to send by writing or by word of mouth, may be well entrusted to Abbot Ogerius, by whom you receive this letter; on whose behalf, also, I would address your Excellency, commending him to your acquaintance and favour, as a man honourable and of good repute both in learning and piety.

## EPIST. XCIV.

TO THE ABBOT OF A CERTAIN MONASTERY IN YORK, WHEREIN THE PRIOR AND SOME OF THE BRETHREN HAD LEFT.

1. You wrote to me from across the sea to ask for advice; I would that you had elsewhere sought it. For I am in a strait betwixt two.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Phil. i. 23.

If I answer not, my silence will appear like contempt; but how to answer without danger I see not, for whatever I say must needs either offend some, or make some feel more secure than they ought, or, at least, in a matter in which they ought not. That your brethren left you, was not, to my knowledge, by the advice or suggestion of ourselves or of our friends; but we believe that it was of God, as so great efforts to prevent it were vain. And I suppose that the brethren themselves feel this, by their seeking so earnestly for our advice, their conscience probably smiting them for their withdrawal. If not, they are happy, according to the Apostle, if they condemn not themselves in that thing which they allow.<sup>1</sup> But now, being questioned, what shall I do, so as to pain no one either by silence or by speech? Perhaps I shall be safe, if I refer those who question me to one more learned than I, and whose authority is more reverend and holier. Thus speaks the holy Pope Gregory in his Pastoral: "Whoever has resolved to go through a better work, to him the lesser good which he might have done has become unlawful." To prove which he adds the testimony of the gospel, *No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God*;<sup>2</sup> and infers: "He, therefore, who had applied himself to a nobler work, is guilty of looking back, if he leaves that larger good and turns again to trifles."<sup>3</sup> Again, in the third Homily on Ezekiel: "There are some who do the good which they know, and while doing it meditate better things; but this better they depart from and retract. They succeed in the good they had begun, but they fail in the better which they had intended. And these to man's judgment seem to stand in their work; but in the eyes of the Almighty they have fallen in their purpose."

2. Here is a glass, in which they may consider, not their natural face,<sup>4</sup> but the fact of their retrogression; here they may examine and judge themselves, their thoughts accusing or else excusing one another,<sup>5</sup> and that as spiritual men who judge all things, but themselves are judged of no man.<sup>6</sup> But as for the greater or the less, the higher or the lower, the more or the less strict, namely, what they have left, or to what they have returned, I will not lightly pronounce; they must consider. So says Gregory to them. But to thee, reverend Father, I can say, by all means, with perfect certainty, and with bare truth, Quench not the Spirit.<sup>7</sup> It is written, *Forbid not him who can do well, but if thou canst, thyself do likewise*.<sup>8</sup> Rather do thou glory in the improvement of thy children, since a wise son is the glory of his father.<sup>9</sup> And for me, let no man trouble me,<sup>10</sup> for that I hid not the righteousness of God in my heart:<sup>11</sup> if, indeed, to avoid offence, I have not said less than I ought.

<sup>1</sup> Rom. xiv. 22.<sup>2</sup> Luke, ix. 62.<sup>3</sup> Part iii. c. 28.<sup>4</sup> James, i. 23.<sup>5</sup> Rom. ii. 15.<sup>6</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 15.<sup>7</sup> 1 Thess. v. 19.<sup>8</sup> Prov. iii. 27.<sup>9</sup> Prov. x. 1.<sup>10</sup> Gal. vi. 17.<sup>11</sup> Ps. xl. 10.

## EPIST. XCV.

TO TURSTIN, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

He praises his charity and beneficence towards certain religious persons.

To the beloved Father, and reverend lord, Turstin, by the grace of God Archbishop of York, Bernard, Abbot of Clara Vallis, sends all greeting.

I have learned that the splendour of thy good deeds has corresponded with the opinion of men concerning thee. For the deeds show that the opinion was neither false nor empty, while that which flying rumour first spread abroad, is established by the very fact. And now, how brightly hath thy zeal for righteousness shone out, how conspicuously thy priestly vigour hath prevailed in the defence of the poor, and him that hath no helper.<sup>1</sup> Hitherto the whole Church of the Saints has been telling of thine alms and works of mercy: but this was common to thee with many, being a thing required at the hands of all who have this world's good.<sup>2</sup> But this episcopal act, this signal example of paternal pity, this truly divine fervour of zeal, with which, doubtless, for the defence of His poor, He hath inflamed and excited thee, who maketh His Angels spirits, and His ministers a flaming fire:<sup>3</sup> all this, I say, is a special accession of glory to thy dignity, of distinction to thy office, of ornament to thy crown. For it is one thing to feed the hungry, another to favour holy poverty; in the one we follow nature, in the other grace. *Thou shalt visit thy brethren*, it is written, *and not sin*.<sup>4</sup> So that in caring for our brother's body, we avoid sin; in honouring his sanctity, we profit ourselves. Wherefore he saith, Keep thine alms in thine hands, till thou find a righteous man to whom to give it. With what fruit? *He that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward*.<sup>5</sup> Let us thus perform the natural obligation, lest we sin; let us help the work of grace, that we too may receive grace. Assuredly both are so admirable in thee, that we confess them to have been given thee from above; so that whatever of temporal support thou givest to our necessities, shall be eternally mixed with the divine praises, reverend Father, worthy to be cherished by us in all sincerity of love.

## EPIST. XCVI.

TO RICHARD, ABBOT OF FONTANA, AND HIS COMPANIONS, WHO PASSED OVER FROM ANOTHER ORDER TO THE CISTERCIAN.

He praises them for having renewed their religious discipline.

What great things have we heard and learned, announced to us by our brethren the two Gaufridi, how ye have again burned with the heavenly fire, recovered from your sickness, flourished in holy newness of life! The finger of God is here, subtly working, renewing ten-

<sup>1</sup> Ps. lxii. 12.<sup>2</sup> 1 John, iii. 17.<sup>3</sup> Ps. civ. 4.<sup>4</sup> Job, v. 24.<sup>5</sup> Matt. x. 41.

derly and wholesomely changing you, not indeed from bad to good, but from good to better. Who will enable me to come and see this great sight? For no less marvellous and joyful is such an advance, than such a change; except it be that you will more easily find many worldly converted to good, than many religions becoming better. As the scarcest bird on the earth is he, who ascends but a little from the rank which he has once reached in religion. Wherefore, beloved, your no less rare than salutary act has gladdened rightfully not us alone, who long to be the servants of your sanctity, but the whole city of God;<sup>1</sup> and the more rare it is, therein is it the more shining. And it was not only necessary in prudence, to transcend that mediocrity which is but just above a fault, and to fear to be of the number of those lukewarm whom God shall spue out of his mouth;<sup>2</sup> but it was also right for conscience' sake, for ye yourselves could decide whether, as professors of a holy rule, it was safe for you to stop short of its full purity. I grieve with much grief, that from the stress of the evil time, and the haste of the messenger, I am compelled to show great affection in scanty words, embracing a great love within a short letter. What is wanting, our brother Gaufridus will supply by word of mouth.

## EPIST. XCVII.

## TO DUKE CONRAD.

He advises him not to make war on the Count of Gebenna, lest he provoke God to vengeance against him.

1. All power is from him, to whom the prophet says: *Thine, O Lord, is the power, and the kingdom; and thou art exalted as head over all.*<sup>3</sup> Wherefore I have thought it right, illustrious Prince, to admonish thine Excellency how thou oughtest to stand in awe of that Terrible One, Him who cutteth off the spirit of princes.<sup>4</sup> The Count of Gebenna, as we have heard from himself, has offered, and continues to offer himself to justice on all those matters which thou hast against him. Now, if upon this thou proceedest to invade another's land, destroying the churches, burning the houses, banishing the poor, slaying and shedding man's blood; doubt not that thou wilt grievously provoke His wrath, who is *a father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widows.*<sup>5</sup> And if he is angry, it will assuredly not profit thee to fight, however valiantly, with whatever force; for it matters not to the Almighty God of Sabaoth, whether they be many or few to whom he willet to give the victory. He, when it pleased him, made one chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight.<sup>6</sup>

2. Thus have I, a poor man and moved by the cries of the poor, written to thy Magnificence, knowing that it is more honourable for thee to consent unto the lowly, than to yield to the enemy; whom I deem not to be stronger than thou; but I know the Almighty to be more powerful, who resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the

<sup>1</sup> Ps. xli. 4.<sup>2</sup> Rev. iii. 16.<sup>3</sup> 1 Chron. xxix. 11.<sup>4</sup> Ps. lxxvi. 12.<sup>5</sup> Ps. lxxviii. 5.<sup>6</sup> Deut. xxxii. 30.



humble.<sup>1</sup> For this purpose, noble prince, had I been able, I would have approached thy presence ; but as it is, I have sent these from among our brethren, if peradventure they may by their prayers and ours obtain from thy Dignity either a perfect reconciliation, if it may be, or at least a truce, to give us time to attempt a lasting peace, to the fulfilment of the will of God, to thy honour, and the welfare of thy country. Otherwise, if thou neither acceptest the reparation offered, nor regardest us who pray, yea God who in us warns thee of thy own good, then may He behold and judge. We well know, that hardly can such large armies meet, without, what we justly dread, the most grievous carnage on both sides.

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EPIST. XCVIII.

CONCERNING THE MACCABEES, BUT TO WHOM WRITTEN IS UNKNOWN.

He answers the question, why the church decreed a day of holy commemoration to the Maccabees alone, among the saints of the elder dispensation.

1. The question which thy charity has asked of my littleness through our brother Hescelinus, Fulco, Abbot of Sparnacum had already put to me. Unto whom I gave no reply, wishing rather, had I happened to find some decision of the Fathers thereupon, to send it to him, than to answer him from some new or private opinion of mine. As such decision does not readily occur, I now in the meantime reply to both of you according to my judgment, but so, that if on this little matter either of you should at any time either read, or hear, or think anything more reasonable, he will not fail to impart it to me in time. The question then is, why the Fathers thought fit to decree, that the Maccabees alone of all the ancient saints should, by a peculiar privilege, be solemnly commemorated in the church by an annual feast, and with veneration equal to that which our martyrs receive? If I say that those who equalled the virtue of our martyrs have rightly earned their glory also, I shall perhaps have shown how they gained it, but not so clearly how they alone could do so, since it is certain that several others of the ancients have died with as great a fervour of piety, who have not been held worthy to be remembered with equal joyfulness, And if this solemn celebration is fitly denied to them, inasmuch as what their virtue gave to them, its occasion deprived them of: is not the case of the Maccabees the same? For they too, dying at that time, rose not to the joys of heaven, but descended to the darkness of the grave ; the First-born from the dead<sup>2</sup> not having then appeared. who should open to believers the kingdom of heaven, the Lamb of the tribe of Judah, who openeth and none shutteth,<sup>3</sup> for whose coming in it should be proclaimed with all authority to the powers on high, *Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors ; and the King of glory shall come in.*<sup>4</sup> Wherefore if it be unseemly to commemorate with joy a departure which was not a joyful one, let us

<sup>1</sup> 1 Pet. v. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Col. i. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. iii. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. xxiii. 7.

avoid it in this case also ; but if these should be celebrated with feasting and praise for their virtue, why not the others also ?

2. Shall we say then, that both these indeed died in the same righteous cause with the martyrs, but that the manner of their martyrdom was not for both of them the same with them ? For while all the martyrs alike of the Old and the New Testament died for righteousness' sake, there is this difference, that the latter suffered for abiding in it, the former for reproving those who abode not in it : those for not forsaking it, these for crying that whoever forsook it should perish ; and, to sum up briefly this difference, the one were the servants, the others the champions of righteousness. On this account, perhaps, the Maccabees alone of the ancients, as dying not only in the cause, but, as I said, in the manner of the new martyrdom, may have rightly obtained the same honour of an appointed celebration in the Church with the Church's new martyrs. For they too, like them, were urged to sacrifice to strange gods, and to forsake the law of their fathers, yea, the very commandments of God ; they too refused, and they died.

3. Not so died Isaiah, not so Zachariah, not so even that great John, the Baptist ; of whom the first is said to have been sawn asunder ; of the second we read that he was slain between the temple and the altar ;<sup>1</sup> the third was beheaded in prison. Is it asked by whom ? By unjust and impious men. For the sake of what ? of righteousness and piety. How shown ? Not so much by the confession, as the preaching of them. They preached the truth to men who hated it ; the truth brought them hatred, and hatred death. But those unjust and impious men did not so much persecute holiness in them, as repel it from themselves ; defended their own unrighteousness, rather than attacked their righteousness. There is a difference between invading another's, and maintaining one's own ; between refusing to follow after truth, and persecuting it ; between malice towards believers, and anger against rebukers ; between stopping the mouth of the confessor, and resisting the reproof of the preachers. In short, *Herod sent forth and laid hold upon John* : wherefore ? for preaching Christ ? for being a good man and a just ? Nay, on this account rather he *observed him, and when he heard him he did many things*. But because John rebuked Herod for *Herodias his brother Philip's wife*,<sup>2</sup> therefore was he bound and therefore beheaded ; suffering indeed for the truth, but for the zealous preaching thereof, not for refusing to deny it when compelled. Hence it is that the death even of this great martyr has a less joyful commemoration than that of many much inferior to him.

4. Assuredly had the Maccabees suffered in like manner with these, they would not have been mentioned at all. But now, since by a similar confession of the truth they are likened to the Christian martyrs, they have deserved the same veneration. Nor let it move us, that they did not suffer for the very name of Christ as the martyrs did ; for it matters not whether one suffer under the law for the observances of the law, or under grace for the commands of the gospel. For it is clear that they both alike suffered for the truth, and therein

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxiii. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Mark, vi. 17—28.

for Christ, who said, *I am the truth*.<sup>1</sup> So that in this respect the manner of their martyrdom has done more for the Maccabees, than the virtue of it; since not even those of the Fathers who are known to have contended for righteousness' sake in those times, with equal valour, are celebrated with equal honour, at least by the present Church. She, I suppose, deems it unfitting to assign a festival to any death however praiseworthy, which preceded that of Christ; especially since those who died before that saving passion were received not into the joys of happiness, but into the prison-house of darkness. Certainly then the Maccabees, as I have said, have therefore been held worthy of exception by the Church, because what the time of their martyrdom denied to them, its manner bestowed.

5. Nor do we honour them only, but also them who anticipated by their death the death of our Life manifest in the flesh,<sup>2</sup> whether dying during that life, as Simeon and John the Baptist; or for it also, as the Innocents, whom for another reason, though they too descended to the grave, we still venerate with a solemn service. The Innocents, because surely it were unjust to defraud innocence dying for righteousness' sake, of any portion even of present glory: John, too, for that he received death joyfully, knowing that from his days the kingdom of heaven should suffer violence,<sup>3</sup> (whence also he cries, *Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand*;<sup>4</sup>) and seeing at the same time that the Life would forthwith come after him. Which indeed he, when about to die, was careful to ask of the Lord Himself, and deserved to be answered; for when he had inquired of him by His disciples, *Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?* after many miracles recited, he was told: *And blessed is he, whosoever shall not be offended in me*.<sup>5</sup> For hereby the Lord signified that He was to die, and by a death which should be to the Jews a stumbling-block, to the Greeks foolishness.<sup>6</sup> And at this saying of the bridegroom, the friend of the bridegroom went forward boldly, whither he could no longer doubt that He too would shortly come. He then who could die, rejoicing with so great joy, could also gain for himself a joyful remembrance. But that old man too, full of virtues as of days, when near his own death he held the Life in his arms, said, *Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation*;<sup>7</sup> meaning, I am content to descend unto the prison, feeling my redemption so near at hand. Wherefore he too, dying with such contented pleasure, such pleasant contentment, is deservedly commemorated with joy in the Church.

6. But how shall the memory of that death be joyful, which no rejoicings attended? and how should a dying man have rejoiced, who was certain that he was descending to the darkness of the grave, and could take with him no assurance of a Redeemer at hand for his consolation? Thence it is that one of the saints hearing, *Set thine house in order, for thou shalt die and not live*, turned his face to the wall and

<sup>1</sup> John, xiv. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. iii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. xi. 3—6.

<sup>5</sup> Luke, ii. 29, 30.

<sup>6</sup> Matt. xi. 12.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Cor. i. 23.

wept sore, and so obtained some delay of the death which he hated, and for which he piteously mourned, saying, *In the midst of my days I shall go to the gates of the grave; and soon after, I shall not see the Lord God in the land of the living; I shall behold man no more, and the peaceful dwellers in the world.*<sup>1</sup> And hence another: *O that thou wouldest hide me in the grave, that thou wouldest keep me secret, until thy wrath be past, that thou wouldest appoint me a set time, and remember me.*<sup>2</sup> And Israel to his sons: *Ye shall bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave.*<sup>3</sup> In these words what is there of joyful solemnity, or festal celebration?

7. Our martyrs, on the contrary, desire to die, and be with Christ; assured that where the body is, there will the eagles quickly be gathered together.<sup>4</sup> Soon I say, do the righteous rejoice there before God, yea exceedingly rejoice.<sup>5</sup> There it is, most merciful Jesus, as soon as each saint is delivered from this evil world, there it is that they are filled full with the joy of thy countenance;<sup>6</sup> there resounds one voice of everlasting jubilee, *one voice of rejoicing and salvation in the tabernacle of the righteous.*<sup>7</sup> *Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers; the snare is broken, and we are escaped.*<sup>8</sup> Could they sing this who sat in the grave, in darkness and the shadow of death,<sup>9</sup> while there was none to deliver nor to save them; before the dayspring from on high had visited us,<sup>10</sup> which is Christ the first-fruits of them that sleep?<sup>11</sup> Rightly then the Church, who knows how to rejoice with them who rejoice, and to weep with them that weep,<sup>12</sup> distinguishes, from the difference of times, between them whom in virtue she judges equal; not deeming that she should bestow the same honour on the passage unto life, and the descent to the grave.

8. Wherefore, the cause makes the martyrdom, but the time and the manner make a difference. The time separates the Maccabees from the new martyrs, and joins them to the old; the manner unites them to the new, and removes them from the old. And these differences are observed in the Church from the aforesaid reasons. But in the sight of God the whole assembly of the saints have in common what is spoken of by the holy prophet: *Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.*<sup>13</sup> And whence it is precious let him expound to us: *When he has given his beloved sleep, behold the children the heritage of the Lord, the fruit of the womb his possession.*<sup>14</sup> Nor let us think the martyrs alone beloved, remembering what is said of Lazarus, *Our friend Lazarus sleepeth;*<sup>15</sup> and also, *Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.*<sup>16</sup> Surely not alone blessed are they who die for the Lord, as martyrs, but they also who die in the Lord, as confessors. Death then seems to me to be made precious by two things, the cause thereof, and the former life; but the cause rather than the life. And that will be the most precious, which both the cause and the life adorn.

<sup>1</sup> Is. xxxviii. 1—11.<sup>4</sup> Matt. xxiv. 28.<sup>7</sup> Ps. cxviii. 15.<sup>10</sup> Luke, i. 78.<sup>13</sup> Ps. cxvi. 15.<sup>2</sup> Job, xiv. 13.<sup>5</sup> Ps. lxxviii. 3.<sup>8</sup> Ps. cxxiv. 7.<sup>11</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 20.<sup>14</sup> Ps. cxxvii. 3.<sup>16</sup> Rev. xiv. 13.<sup>3</sup> Gen. xlii. 38.<sup>6</sup> Acts, ii. 28.<sup>9</sup> Is. ix. 2.<sup>12</sup> Rom. xii. 15.<sup>15</sup> John, xi. 11.

## EPIST. XCIX.

## TO A CERTAIN MONK.

Having been anxious at the withdrawal of a certain monk from his fraternity, he writes to him that his letter has relieved him from his unfavourable suspicion.

Respecting the message which, as thou sayest, disturbed thee, it was on thy account, not on his own, that our brother William thought it necessary to send it thee. For he himself, as by the grace of God he is wont, acts bravely, and has hitherto kept far from him that sentence: *A double-minded man is unstable in all his ways*:<sup>1</sup> walking with a single mind, and therefore boldly, in the paths of the Lord, so as not to feel that woe, of which it is said, *Woe unto him who walks on the earth in two ways*.<sup>2</sup> But of thee we had heard that thou wert living in strife, having left your house not without grave offence to the abbot and the brethren, and wert dwelling alone in I know not what improper place. By which rumour being much moved, and anxiously considering in what way we might be of service to thee, we could think of nothing better than to call thee to us, and in the first place to learn from thyself what concerned thee: and then face to face to give thee what advice might occur. But now, after thy letter and my reply, and each of us being relieved from the uneasiness of groundless mutual suspicion, let us be alike content. However, by this falsehood it is proved how true a love there is between us; a love which, through this our mutual anxiety, I may deem not unprofitably renewed; and that we might gather fruit thereof abundantly, could I find fit occasion for the full enjoyment of thy society. If not, we deem it better that we should be content with our poverty, than that by our wealth we should be troublesome to you.

## EPIST. C.

## TO A CERTAIN BISHOP.

He praises his favour to certain poor monks, and his beneficence.

Had I found you less fervent in undertaking so great a work, I should have had to exhort and entreat you to it. But now that your devotion has outrun and been the first to summon me thereto, it remains only that we both give thanks to the Source of all good, for the good which he has enabled you to purpose, and pour out our prayers to him, to add this also, that you may perform according to your good intent.<sup>3</sup> Yet I will not withhold my joy from you. For what rejoicing, think you, does this your design bring to my heart? My sluggish soul will be roused to delight, in seeing you indefatigable in wholesome and honourable pursuits; for I am glad, not because I seek a gift of you, but because I expect fruit from you. I willingly accept a benefit, if it be profitable to the giver, otherwise I should not be walking in that charity which seeketh not her own.<sup>4</sup> Now in this thing you

<sup>1</sup> James, i. 8.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. viii. 10, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Ecclesi. ii. 12.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. xiii. 5.

do benefit us, but yourself more; unless you forget that saying, *It is more blessed to give than to receive.*<sup>1</sup> This indeed bessems a bishop, this commends your priesthood, adorns your crown, ennobles your dignity, when he to whom his office forbids poverty, proves himself in its administration the lover of the poor. For it is not poverty, but the love of poverty, which is counted a virtue. Moreover, *blessed are the poor, not in possession, but in spirit.*<sup>2</sup>

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#### RETURN FROM MOUNT CARMEL TO JERUSALEM.

[THE following is the conclusion of the notes of a lady's journal, of which the commencing portion was printed in the January number.]

HAVING for some time intended beginning a letter which should contain an account of our journey from Carmel to Jerusalem, I take advantage of a wet day, which keeps us indoors, and commence.

Monday evening, Nov. 2nd, looked threatening, but we, nevertheless, gave orders for starting next morning. The week before had been almost one continuous storm of thunder, lightning, and the most tremendous rain, accompanied by gusts of wind. The sea view from our windows was very magnificent during these storms, although, from the elevated situation of the convent, we were not unfrequently enveloped in a dense cloud of furious rain, which prevented us from seeing anything. All this made us naturally wish to seize the first fine weather for our journey, as we might otherwise be detained many weeks. On Tuesday morning there was a change of moon, a north wind, and a clear horizon to the south and south-west, (the rain generally coming in that direction from Egypt,) so we vigorously packed up our goods, and departed from Carmel at about half-past eleven A.M. The sun was quite hot, and the air delightful. We chose the road along the plain by the sea side, so that we were for the first day only about half a mile from the sea, and often not so far. The soil was very rich black mould, and being much softened by the late rain, we had to watch our horses' every step, lest they should sink in some of the innumerable holes in our path. Being so near the sea, too, many parts of our road were quite marshy, from the tricklings of water from the mountains on our left, and here and there we passed the remnants of some streamlet that was beginning to revive again after the parching summer; two or three of these deserve the name of rivers. This is a fertile and beautiful plain: it was like riding over a garden of bulbous plants, just springing up after the rain. Lilac and white crocuses, small kinds of hyacinths, and a few others, were in blossom; the rest were but putting out their leaves of various green; but now, or a little later, there must indeed be a beauteous floral carpet spread over the whole plain from north to south. Here and there we saw ploughing carried on, by Arabs from the numerous villages perched on the lower heights of the Carmel range; and altogether, we enjoyed

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<sup>1</sup> Acts, xx. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. v. 3.

ourselves exceedingly. We soon came to Atlact, on the sea-coast, and turned aside for a moment to look at the ruins. The road was about ten minutes distant from the sea, and some rocks lay between us and it; but what was our surprise, on finding an entrance or passage of considerable length cut through the solid rock to the town—a kind of raised footway on either side, and two grooves in the rock itself, evidently worn by the friction of chariot wheels! Nothing we had seen as yet delighted us more than this ancient chiselling. At the sea-side are also Crusading remains worth seeing; but it was late, and we could only stop to look at a solitary wall, about eighty feet high, composed of bevelled stones, and therefore probably of Jewish or Roman date. We gathered some white crocuses, growing in the pathway of this wonderful entrance, and observed that the rocks were all cut into tombs, and that there were other evident remains of an extensive city, which it was a disappointment to have no more time for examining. By sunset we reached Dora, (now a mere Arab village,) and pitched our tent on the smooth sand, with a clear sky overhead, and a keen north wind blowing, and a splendid sea roaring and breaking over the rocks before us. The sands here are very wide indeed, and there is no shelter from the wind, so the servants feared they should not be able to secure their tent from being blown into the sea, and they therefore wrapped themselves in their cloaks and spent the night in the open air. Very cold they all looked next morning, crouching over their fire; but when the sun got up, it seemed impossible to believe that we had so lately been bitten by the cold. Our destination this day was Haraim, also on the sea-side, and we rode almost all day upon the beautiful sands, which have been driven far inland, for nearly a mile. When we left the edge, this loose footing was very trying to our laden mules, and we could sometimes scarcely urge them on. To-day we passed the ruins of Cæsarea Philippi, but were only able to stay a few moments. What we saw was in wonderful preservation; but a great deal of the ground was overgrown with thistles and dry grass, and we had not time to examine or explore it. After leaving Cæsarea, our road still lay upon the sand, our horses often being in the sea, and at other times on beds of loose shells several feet deep. They were of common kinds, but looked very pretty sparkling in the bright sun. To-day we passed the south end of the Carmel range. We had had great difficulty in keeping our mules at anything like a moderate pace; although we each kept one before our horses, we did not reach our journey's end until some time after dark. The moon was, however, almost full, and rose beautifully over the hills of Samaria, on our left. We were a little inland, travelling over pretty country scenery, and it was delightful. At length we saw a village before us, which they said was Harami, so we passed through it to a rising ground, where we pitched our tent, and could hear the sea roaring. Poor Caire, our dog, required our utmost attention to keep him from the horrid village dogs, who darted after him open-mouthed, yelling and barking. Next morning we rode round a little, and found we had been on the top of the cliffs, which were here high. About five minutes north of the village, we found a curious

spiral descent, which we followed, and were suddenly down on the sands by the sea-side. This descent is partly natural, partly artificial, and is cut through the cliff. Here we found ruins, still in very good preservation, of large fortifications. As yet we have gained no information about this place, which we have thus lighted upon. To-day we were to reach Ramlah, a short journey, and Jerusalem the next day. We soon left the sea, and came to a very pretty river, with a nice stone bridge across it, the first we had seen. The name of this river is El-Ujaa, and its innumerable windings are most picturesque. While our horses were drinking, I wished I could have sketched the bridge, with an Arab and his donkey on it, our various animals drinking, the beautiful little grassy knolls all around, fresh and brilliantly green, and sprinkled with pretty cattle, all feeding on the nice herbage, and an encampment of wild Arabs, in black tents, (formed of poles stuck into the ground, with black stuff thrown over them,)—of course the owners of these cattle—and the distant mountains bounding the view with a wall of many-coloured tints. The sun was as hot as on an English midsummer day, the appearance of the country would not have disgraced the prettiest English county, and this was Palestine on the 5th of November. We now crossed the plain towards Ramlah, leaving Jaffa on our right. Jaffa is very conspicuous, being situated on a hill, and is a very pretty object. The plain of Sharou I have before described; and we now saw it after the “former rains,” (which Mr. Nicolayson never knew so abundant as this year,) every inch covered with bulbs and plants springing up. An Arab joined our party for a while, with whom the servants, &c., amused themselves not a little. He was a man of about fifty, with strong features, bushy black beard, whiskers, and eyebrows; dressed in a white turban carefully folded, an arm in one sleeve of a short coarse linen garment, which hung off his back, leaving the other arm quite at liberty; his skin was a shining, almost black colour, and his bare legs and feet hung dangling at each side of a pretty little donkey, of course unencumbered by saddle or bridle. Could you but have seen this “free and independent” gentleman smoking his pipe in the midst of our motley group, it must have afforded you no less amusement than it did us, and we longed for a clever pencil. At about three o’clock we reached Ramlah, and took up our quarters in our old room in the convent. We gave orders for everything to be ready at two o’clock next morning, as we intended taking advantage of the bright moonlight for continuing our journey. We were on the way before two o’clock. On arriving the day before, and admiring the extensive view of the plain, we were surprised at being able to trace the Carmel range almost to its northern extremity. Our horses and we were in great spirits, and off we set across the plain, in air keen enough for frost, and the moon bright enough to show us every step. The nominal distance from Ramlah to Jerusalem is eight hours, four across the plain to the mountains, and four thence to Jerusalem. We wished to reach the mountains by sunrise, therefore kept on the mules as fast as possible. One principal source of amusement to us, (next to the romance and fun of this still, moonlight travelling, was one of our company, his portly



figure exhibiting every variety of ludicrous equestrianism that can be imagined, as he strode, in his flowing Oriental robe and an extra cloak over the huge wooden and carpet pack, which threatened to crush his poor little white horse. You can have no idea of these extraordinary devices for fatiguing poor animals. They are from two to three feet long, composed of wood and a collection of cloth and carpet miscellanies, upon which the rider may, if so disposed, which he always is, put carpets for sleeping on, blankets, or mats, &c., besides articles of apparel, and, surmounting all, his own cumbrous self. In spite of all precautions, including "something warm" at the convent, our worthy friend was very cold indeed, and very uncomfortable in consequence; but still jogged on good-humouredly, generally with his right arm raised, the whip hanging down over his back, preparing for a desperate blow upon the all-unconscious steed, which used generally, after three or four unsatisfactory attempts, to descend with prodigious crack upon the leather harness. Shortly, however, a scent other than that of the muleteers' pipes reached us, and when it at length affected the tardier senses of our poor A., his distress must have moved harder hearts than ours. His friend, the Carmel apothecary, had given him, at parting, a bottle of super-excellent anise spirit, his own making; and this most precious liquid was now moistening the road to Jerusalem, leaving a visible track after the mule, as it escaped from the broken bottle. But now we drew near the mountains, and our shadows, as cast by the moon, grew fainter and fainter as the dawn brightened, and shortly after the sun had risen, we reached our old resting-place under the trees, in the Wady Suleiman. Here we all dismounted for breakfast. We sat at a little distance from the rest, who instantly kindled a fire to warm themselves. Suddenly our attention was attracted to the other group, where stood little Mohammed, smacking his lips, and the tall one drinking from a bottle, which seemed to contain something *very* good, and the Arab standing with outstretched arms, crying "Stop, stop!" His convent friend had given him some absinthe, of which he good-naturedly offered the others a taste; but, poor fellow, his confidence was lamentably abused by greedy Achmet. We soon set off again, and once more admired the beauty of our road, as it wound through the deep gorge. The hills for about half way are pretty well clothed with dwarf oak, but nearer Jerusalem they are perfectly barren and rocky. On getting up the mountains toward Kirjat-el-Anab or Aboo Gosh, a splendid view opened upon our left; we looked over, and beyond the mountains, upon the outstretched plain, could plainly distinguish the so-called Martyr Tower of Ramlah; far beyond this again, the line of sand—Jaffa—and a splendid view of the sea. All this had escaped us when on this road before; perhaps the day had been less clear. We then passed Aboo Gosh's handsome village; then came our long descent, and shortly after, a pretty stone bridge across the bottom of the valley, where, after the rains, there is a brook, believed to be the same as David's, and all around, such a beautiful luxuriant grove of oranges, lemons, vines, figs, pomegranates, and olives. Steep and long ascents then brought us within sight of Jerusalem. Achmet had been sent forward to prepare for our

arrival; but when we got to the Jaffa gate, we found it closed, and surrounded by a great crowd of people, camels, horses, and donkeys. It was Friday, and it is the custom to close the gates of Jerusalem at noon, while the garrison attend the mosque. Achmet was waiting, too: he had arrived just too late. After waiting some time in a broiling sun, (although November,) we went round to the Zion gate, and there we at length got in.

#### CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS AT ROME.

[AMONGST the extracts which we had marked from "The Christmas Holidays in Rome," for insertion in the Article in the January number of the Magazine, were the two following, which we were obliged to omit for want of room, but which we do not wish to withhold from our readers, as being likely to interest them on general grounds. The first contains an account of Mr. Kip's interview with Cardinal Mezzofanti; the second describes his presentation to the pope, Gregory XVI.]

##### CARDINAL MEZZOFANTI.

"The person I most wished to see in Rome—I may almost say in Europe—was Cardinal Mezzofanti, for his name is known through the world as one of the literary prodigies of the age. The son of an humble tradesman, he commenced his early career as a librarian. His birth-place, as he mentioned to me himself, was Bologna. When an obscure priest in the north of Italy, he was called upon to confess some criminals who were to suffer death next day. They proved to be foreigners condemned for piracy, and he found himself utterly unable to hold any intercourse with them. Overwhelmed with grief at this unlooked for impediment, he retired to his home, spent the night in studying their language, and the next morning confessed them 'in their own tongue wherein they were born.' Such, at least, is the common story told here, and his friends ascribe his success to miraculous assistance which was afforded him as a reward for his zeal in the discharge of his holy office.

"From that time his talent was rapidly developed. His knowledge of languages seems to be almost intuitive, for he acquires them without the least apparent difficulty. At the age of thirty-six, he is said to have read twenty, and to have conversed fluently in eighteen, languages. At the present time he speaks forty-two, or, as he sometimes sportively says, 'forty-two and Bolognese'—considering his native language so curious a dialect of the Italian, that he might count it as one. He at one time filled the chair of Professor of Greek and Oriental Literature in the university of his native city, and his fame even then was widely spread through Europe. When the revolt broke out in 1831, and Bologna for a time threw off the Papal rule, Mezzofanti exerted himself so earnestly in behalf of the Pope, that he was soon afterwards called to Rome and rewarded with an appointment under Mai. When that distinguished scholar was made a cardinal, Mezzofanti was raised to the same dignity. Perhaps the most lively account of him is that given by Lord Byron in his *Detached Thoughts*. 'I do not recollect,' says he, 'a single foreign literary character that I wished to see twice, except perhaps Mezzofanti, who was a prodigy of language, a Briareus of the parts of speech, a walking library, who ought to have lived at the time of the tower of Babel, as universal interpreter; a real miracle, and without pretension too. I tried him in all the languages of which I knew only an oath or adjuration of the gods against pos-

tillions, savages, pirates, boatmen, sailors, pilots, gondoliers, muleteers, camel drivers, vetturini, postmasters, horses and houses, and everything in post! and, he puzzled me in my own idiom.'

"And yet, with all these high qualifications, there is a modesty about Cardinal Mezzofanti which shrinks from anything like praise. When complimented on the subject of his acquirements, he sometimes answers, 'Do not mention it; I am only a dictionary badly bound.' A Russian princess, a short time ago, having occasion to send him a note, he replied at once in her own language, and in terms so perfectly correct and idiomatic, that she could not help responding, complimenting him on the manner in which he wrote Russian. He immediately answered it, stating 'that he was sorry he could not return the compliment as to the manner in which *she* wrote Russian.'

"I had a letter of introduction to him, and the very last morning I was in Rome, feeling that I should not be satisfied to depart without seeing him, I determined to present it. Upon calling at his palace, I found several servants in the ante-room, to one of whom I gave my letter and card. He entered with them, and in a moment the cardinal's secretary came out to conduct me to him. After passing through a long suite of rooms, I was ushered into one where I found his eminence, who, advancing very cordially, invited me to walk into his library. He is a small lively looking man, apparently over seventy. He speaks English with a slight foreign accent, yet remarkably correct. Indeed, I never before met with a foreigner who could talk for ten minutes without using some word with a shade of meaning not exactly right, yet in the long conversation I had with the cardinal I detected nothing like this. He did not use a single expression or word in any way which was not strictly and idiomatically correct.\* He converses, too, without the slightest hesitation, never being at the least loss for the proper phrase.

"In talking about him some time before to an ecclesiastic, I quoted Lady Blessington's remark, 'that she did not believe he had made much progress in the literature of those forty-two languages, but was rather like a man who spent his time in manufacturing keys to palaces which he had not time to enter;' and I inquired whether this was true. 'Try him,' said he, laughing; and having now the opportunity, I endeavoured to do so. I led him, therefore, to talk of Lord Byron and his works, and then of English literature generally. He gave me, in the course of his conversation, quite a discussion on the question, Which was the golden period of the English language? and of course fixed on the days of Addison. He drew a comparison between the characteristics of the French, Italian, and Spanish languages; spoke of Lockhart's translations from the Spanish, and incidentally referred to various other English writers. He then went on to speak of American literature, and paid high compliments to the pure style of some of our best writers. He expressed the opinion that with many it had been evidently formed by a careful study of the old authors—those 'wells of English undefiled;' and that in the last fifty years we had imported fewer foreign words than had been done in England. He spoke very warmly of the works of Mr. Fennimore Cooper, whose name, by the way, is better known on the Continent than that of any other American writer.

"In referring to our Indian languages, he remarked that the only one with which he was well acquainted was the Algonquin, although he knew something of the Chippewa and the Delaware, and asked whether I understood

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\* "An American gentleman, who has known him for many years, told me he called on him when he was Censor of the Press at Bologna, in company with an English naval captain, some of whose books, being on the prohibited list, had been seized at the Custom House. The captain was in a towering rage, and Mezzofanti, in the course of his explanations, made use of the expression, '*I enter into your feelings.*' Nine foreigners out of ten, in attempting to convey this idea, would have been just as likely to say, '*I walk into your feelings.*'"

Algonquin? I instantly disowned any knowledge of the literature of that respectable tribe of savages, for I was afraid the next thing would be a proposal that we should continue the conversation in their mellifluous tongue. He learned it from an Algonquin missionary, who returned to Rome, and lived just long enough to enable the cardinal to begin the study. He had read the works of Mr. Duponceau, of Philadelphia, on the subject of Indian languages, and spoke very highly of them.

"And yet all this conversation by no means satisfied me as to the depth of the cardinal's literary acquirements. There was nothing said which gave evidence of more than a superficial acquaintance with English literature—the kind of knowledge which passes current in society, and which is necessarily picked up by one who meets so often with cultivated people of that country. His acquirements in words are certainly wonderful, but I could not help asking myself their use. I have never yet heard of their being of any practical benefit to the world during the long life of their possessor. He has never displayed any thing philosophical in his character of mind, none of that power of combination which enables Schlegel to excel in all questions of philology, and gives him a talent for discriminating and a power of handling the resources of a language which have never been surpassed. With Mezzofanti, on the contrary, every thing seems to be in detail, and therefore he turns it to no valuable purpose.

"After having made a visit which far exceeded what the bounds of etiquette would allow, I felt obliged to rise with the apology, 'That I had already intruded too long upon the time of his Eminence;' but he assured me, 'This was not the case, and that he only regretted, as I was about to leave Rome immediately, our first interview was necessarily our last.' He inquired the ages of my children, and said, 'In five or six years they will be old enough to visit Italy, and then I trust you will return to Rome, but'—and his voice changed—'you will not find me here: I am too old to hope for it.' When I left the library he insisted on accompanying me through the long suite of rooms to the last, in which was his secretary, and gave me his parting blessing, with the wish, 'that I might have a pleasant journey to Naples.' When half way across the apartment I heard his voice, and turning round saw him standing in the threshold, stretching out his hands to me, and adding to his last sentence—'and a pleasant voyage home afterwards.'

"In the narrow compass of this chapter I can give but a few of the points on which he touched in our long conversation—matters of faith relating to his Church, information about the Propaganda, Cardinals Weld and Acton, and Bishop Wiseman, inquiries about the attention to Greek and Latin in our colleges, and questions about the progress of his Church in America. Still less can I give any idea on paper, of the simplicity and kindness of manner which so much charmed me, in one whose reputation is unequalled in the world, and who seems so little affected by the princely dignity of the Cardinal, with which he has been invested. We parted, never probably to see each other again in this world, yet long shall I remember the old Cardinal's friendly smile, and I trust we may meet again in that better land where all differences are forgotten, and our Father welcomes as his children all those who loved him in sincerity and truth, while toiling onward through the shadows of this lower life."—pp. 174—179.

#### GREGORY XVI.

"To-day we were presented to his Holiness Pope Gregory XVI. by our consul, through whom, as we have no minister at the papal court, all the necessary arrangements are made. So many holydays and other public festivals are continually occurring, that it is necessary to make application some time before, and we had been for several weeks waiting his holiness' leisure. The required costume is the same as on other occasions—the ladies

in black, with black veils over their heads, the gentlemen also in full dress of black. The only difference is that boots are forbidden—a very disagreeable arrangement, as passing in thin shoes and silk stockings through the cold galleries of the Vatican, and over the marble floors, an invalid would be very apt to take a cold, for which his introduction to the successor of St. Peter would hardly be considered a sufficient compensation.

"Twenty-two hours of the day,\* that is, three o'clock in the afternoon, was the time appointed, and punctual to the hour, we assembled in a little room adjoining the Sistine Chapel, where we remained till our company had all arrived. Here hats and cloaks were deposited, and the consul drilled us with a few instructions, as to how we were to bow when we walked in, and how we were to bow when we backed out, and other matters of equal moment in the etiquette of the papal court. Presently a servant in livery appeared, to conduct us to the ante-room—the procession formed, and marshalled by him, we were led up stairs, and on—on through the long halls and corridors, till we reached the Hall of Maps, so called because its walls are covered with huge maps, painted in fresco in 1581 by an archbishop of Alatri, and which are now curious, as showing the geographical knowledge of that day.

"Here we were left for nearly an hour. These vast galleries are always cold, even in the mildest weather, and as this happened to be one of the most severe days we had experienced while in Italy, and we were not exactly in costume for such an atmosphere, we were anything but comfortable. A large brazier filled with coals (the usual method here of warming an apartment) stood at one end, round which the ladies gathered—the gentlemen walked about to keep themselves warm—while some of the younger members of the party, having no fear of the Pope and the Vatican before their eyes, to keep their blood from congealing, most irreverently ran races up and down the gallery. This, by the way, being four hundred and twenty feet long, seemed admirably adapted for such purposes.

"At length the usher in attendance walked in and announced that *Il Padre Santo* was ready to receive us. The presentation was different from what I had expected, having lately read an account of one in which there was much ceremony, the guards at the doors, the anteroom filled with officers of the court, and the mace-bearers heralding the way. Everything with us was very informal, and with the exception of the usher and two servants at the door, we saw no attendants. In we marched in procession, headed by the consul in full uniform; the ladies next, the gentlemen bringing up the rear, and found ourselves in a long room, at the upper end of which, leaning against a table, stood the two hundred and fifty-eighth successor of St. Peter. We bowed as we entered the door—again when we reached the middle of the room—and a third time when we came opposite to the pope. This at least is all that is required of those who 'worship God after the way which they call heresy.' The true members of the church of Rome, instead of bowing, kneel three times, and end by kissing either the hand or the embroidered slipper of his holiness. It is said, that when Horace Walpole was presented to Benedict XIV., he stood for a moment in a posture of hesitation, when the pope, who was remarkable for cheerfulness and humour, exclaimed, 'Kneel down, my son, receive the blessing of an old man; it will do you no harm!' upon which the young traveller immediately fell on his knees. Kissing the pope's foot is not so easily justified, although the usual explanation given is, that it is to the cross on the slipper that the homage is paid. But what business has the cross in

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\* "The Roman day counts its hours from 1 to 24, beginning at sundown. As this is rather indefinite for a starting point, and from its daily change would be very inconvenient, the cardinal who presides over this department issues a public ordinance, decreeing at what hour the sun ought to set. At this season of the year he places it at 5 P.M. Three o'clock in the afternoon, therefore, is twenty-two hours of the day.

such a situation? It is curious, too, that a somewhat similar reason was given for this ceremony under the old Roman emperors. Caligula was the first who offered his foot to be kissed by those who approached him, and we find Seneca declaiming upon it as the last affront to liberty, and the introduction of a Persian slavery into the manners of Rome. Those, on the contrary, who endeavoured to excuse it, asserted that it was not done out of insolence, but vanity, that he might by this means display his golden slipper set with jewels.

"After we were presented and had ranged ourselves in a semicircle around him, he commenced at once an animated conversation with the consul, which gave us an opportunity of quietly studying his appearance and manner. He was dressed in his every-day costume—a white flannel robe, with a cape buttoned down before, and very similar to that worn by some orders of the monks, a little white skull-cap on his head, and red morocco slippers, on the instep of each of which was wrought the gold cross. His snuff-box (another cross on its lid) was in constant use, while he laughed and talked in the most sociable manner. Notwithstanding his age—being over eighty—he seems a hale, hearty old man, whom I should not have imagined to be more than sixty. He looked very differently from what he did in the public services of St. Peter's, when I supposed him to be feeble, and it is probable that the cardinals whose heads are aching for the tiara, will have to wait some years before the aspirations of any one of them is gratified. There is, however, nothing intellectual in his countenance—nothing which marks him as one worthy in this respect to sit in the seat of Hildebrand. His features are exceedingly heavy—the nose too large and drooping—and the general expression of the eyes one of sleepiness. The impression produced upon my mind was that of good nature. During the whole audience there was nothing to remind me that he was the head of so large a portion of the Christian world, still less that he was a temporal prince to whom many millions owed subjection.

"After inquiring what parts of the country we came from, and whether all things had become quiet in Philadelphia (alluding to the riots of the last summer), he suddenly turned to us, and asked—'What do you intend to do with Texas?' It was certainly a curious place in which to hear a discussion of this question, but the pope seemed to feel as much interest in the matter as if he had been one of our own southern politicians. His knowledge of the geography of our country rather surprised me at the time, but I afterwards learned that he had formerly been for many years præfect of the Propaganda, during which time the whole foreign correspondence was submitted to him, and he is therefore somewhat acquainted with those parts of the United States in which there are Roman-catholic missionaries.

"After about twenty minutes there was a pause in the conversation, when he bowed to us—rang a small bell on the table, I suppose to summon the usher—and we commenced, according to etiquette, backing out of the room. The pope, however, immediately walked into the recess of a window near him—his usual custom, I am told, to relieve strangers from the awkwardness of so singular a mode of exit—and we were thus enabled to turn our backs to him, and leave the apartment in the ordinary way.

"At the close of a presentation it is customary for the pope to bless the rosaries, crucifixes, medals, &c. which have been brought for that purpose. An attendant, therefore, was at hand to receive them, and some of the party having come well provided, the articles were carried in to his Holiness, and in a short time brought out again, with the additional value they had received from their consecration.

"Nothing can be so joyless as the life of the sovereign pontiff. Weighed down as he is by cares and business, with no means of recreation, the quiet and seclusion of the cloister would be a happy exchange. They who only think of him as a temporal monarch, or witness his splendour amidst the ceremonies of the church, know little of the dull uniformity in which his days are passed. Four centuries ago, the popes, in consideration of their temporal

sovereignty, displayed in their palaces the same magnificence and festivity which were witnessed at other courts. The old chronicles describe to us fêtes and pageants and tournaments, which certainly displayed more of the spirit of this world than of the next. But now a character of austerity seems outwardly at least to mark the pontifical court. The vast and gloomy apartments of the Vatican are deserted, and as you pass through them you meet no one but the officials of the palace, or some ecclesiastic gliding along with a subdued look and noiseless step. You might imagine yourself in a monastery of Carthusians. The pope, indeed, is at all times the slave of the most rigid etiquette. The heavy robes of his office trammel his steps, and he leads a life of restraint and confinement. A walk in the formal gardens of the Vatican or Quirinal—a quiet ride among the mournful ruins of former ages—or a visit to some church filled perhaps with monuments, which announce how short were the reigns of his predecessors—are his only sources of relaxation without the walls of his own palace.\*

"In the days of Leo X., the hours which were spent around the table of the pontiff were devoted to the highest social enjoyment. While literature was reviving, it was there that its progress was discussed, and plans were canvassed and hints given, which constantly suggested to this sovereign of the house of Medici new schemes for restoring its former glory. Philosophers, orators, and artists gathered there—genius was encouraged to attempt its loftiest flight, and the poet sang his noblest verses to the music of the sweet lyre, certain of a favourable audience. The deep mysteries of science, and the lighter graces of literature, found equal savour with the princely Leo, and in his presence the subtle alchemist from the far East, and the gay troubadour of Provence, were seen side by side. There seemed, then, to be an inspiration in those saloons, and from the halls of the Vatican the new Augustan age first dawned upon the world. So it had been before at Avignon, and as we explored the ruined palace of the popes, we thought more of Petrarch, who came thither from Vaucluse to recite his sweet sonnets, than we did of the pontiff and cardinals, whose applause he sought to win. But now this, too, is changed, and custom requires that the table of the pope should be occupied by himself alone. His repasts are solitary, unenlivened even by friendly converse. In many respects, indeed, this change is a favourable one, and the austerity of the present day far better becomes the head of the Roman church than the gay pageantry of the former centuries, yet it necessarily makes his life solitary and cheerless.

"Elected, as the popes are, at an advanced age, they must of course follow each other in rapid succession. Gregory XVI., therefore, having been elected in 1831, has had a longer reign than usual. He is not a man of great talents, or remarkable for any particular traits which pointed him out for the office, but was elected, as is frequently the case, amidst the strife of parties. On such occasions, some inoffensive, unexceptionable person, generally of advanced age, is chosen. He seems to share fully in all the antiquated prejudices of his church, and has lately issued an edict forbidding all railroads within the papal dominions. It was proposed to construct one from Rome to Naples, and the king of Naples was very anxious to have it undertaken. In fact, during the winter he arrived at Rome, and it was stated that this was the object of his visit; but the pope was inexorable. The court fears its subjects having too great facilities for travelling, lest a further acquaintance with the world might shake their faith. And yet Rome is supported almost entirely by the money of foreigners, and, should all visitors abandon it for three years, the city would be given up to famine.

"What a strange spectacle does this history of the popedom present! Aged men, reigning but a short time—insulated individuals, deriving no claim from relationship to those who went before them, and yet, amidst all the changes

\* Eustace, *Class. Tour*, vol. iii. p. 346.

of the world, bequeathing their authority to those who came after them. The unbroken line stretches back from him whom we saw to-day in the Vatican to those bishops 'appointed unto death' who ruled the Christians of the imperial city when they met in the catacombs of St. Sebastian, or died as martyrs in the Flavian amphitheatre. Perhaps seventeen centuries ago some of the predecessors of Gregory XVI., as they saw in the distance the smoke of heathen sacrifice ascend from the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, were unconsciously standing on the very spot where their own magnificent St. Peter's was afterwards to be founded. Yet, great as is the change in their situation, is it not equally so in the manner in which they bear the apostolic office? Would Clemens, 'whose name,' St. Paul tells us, 'was written in the Book of Life,' have recognised as his successors the lordly prelates of the middle ages, trampling on the necks of kings, and crushing thrones with a rod of iron? Alas! before the days of Christian unity return, Rome must go back to earlier principles, remembering the heritage of suffering which once she received, and by which she grew to greatness. Laying aside her diadem, and resuming once more her ancient crown of thorns, the world must see her, sitting no longer so lordly, but rather ready to rejoice if again she should be counted worthy to suffer. Then, when purified by trial, she goes forth to her holy work, poor humanity will greet her with joy, as she comes preaching the gospel of peace. Yea, the churches of the world will make answer to her call, as they welcome her to their fellowship, feeling that again, after long centuries of warfare, with one mouth and one heart they can all profess the 'faith which was once delivered unto the saints.'"—pp. 82—87.

#### COLLEGE OF ST. COLUMBA.

THE Trustees of the College of St. Columba have presented to his Grace the Lord Primate of all Ireland the following Report, which is printed for circulation among the friends of the institution at his Grace's desire :

##### "REPORT.

"The Trustees of the College of St. Columba, at the opening of a new year, deem it their duty to lay before your Grace a brief statement of the present position of the College, the difficulties with which it has to contend, and its prospects of ultimate permanency.

"The progress which has already been made, notwithstanding many discouragements, is a convincing proof of the soundness of the principles upon which the College was originally established, and a strong inducement to every one who takes an interest in the object proposed, to persevere in the effort to carry out those principles still more efficiently.

"The great difficulties occasioned by the sudden and unexpected resignation of the late Warden and some of the Fellows, have now been happily overcome. The Rev. Matthew C. Morton has accepted the office of Warden, and the vacant Fellowships have been satisfactorily filled up by the election of three gentlemen, who appear to the Trustees to be in every respect well qualified for their office.

"The Trustees have thought it expedient that the gentlemen to whom the departments of Music and Drawing are intrusted, should not hold Fellowships; and they have recommended to the College that



no person be elected to a Fellowship in future, who has not received an university education.

“ They have been fortunate enough to engage Mr. Calkin, a highly qualified gentleman, as Organist and Teacher of Vocal Music, under whose superintendence the instruction of the students in Music, and also the choral service in the chapel, is very efficiently conducted.

“ Mr. W. Wakeman has been appointed Drawing Master. Several of the students are making a most satisfactory progress in the elements of Architectural, Figure, and Landscape Drawing.

“ The death of the late French Master, M. Des Crettes, interrupted for a short time the instruction of the students in modern languages; but the appointment of Signor Lemmi, who has been in attendance at the College during the whole of the last half-year, has remedied this defect, and the Trustees have received a good account of the progress of the students.

“ The recent resignation of Mr. Coffey has occasioned a temporary suspension of the Irish department of the College. Several well-qualified persons, however, have presented themselves as candidates for the vacant Fellowship; and the Trustees have reason to hope that an efficient successor to Mr. Coffey will in a very short time be appointed.

“ The number of students at present on the books of the College is thirty-five; and the present accommodations will not admit of the reception of more than about fifteen others.

“ It is very desirable, however, that this number should be as soon as possible filled up; as the future prospects, and even the existence of the College, must mainly depend on the payments to be received from the students.

“ It is unnecessary to inform your Grace, that, in the present season of deep and alarming distress, it is impossible to look for aid by subscriptions from the public in Ireland; and it is even to be feared, that the great and growing difficulties of the times may have the effect of depriving many persons of the power of sending their sons to a public school. Under these circumstances, coupled with the present high price of provisions, the Trustees cannot look forward to the future without much apprehension. Their earnest hope is, that the friends in England, who have already so liberally supported the institution, may be pleased to continue their subscriptions, until the present disastrous crisis shall have passed over, and a sufficient number of students be obtained to cover its expenses, and to effect an adequate permanent endowment.

“ The efficient state of the College, and the high qualifications of the gentlemen engaged in its management, enable the Trustees to recommend it with confidence to the public as a seminary of education, combining all the advantages of the great endowed schools, without their dangers. Every branch of study usually taught in public schools as necessary for the universities, or for the active professions, is most efficiently cultivated. But the distinguishing feature of the institution is its religious character; the endeavour to cultivate in the students a high tone of religious principle, and to afford them an opportunity of

witnessing, in full operation, the wholesome discipline of our church, as it is prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer.

"The Trustees have been greatly gratified, on visiting the College, at witnessing the gentlemanlike manners of the students, together with the order, cleanliness, and regularity of the whole establishment; and they have received from many of the parents of the students the most flattering testimony to the great benefits which their sons have derived from the Institution. For the continuance of this success the Trustees are very much indebted to the present Warden, Mr. Morton; he has devoted himself to the arduous duties of his office with the most anxious care and assiduity, under circumstances of very peculiar embarrassment and difficulty; and, having been a Fellow of the College from its foundation, he possessed the advantage of being perfectly acquainted with the system of education established from the commencement of the undertaking, which he has zealously carried out without alteration or interruption.

"The Trustees cannot conclude this Report without returning their warmest thanks to your Grace, for the munificent and untiring support you have given to the institution, as well as for the kind indulgence with which you have at all times assisted them by your advice and counsel, an advantage which, they trust, they will never justly forfeit.

"HENRY COTTON.

"CHARLES R. ELRINGTON.

"JAMES H. TODD.

"March 1, 1847."

His Grace was pleased to address to the Trustees the following letter, which he has permitted them to make public:

"Armagh, March 3, 1847.

"GENTLEMEN,—The Report which you have done me the favour to transmit to me, respecting the state of St. Columba College at the commencement of a new year, has afforded me very great satisfaction.

"I am well aware of the difficulties with which you have had to contend, in your endeavour to conduct the business of the institution in conformity with the principles upon which it was originally founded; and it gives me pleasure to offer you the assurance of my cordial approval with regard to the manner in which you have persevered, through evil report and good report, in carrying out a plan of education which, in my judgment, is well calculated to improve the tone and system of instruction for the higher classes of society in this country.

"I would beg to suggest to you the propriety of your printing and circulating among the subscribers to the College, the Report which you have presented to me. I trust there will be no falling off in their contributions during the present year, and I enclose a small donation to assist you in meeting the increased expenditure which the high price of provisions in this season of scarcity must render unavoidable.

"I remain, Gentlemen,

"Your faithful servant,

"JOHN G. ARMAGH.

"To the Trustees of St. Columba College."

Since the foregoing address was presented to his Grace the Lord Primate, Mr. William Francis Seymour, A.B., of Trinity College, Dublin, has been elected to the vacant Fellowship, and has undertaken the superintendence of the Irish department of the College. Mr. Seymour is vernacularly acquainted with the Irish language, and has held one of the Irish scholarships founded in connexion with the College of St. Columba, in the University of Dublin.

March 13, 1847.

Subscriptions and Donations will be received by the Trustees; by the Honorary Secretary, the Rev. NUGENT WADE, 79, Pall Mall, London; and by the following Bankers, to the account of the "COLLEGE OF ST. COLUMBA:"—

In London . . . . .	Messrs. COUTTS AND Co.
In Dublin . . . . .	Messrs. LATOUCHE AND Co.
In Liverpool . . . . .	Messrs. LEYLAND AND BULLENS.
In Bristol . . . . .	NATIONAL PROVINCIAL BANK OF ENGLAND.
In Oxford . . . . .	THE OLD BANK.
In Cambridge . . . . .	Messrs. MORTLOCK AND SONS.
In Edinburgh and Glasgow . . . . .	THE COMMERCIAL BANK OF SCOTLAND.
In Cork, Limerick, Belfast, and } Waterford . . . . .	THE BANK OF IRELAND.

## REVIEW.

*The Psalms in Hebrew; with a Critical, Exegetical, and Philological Commentary.* By the Rev. George Phillips, B.D. London: J. W. Parker.

AT a time when knowledge of the original of the Old Testament is considered needless, or, if possessed, perverted to the promotion of scepticism, the work of Mr. Phillips on the Psalms is truly refreshing. It is the production of a scholar and a Christian. Acquainted with the writings of the Rabbies and the modern Germans, and ready to acknowledge all that is good, he has too much Hebrew learning himself to follow them blindly, and too firm a faith in the writings of the New Testament to believe that they are better interpreters than our Lord and his Apostles. The experienced reader of the Old Testament may consult Mr. Phillips' commentary with profit, finding here all that is really valuable in modern works; at the same time it may fearlessly be put into the hands of the Hebrew and theological student, as inculcating nothing but reverence for the great foundations of the catholic faith. For the latter it is chiefly, though not exclusively, intended, as the author states in the preface—"In carrying out this undertaking, I have been greatly stimulated by a confident hope that it will prove beneficial to those young persons who are engaged in the acquisition of Hebrew learning, that it will lighten their labours, that they will find in it much useful and interesting matter, and that thus it may be the means of leading them to the resolution of the study they have commenced, and of giving to the subject that earnest

attention which its immense importance demands. For the promotion of this object, I thought it desirable to publish the original text, and to give to the first ten Psalms a grammatical analysis of nearly every word ; besides interspersing the commentary with many observations, which the student will find serviceable in the early stages of his progress." At the same time those who are ignorant of Hebrew will find it a satisfactory book of reference.

" It has been one of my objects," says Mr. Phillips, " to render it in some degree useful to those who possess little or no acquaintance with the Hebrew language. To accomplish this, I have given, immediately after the text of the Psalm, an outline of what appeared to myself to be the argument pursued by the Psalmist, to state in a few words the character of the poem, as well as its age, author, and subject, as far as they could be ascertained. Keeping the same end in view, I have given for the most part, after the criticisms made upon the different verses, the paraphrases and explanations to which the criticisms irresistibly lead us ; and these will be mainly intelligible to the general reader. Hence it is hoped that such readers will derive from the work all the advantage which its exegetical portions can bestow, that they will understand the different renderings of which a passage is capable, the various ideas which these renderings suggest, and comprehend, in the chief features, the drift of all which has been advanced in the notes." The second chapter of the introduction treats " Of the Character of Hebrew Poetry "—the third chapter, of " The Titles of the Psalms "—and the fourth, " Of the Principles of Interpretation employed in the Work." As a specimen of his manner and principle of interpretation, the heading to the Forty-fifth Psalm is here given—

" The subject of this Psalm is undoubtedly the Messiah. It contains a description of His power and Majesty ; it asserts his Godhead, and predicts the eternal duration of his church ; his love and intimate connexion with it, are expressed by the figure of a royal marriage. The Psalm is one of those portions of Scripture which must be considered as allegorical ; indeed, there is no difficulty in discovering that the poem is intended to be an allegory, inasmuch as there are found many portions which are not capable of a literal interpretation. Perhaps the soundest principle upon which to proceed in extracting the sense of Scripture, is to regard the language of such parts only of the Old Testament as figurative, which are under circumstances similar to those of the present Psalm, except where the New Testament serves as a key. By many this Psalm is regarded as an ode, intended to celebrate the marriage of Solomon with Pharaoh's daughter ; and no doubt the general tenour of the language will support the idea that it was composed for some such occasion. The reasons why the marriage of Solomon cannot, however, be the subject here, appear from the circumstance that the king is styled God ; that no wife of Solomon was, as far as we are informed, intreated with gifts by the daughter of Tyre, that vv. 4, 5, 6, cannot apply to this king, for he was never engaged in wars. We also know that no sons of Solomon were constituted princes over the whole earth (v. 17) ; and

finally, the Psalm closes with a promise of greater renown than was ever reached by Solomon, and greater than ever can be attained by any earthly potentate . . . . . We may therefore conclude with J. D. Michaelis, that if even the New Testament furnished no intimation of its true meaning, yet so striking is the Psalm in many of its leading points, that every unprejudiced and humble inquirer after truth must, in contemplating this composition, be irresistibly led to the sense which the inspired writer intended. But when we have the Epistle to the Hebrews for a guide, and find in it the Psalm cited by the author of that Epistle, and used as an argument to prove the divinity of the Messiah, all doubt as to the real interpretation vanishes, and we at once acquiesce in the apostolic explication. The applicability, therefore, of the Psalm is put beyond a question; but it is some satisfaction to know that the ancient Hebrew church likewise acknowledged it and adopted it." Mr. Phillips then gives the Jewish authorities.—The writer of this notice regrets that it is not possible to give the whole of the notes on this Psalm, as they would fully justify the opinion already intimated respecting the value of this commentary. It is indeed highly creditable to the author and to the English Church for learning, judgment, and piety, and well deserves the attentive study of all who desire to attain to the simple meaning of the original of the Book of Psalms.

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#### THE SCARCITY.

THE letters published last month must have satisfied any candid reader of the impartiality with which the Irish clergy are assisting their poor parishioners without religious distinction. Those who have any personal acquaintance with the Irish clergy could not easily be brought to believe that they would, or indeed could, have acted otherwise. For, indeed, at all times, the Protestant part of their parishioners present, comparatively speaking, a very trivial demand for charitable assistance: so that the representation given by Mr. Crosthwaite of Durrus of his own parish, would be found—even at present—to be a very fair average account of the state of the rural parishes in Ireland,—that all the assistance the Protestants needed the clergy could have given them themselves—and consequently, in asking for assistance from this country, *the Protestants had not entered into their minds.*

To make this point a little plainer, we have obtained a return of a rural deanery in one of the most distressed districts, and it will show, not only the comparative number of Protestants and Roman Catholics relieved, but also the comparative amount of assistance given by the Protestants and Roman Catholics in wealthier circumstances. There are five parishes in the rural deanery.

In the first parish—

*Amount subscribed.*

	£	s.	d.
By Protestants . . . . .	74	19	0
By Roman Catholics . . . . .	25	5	6
	<hr/>		
	£100	4	6

*Proportion of persons relieved :*

Roman Catholics to Protestants as ten to one.

Second parish ; which contains a large population of poor Protestants—

*Amount subscribed.*

	£	s.	d.
By Protestants . . . . .	155	10	7
By Roman Catholics . . . . .	35	10	0
	<hr/>		
	£191	0	7

*Proportion of persons relieved :*

Roman Catholics to Protestants as eight to one.

Third parish—

*Amount subscribed.*

	£	s.	d.
By Protestants . . . . .	38	17	6
By Roman Catholics . . . . .	5	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£43	17	6

*Proportion of persons relieved :*

Roman Catholics to Protestants as ten to one.

N.B.—This is the third collection in this parish. The proportion of subscriptions, and of persons relieved in the former collections were about the same as in the present.

In the same parish is a soup committee.

*Amount subscribed.*

	£	s.	d.
Protestants (per month) . . . . .	36	0	0
Roman Catholics (per month) . . . . .	10	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£46	0	0

*Proportion of persons relieved by the Soup Committee.*

Roman Catholics to Protestants as twelve to one.

Fourth parish—

*Amount subscribed.*

	£	s.	d.
By Protestants . . . . .	120	0	0
By Roman Catholics . . . . .	23	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£143	0	0

*Proportion of persons relieved.*

This may be gathered from the fact that 300 heads of families have been supplied with meat and soup gratuitously, and of these only four are Protestants.

## Fifth parish—

*Amount subscribed.*

	£	s.	d.
By Protestants . . . . .	55	0	0
By Roman Catholics . . . . .	11	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£66	0	0

*Proportion of persons relieved :*

Roman Catholics to Protestants as twelve to one.

In the large towns there may be some difference in these proportions :—that is, in some few, there may be a larger number of Protestants requiring relief. And the same remark may apply to some parts of the *north* of Ireland. But taking the great mass of the country, and the most distressed parts of it, there can be no doubt that the proportions, both of local subscriptions and of persons relieved, will be found to be very fairly represented by the rural deanery we have here given as a specimen.

With regard to another point—the amount of assistance the poor, i. e., the Roman Catholics, are in the habit of receiving from their own priests, the following extract from a letter from the Reverend Mr. Crosthwaite of Durrus,\* received since the publication of the March number of the Magazine, will be read with interest.

\* The Rev. J. C. Crosthwaite begs to acknowledge the following contributions for the poor of the parish of Durrus, received since the 1st of March:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Lady George Paulet . . . . .	20	0	0	H. Blundell, Esq. . . . .	2	0	0
Mrs. Chesp. . . . .	6	0	0	Mrs. Stephenson . . . . .	5	0	0
F. Sharpe, Esq. . . . .	10	0	0	Per the Lord Bishop of			
J. Taylor, Esq. . . . .	1	1	0	Lincoln, collected in	}	5	0
Mrs. Elrington . . . . .	0	10	0	the parish of Norton			
Mr. Wright . . . . .	1	1	0	Cuckney . . . . .			
J. Sharpe, Esq. . . . .	1	0	0	Rev. W. Johnson, St.	}	7	9
R. M. Sharpe, Esq. . . . .	1	0	0	Clements, Eastcheap,			
Joshua Watson, Esq. . . . .	20	0	0	collected on Fast-day			
H. Sikes, Esq. . . . .	10	0	0	Rev. J. C. Robertson,	}	2	11
S. Hanson, Esq. . . . .	2	2	0	Bekeabourne, collected			
Rev. W. M. Heald . . . . .	10	0	0	on the Fast-day . . .			
N. Fenn, Esq. . . . .	5	5	0	Rev. R. Mayo . . . . .	4	5	6

With part of the above Donations some seed oats have been purchased here, and sent to Durrus. Much more, however, is needed.

The Rev. J. C. Crosthwaite desires also to acknowledge some most useful packages of clothes, which have been a very great blessing indeed to the poor creatures for whose use they were so charitably contributed.

“ With regard to an opinion which is prevalent in some quarters in England, namely, that the priests are at all times in the habit of relieving the poor people by collecting alms for them in the chapels, and giving largely in charity to them at their own homes, and otherwise, there could not be a greater mistake made. I do not mean to say that there are not instances of Roman-catholic priests who have given liberally of their own goods to feed the poor. On the contrary, I remember of hearing of one of them who was an extremely charitable man, and a most remarkable exception to the general rule. But the rule is the contrary : for it is well known, as a generally admitted fact, that the greater part of the priests’ income being derived from fees exacted from the poorest portion of the community, if he should once begin to give them charity, he would have to give out more than he should receive. This is a fact well known in Ireland. Indeed, it is not difficult to understand, that in a country circumstanced as Ireland is, where the priest’s income is to be made up in shillings and half-crowns, derived from the very poorest creatures, the first demand upon a charitable man would be, to remit these small payments, which would be tantamount to resigning perhaps two-thirds of his income. Nor would any State endowment or establishment materially alter this condition of things, while the priest retains his hold over the fears of those whom it is his interest to keep in their present state of ignorance, superstition, and barbarism. But, leaving to others to discuss the questions, moral, political, and religious, involved in the circumstances and relations of Romanism in Ireland, I merely state the facts—namely, that the Roman-catholic priests are not in the habit generally of giving much charity to the poor—and that their houses are not resorted to as the houses of the Protestant clergyman and his curate are. Indeed, they are generally besieged with expectations from their own relatives, which overpower the claims of the poor people, amongst whom they say they are placed.

“ It is sometimes supposed, by persons unacquainted with this country, that the poor are assisted by collections in the Roman-catholic chapels. Now this also is a mistake. There are not generally collections in the chapels for the poor. I have heard of instances ; but they are not general. The chapel collections are, I believe, an additional tax upon the poor creatures, for the repairs and adorning of the chapel. On certain days in the year, it has been customary to collect the money (at least in rural districts) outside of the chapel door—no one being allowed into the chapel at all, until the sum demanded as an admission fee was paid ; but no person in this country ever falls into the mistake of thinking that the collection is made *for the poor*. Alas ! there are no mistakes of this kind made here. *The poor* are known, generally speaking, to mean *the Roman Catholics* of the parish ; and the church clergyman is known as *the poor man’s friend*. I believe that in large towns, the nuns, and Sisters of Charity, or Sisters of Mercy, as they are called, do good in the same manner that our Protestant ladies do ; and, indeed, I have heard of instances of priests in towns being charitable men, but it is not general in the country districts. It is a well-known fact that it is not so : persons may give



reasons for it, (which may be valid, or may not,) but no one pretends to deny it. There may be exceptions, and I know there are; but the exceptions do but prove the rule. I know that, at some periods of great sickness or calamity, many of the Roman-catholic priests have shown a good deal of energy and zeal in the cause of charity; but what I have been speaking of is the *ordinary* work of assisting and relieving the poor at all times; and in this I have always heard it admitted by *Roman Catholics* that their priests are deficient. Indeed, it has often happened in my own parish, that when the priest has paid his visit and received his fee, the poor sufferer has applied to me for relief, and been actually sustained for many days, and sometimes even provided with a coffin after death: and this in cases where the persons assisted were so strongly prejudiced, as to think it *unlucky* that a Protestant clergyman should enter the house after they had been anointed—for that, too, has been a common prejudice. How these prejudices first arose I cannot with any certainty say; I only mention their existence. But nothing can more clearly show in what part of a parish the stream of charity is found to flow, than such cases as these. Let me add, that the custom of the Roman-catholic priests is, to pay but the one visit, and that for the purpose of giving extreme unction. *I never heard of a priest* in the country parishes paying a visit in any sickness, unless it was considered mortal; and there is a superstitious objection to sending for him to anoint the sick person, until all hope is gone.

“I have thus, I think, answered one or two questions which I have known to be put by persons ignorant of Ireland. I will conclude by mentioning remarks that have been made to me respecting our poor people. An English gentleman speaking to me, said, that he was surprised to find that, if so much pressed by hunger as was said, the poor people did not eat the dogs which have still survived, or even old shoes, &c., as soldiers have done in a siege; and a lady remarked to me, that it was strange that we did not hear of the poor people eating children, or the dead bodies of their companions, as sailors have been known to do in a shipwreck. With regard to the latter remark, I am happy to say that there are other circumstances connected with the manner in which our poor people have borne their privations which few expected to have heard of. But with regard to both these remarks, it does not seem to be recollected, that our poor people were not suddenly brought down, like sailors in a wreck, or soldiers in a siege, from *strong meat diet*, to suffer the cravings of hunger *working on a healthy frame*. Our poor people were heart-broken by a long and tedious process of slow starvation, producing disease, and, in hundreds and thousands of cases, strange as it may seem, a delicacy about the kind of food which they could make use of.

One more remark in conclusion. Persons have remarked to me, that, as they travelled along by the public works, they have seen the poor men doing *almost literally nothing*. How little did these persons consider, that, in addition to perhaps but half sufficiency of food, these poor wretched men had, in all probability, travelled long distances every morning to their work. I have known myself six Irish miles

to be a common distance. And then, consider the frost and snow, the rain and storm, the keen winter's blast, acting upon the attenuated frame of the father, leaving his home hungry and half clothed, at four o'clock in a dark December morning, in order to travel his six miles to his work, with the heavy feeling weighing down a kind and affectionate heart, that he had left his children no food to eat. Could such a man have heart or energy to work? Could he, under these circumstances, show himself as he has shown himself in favourable situations, equal, at least, to the best labourer or soldier that the world could produce. The experiments of Professor Forbes, Professor Quetelet, and Mr. Field are well known. But was it, I would ask, when receiving 8d. or 10d. a day for the support of his entire family, when the cheapest meal ranged from half-a-crown to three-and-sixpence per stone of fourteen pounds, that these remarkable results were obtained? I need add, I will add no more."

It is one consequence of the present distress, and a most important consequence it is, that we shall be much more accurately acquainted with the state of parties in Ireland, and the character of the clergy of the different churches. The Roman-catholic priests are continually breaking out in some way or other in the public papers, with such violence and intemperance as cannot fail to undeceive those who have been as yet ignorant of their real character. The following letter which appeared in the 'Cork Constitution' in January last, will serve as a specimen, not of their newspaper effusions merely, but of their ordinary and accustomed method of treating political and religious questions, in their discourses from the altar at the Sunday mass, and from the platforms of their repeal meetings. How can any one be surprised that the disciples of such masters should be disaffected to an English government?

"TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

"Cong. Jan. 4, 1847.

"MY LORD,—You are public property, and as such I address you, though I expect no benefit by doing so. And why? Because you are a hard-hearted Whig.

"History tells us that Ireland was, in days gone by, called 'Cromwell's Slaughter House;' but the daily deaths resulting from starvation—hear it, ye nations of the earth!—proclaim Ireland to be at this moment the slaughter-house of Lord John Russell. You know, my lord, as well as I know it, that the poor are dying for want of food, and yet, in violation of your solemn promise, that government would step in between the poor and the merchants, when they exceeded a fair profit, you cruelly leave the people to the cupidity of the food-mongers. But you give a Board of Works, with all its forms and delays, technicalities and proclamations, sanctions of Lords of the Treasury, issuing of tickets, references to officers and engineers, &c., this whole machinery causing a delay of a month, while the people

are starving, and out comes the *parturient montes*—one ticket for each family to support six or eight, this one ticket earning from ten to fourpence a day, and paying three-and-sixpence for 14 lbs. of meal!

“Perhaps there is not on record, from the beginning of the world, a parallel to this cruel mockery and hard-hearted system of thinning the population by wholesale starvation. Any poor man, whilst any remnant of grain intended for seed remains with him, will get no employment; so, my lord, you will have us all on a level of destitution by and by. We are so already, a great share of the landlords not excepted. To them you made the gracious concession of mortgaging their lands, but you withheld the right of directing the expenditure in useful and productive ways. They came forward to the relief of the people very generously by assessing themselves; yet they are liable to the insults of stripping engineers if they assume any control over the expenditure of their own money. The landlords deserve this treatment; for to a man they ought to stand together, and place themselves in that attitude that could not be misunderstood by the minister of England.

“You, my lord, if you have any regard for your fame, will resign your place to Sir Robert Peel, who has a head to meet an emergency, and a will to apply a remedy to the evils of the land. Do not imagine that the patronage placed in the hands of Mr. O’Connell will bring you safe through the storm gathering around you. He is now on his trial before the nation. The next session of parliament will tell us what he is about, and I wish the result may be as glorious as that of the monster trial, in his proving that your government has been a ‘mockery, a delusion, and a snare.’ But if, unfortunately, a verdict is found against him, there is a spirit in Ireland that will raise up another Daniel, round whom we will rally to demand the rights of freemen.

“The counties of Galway and Mayo have derived more benefit from the Calcutta relief fund than from the complicated machinery of your Board of Works. Limited as that fund unfortunately is, yet its distribution is so prompt and timely, and carried on with so little expense, that it always affords immediate relief. But there is a reason for this; Ireland’s own Duke is at its head, and the humane, the benevolent, and the good Lord Cloncurry is one of its indefatigable working members. As I am in a hurry to my share of the public works of attending the sick and burying the dead, I take leave of you and your pet food-mongers. Perhaps some fine morning you would send them over to purchase, with the fruits of their blood-stained extortion, Irish estates likely to be confiscated by the Board of Works, and thus strengthen your union party here. History tells us that this is not unprecedented.

“My lord, I have to record twenty-seven deaths from starvation for the past month, and I fear this month will bring my number to hundreds. There will be a great degree of barbarity in treating brute animals as cruelly as the creatures of God are allowed to be treated by a Christian government in a Christian country. Be aware, my lord, you must appear with your account before the Lord of lords,

and God grant you may escape the denunciations of almost every page of Holy Writ against those who have the power, and whose duty it is to prevent the oppression of the poor, but who do not do it. May you not fall under the denunciation of the prophet Amos against the man who made the ephah small, and the shekel large. You promised, my lord, and it is your duty to fulfil the promise, that the poor should not starve.—I have the honour to remain, my lord, your lordship's obedient servant,

“MICHAEL WALDRON, P.P.”

Mr. Waldron is unhappily anything but a solitary specimen. The following are extracted from a series of resolutions adopted by the Roman-catholic clergy of the deanery of Ballinrobe, and bearing the signatures of sixteen parish priests and curates. .

“Resolved—That we petition her Majesty to dismiss from her councils the heartless and cruel ministers, whose policy, unparalleled for indifference to human life, has brought one of the fairest portions of her empire to the verge of destruction, and has consigned thousands of the youth of Ireland to a premature grave.

“Resolved—That it is our firm conviction that numbers of those who exercise an influence over the public councils, have been long looking with jealousy at the moral strength of the people of Ireland, evinced at their magnificent meetings, and the tone of Christian and manly feeling that characterized them, and that some of the unfeeling proprietors in this locality cannot disguise their joy at the prospect of having the population thinned by famine.

“Resolved—That the alien spirit and alien feeling now exhibited through alien functionaries, in carrying on the public works in our country, affords a melancholy proof of the hatred to Ireland, and contempt of its people, that have characterized the present, as well as all other alien ministers.”

If clergymen will put their names to such truly diabolical falsehoods and calumnies, and publish them to the world, what may we imagine their more private exhortations to be, and with what harassing vindictiveness are they not likely to persecute those under their control or within reach of their influence, if any of them should presume to think and act for themselves.

A short time since, a priest, of the name of Hughes, brought a charge before the magistrates at Claremorris, against Mr. Mulloy, one of the baronial engineers under the Board of Works. His complaint was, that the men employed did not get sufficient wages. The district engineer deposed, on the contrary, that Mr. Mulloy's works were properly executed, his prices good, and in accordance with the rules of the board, and that “if the people worked, they could earn good wages.” The real state of the case was discovered by Mr. Mulloy's statement to the magistrates. The report is extracted by the ‘Cork Constitution’ from a paper in the interest of the priests.

"Mr. Mulloy,—That man, Sir, (Rev. Mr. Hughes,) is disturbing the public peace of the country. He has impeached me with attending to the interests of the gentry and starving the poor. I have attended to the interests of the country and the barony at large. If the rev. gentleman had meddled less with the poor they would be better off, and pay more attention to their work. But instead of that, he was exciting them to insubordination, and exciting them against me—which I can prove—bringing them from their work, one day to a station-house, another day to a meeting, and again assembling them in large bodies to the prejudice of themselves. I have ordered my check clerks, whenever the men leave their work, to check them for the day. *The end of the week comes—no work done—no wages for the people*—therefore the people will feel discontent—not on him they will leave the blame, but on me."

In truth, unless the officials of government are contented to be the tools and servants of the priests, they must in most cases expect very uncereemonious treatment from their hands. The following is extracted from the Cork Constitution of February 20th.

"There is a good deal of industry employed in the fabrication of falsehood, and the most absurd stories are circulated, for the purpose, apparently, of operating on English ignorance, and inducing the benevolent there to believe that their bounty is employed, not in furnishing food, but in purchasing 'converts.' The parties, however, who attempt thus to impose on an abused credulity exhibit no unusual indignation at occurrences such as the Kerry Evening Post describes in the following article :—

"ROMISH BIGOTRY AND PRIESTLY INTOLERANCE.

"The facts of the following examples of Romish bigotry and priestly intolerance, even amid the struggles of famine, have been for some days in our possession ; though we have not had time to make use of them till to-day.

"The first case to which we shall refer occurred on the Kilmore road, in the western part of the Lettrough relief district. A young man, of the Rev. Mr. Moriarty's congregation, at Ventry, was appointed check clerk, by the inspecting officer of the Board of Works, (Lieutenant Greenwell, we believe,) and was sent to Clahane, at the other side of the barony. It may be well to premise here that the check clerk to whom we are referring is a well educated man about twenty years of age, and most competent to perform the duties of his post, which he has hitherto filled to the satisfaction of his superiors. He has been a protestant since he was nine years old, at which period his family embraced protestantism. However, because he has had anything to do with converts, he has been denounced by the Romish priest at Clahane ; who has cursed most fearfully any one of his flock who would give the protestant check clerk lodgings, or even speak to him, and also any labourers who would answer to their names when called by him for the purpose of being checked. On Sunday last the

priest was furious when he learned that this young man still found lodging in the district, and that the labourers still obeyed him. He cursed them on the double; and not satisfied, his reverence went on the road next morning, and desired the men to catch the devil for him, *and to settle him*. They hesitated. The *Christian!* minister then jumped off his horse, and collared and shook the young man, who broke from his hold and ran off in terror of his life. The priest then excited some of the men to hunt the check clerk, and dismissed others from the works who had refused to do so. The steward also refused to speak to his superior through fear of the priest.

“The second case to which we would refer, though not so outrageous as the former, displays the same spirit of religious bigotry, and has produced a similar effect of civil injury. A convert named Dooling was appointed a gangman on a road not far from the Cashion, from which office he was forcibly expelled by the Revs. E. O’Sullivan, P.P., Ballyheigue, and Mr. Fitzgerald, R.C.C., *in propria personi*. As members of a Relief Committee, those clergymen turned delegated authority into an implement of oppression, and exceeded the powers intrusted to them.”

Nothing, indeed, can be more mischievous than the influence which the priests exercise in the relief committees, except in comparatively rare cases. Where they are left in a decided minority, they sometimes take no part in the transactions of the committee, and absent themselves from their meetings. But where they are able to have matters their own way, every information we receive convinces us that they are acting, in too many instances, in a manner most discreditable to their character as men and clergymen. Selling the relief tickets to the poor—insisting on their paying up arrears of dues and fees on the condition of getting them on the relief lists for public work; compelling the poor creatures to subscribe to building chapels, out of their miserable wages on the roads—these are among the instances of the mode in which they have abused the confidence reposed in them by the Legislature. In a private letter received lately by a friend, from an Irish correspondent, in speaking of the distressed condition of the children of the parish, the writer says,

“About a hundred of these little creatures attend an infant and a female school, where they get a mid-day meal; they are, of course, scriptural schools: and one proof of the unfairness of the Relief Committee is, that the parents of these children are excluded from their relief, the Committee being, as I told you, under the complete dominion of the priests.”

Everything we can learn, indeed, convinces us of the prudence of employing the Protestant clergy as the distributors of our bounty. One would feel disposed to advise this from feelings of mere humanity, for nothing can be conceived more truly

afflicting for those who in ordinary times are the refuges and friends of the poor, than to find themselves plunged into the middle of such distress as is to be met with in most parts of Ireland. Even the medical men, the officials of the workhouses, and the officers in the employment of government, are sinking. Mind and body must be exhausted by such a continual pressure. But the case of the clergyman who is to sympathize with such afflictions, and to listen to daily and hourly tales of misery, which it is beyond the power of human aid to alleviate, must be painful beyond anything we can form an idea of. The following letter is from Dr. Traill, rector of the parish of Schull, on the coast of Cork—the district described by Commander Caffin.

“DISTRESS IN THE PARISH OF SCHULL.

“*To the Editor of the CORK CONSTITUTION.*

“Schull Rectory, March 20th.

“Sir—Having recently had a visit from the Rev. F. F. Trench, Rector of Cloughjordan, a well known philanthropist, who came with the benevolent object of inquiring into and relieving our distress, I may briefly state, for the satisfaction of the public, the circumstances connected with his short stay in our neighbourhood.

“I may premise, however, that he, like all who have entered our abodes of woe, fancied that our letters contained ‘idle tales,’ and that if we did not exaggerate, we at least highly coloured our narratives. *He left us not only fully convinced of the truth of all we have stated, but acknowledging that he had not an idea of the extent of our wretchedness. He came doubting—he went away appalled.*

“His plan is simply as follows:—to establish eating-houses in different quarters, where all who are in want may be supplied with one good meal of porridge in the day. The plan wears the aspect of practicability at least; and in this it differs from numberless Utopian schemes, hastily brought forward, and as hastily smothered.

“The grand difficulty, supposing that we had a sufficiency of food, is to reach remote localities, to which no road conducts, and where human foot, save those of their own mountain residents, seldom treads. In a town, or other compact district, matters are much more easily arranged; but various impediments present themselves in a wide and rocky tract of country, like that of the parish of Schull—impediments which, in the case of the sick, who now crowd our cabins, will be found very serious.

“To obviate these difficulties as far as may be, Mr. Trench proposes, as I have said, that eating-houses be established within a given circuit, sufficiently circumscribed to admit of each person in want being supplied at home if sick, at the depository if well, once a day, with a substantial meal of porridge. To this he superadds the cleanliness of the applicants, as far as the hands and face at least—a very important regulation, for the filth of the people, and the horrible effluvia emitted by their clothes and bodies, are intolerable. The smell is more than

enough to sicken, in a few minutes, the strongest stomach. Alas ! Sir, what have ~~we~~ not to endure, who are conversant with such miserable beings, almost without intermission ! Their poverty and wretchedness no pen can duly delineate, and that wretchedness and poverty react fearfully on ourselves.

“ No, Sir, we have exaggerated nothing—we *need not to exaggerate*. We have only to state the simple truth, and bring forward the facts as they exist, to move the feelings, and shock the hearts of all who read or hear ; for, a more distressed spot than my parish, I doubt much at this moment if the world could furnish—indeed, even previous to the present awful calamity, such was my impression. We have, or rather we *had*, a population of 18,000 scattered over a surface of 21 English miles by 11, and dwelling amidst rocks and wilds, in every nook and corner where a patch of *tillable*, I will not say *arable*, ground could be met with. They lived—I state a fact which thousands can attest—on potatoes of the very worst description, (the horse potato) and those for a month or two in almost all the latter years scarce ; while very many had *nothing else whatever*, not a drop of milk, nor even a morsel of fish, from the beginning of the year until its close. And what, then, must be our situation *now*—when the divine anger has singled out the sole root that fed our multitudes, and driven it withered and blighted from the earth !—Miserable, and worse than miserable ! It is computed that 2000 of us have already fallen victims to famine and disease ; and it is the belief of our medical men—Drs. Sweetnam and M'Cormick, as stated on oath at an inquest—that thousands more are in a *dying condition*—the spring of life exhausted, and the hapless sufferers beyond the reach of remedy, either by food or medicine.

“ I shall now give you a brief detail of woe. Two days ago I visited a cabin inhabited by Roman catholics, poor I need not say they were. I had been there a short time before, and had found it tenanted by *sixteen* human beings, composed of three different families. In the interval—can it be credited ? *no less than nine out of the sixteen had died* ; and of those who remained, I doubt if any will eventually survive. I proceeded to the next hovel—and the home of wretchedness it was, wearing every aspect that horror could assume ! *In it seven had perished*—the father and six children : the two surviving children past all hope ! I advanced to the adjoining cabin. It was more cleanly, and had not the same appearance of misery. *From it the father and mother had been swept away*, leaving one young man, and he then lying in fever, without a creature to attend him but a married sister, who came from a distance—the only occupant. I then stepped into the cabin adjoining : here were five children, with their father, *all in fever*. The mother, who alone was capable of exertion, was out endeavouring to procure something for her perishing family. Wretched and miserable was it all—and my heart really sickens at the remembrance.

“ These abodes of horror were *literally consecutive*—three of them close together. Not very remote was a Protestant family, *nine in number, and all in fever*. Alas ! Alas ! and is this the once happy, lightsome land, where the revel rang, the laugh and song went round, but where many a deed of darkness was ripening it for vengeance ?



Its mirth would seem to you for ever gone, for the voice of wailing alone is heard. Famine greets you in every countenance, and death passes you in every step. O what cries, and tears, and lamentations! I have only once more to say—my heart sickens, and my health is sinking, amidst these dire scenes of woe. May God in mercy look upon us, and on this most wretched land!

"As I returned from my weary rounds to-day, I passed a cart conveying three dead and uncoffined bodies to their last earthly dwelling-place. Not a creature was with them but the driver, and he journeying onward with the utmost unconcern. Death has become so common amongst us, that a corpse now awakens neither sympathy nor emotion.

"With many very painful emotions, as I think of all around me, and of a parish where I formerly enjoyed my quiet and happy labours, but where now one peaceful moment never brightens in my skies, I am, Sir, faithfully yours,

"ROBERT TRAILL, D.D.,

"Rector and Vicar of Schull, Chairman of the Schull Relief Committee."

"P.S.—As some time may elapse before I again address you, I may mention, that up to the present date—March 20th—my expenditure amounted to about 1,500*l.*, 350*l.* of which I have laid out in the purchase of seed-wheat, oats, barley, turnip and parsnip—the latter scarcely to be procured. My *weekly disbursements* have reached the alarming amount of nearly *sixty pounds*. Once more, Sir, farewell—would that I could say farewell to all these troubles."

There has no testimony been borne to the conduct of the Irish clergy in this trying season more gratifying than those incidental mentions of their labours contained in the journals of Mr. Foster and his companions, the excellent and truly benevolent members of the Society of Friends, who have for some time been travelling through the most distressed districts in Ireland. As these journals may not have fallen into the hands of many of our readers, some extracts from them will, we doubt not, be read with much interest. It will be seen, also, that there are suggestions occasionally made in these extracts deserving the attention of those who are anxious to do good.

The county of Donegal is one of the largest, as well as the wildest and most mountainous counties in Ireland; its lofty cliffs varying in height from one to eight hundred feet, form an effectual barrier against the inroads of the Atlantic, by which on the north and west sides it is bounded. The general aspect of the county is bare and rugged, with hardly a tree to be seen, and much of its scenery of lough and mountain, equal in savage wildness to the Highlands of Scotland. Notwithstanding the generally rugged aspect, there is much excellent and cultivable soil, and it has a population of nearly 300,000 persons, more than two-thirds of whom are solely engaged in agriculture, thinly spread over an area of 1,190,000 acres, of which little more than *one-third* is reclaimed and cultivated. It appears by

the report of the "Occupation of Land Commissioners," that there is more waste land in Donegal than in any other county except Mayo, no less than 760,000 acres being uncultivated, of which it is calculated that 150,000 might be rendered fit for cultivation, and 250,000 more so drained as to be made available for the rearing of young cattle. By the information obtained in various parts, of the general fertility and productiveness of the soil, and by the account of some experiments referred to below of the cultivation of waste land at Pettigoe, it is easy to see, what an almost inexhaustible mine of wealth, what a constant fund of employment exists in the country itself. How strange it seems to talk of emigration and an overplus of population with such resources undeveloped and unexpanded at our very doors! This county, like most others in Ireland, principally belongs to a few large proprietors, some of them, unhappily, absentees, whose large domains sometimes extend over whole parishes and baronies, and contain a population of from eight to twelve thousand inhabitants. Such, for instance, is the parish of Templecrone, with a population of 10,000 inhabitants, in which the only residents above the small farmers are—the agent, the Protestant clergyman, the parish priest, a medical man, and, perhaps, a resident magistrate, with the superintendent of police, and a few small dealers. The small farmers and cottiers live in miserable hovels, in a state of degradation and filth, which it is difficult to believe the most barbarous nations ever exceeded. The farmers hold from one to ten, and in rare cases, twenty acres of cultivable land. Besides this, in many districts, they have the right of stray for young cattle over an immense extent of uncultivated land held in *rundale*, for which they pay small sums, according to the number of "cows' grasses" taken. A very large proportion of the population of many districts are cottiers, who are poorer than the farmers, and who have no land except that on which their miserable hovels are built, the inhabitants depending almost entirely upon the potato for their subsistence, which they grow in "conacre." The crops raised throughout this county are oats and potatoes; small patches of wheat may be seen near some of the towns, and occasionally a little flax. We have seen that more than two-thirds of the population exist by means of agricultural pursuits, the food for the greater portion of whom has been, in former years, entirely potatoes, a few of the more comfortable only indulging in oatmeal. We believe that it would be fair to estimate that fully half of the population of Donegal subsisted wholly upon potatoes,—a crop which is as totally swept away from the face of the country as though it had never been. We never but once had potatoes offered us, and those were so bad we could not eat them.

At Pettigoe we found the landlord of the hotel a highly intelligent man. He is the agent for several estates, and has introduced an improved method of draining and subsoiling, the benefits of which are prodigious. It appears likely to prove highly profitable, not merely to himself, but also to the large number of persons whom he may employ. We had an interview with a gentleman, the chairman of the Relief Committee, and also with a clergyman of the parish. They

had been endeavouring to establish a soup-kitchen, both in this place and at Ederney, in a neighbouring parish, and gladly accepted W. F.'s proposition to help them in carrying out this object. They had also been assisting the most needy for some time by selling meal at a low price, and they had in this way turned over 90*l.* a week for six weeks past. This gentleman is one of the very few Irish proprietors who have availed themselves of the advantages of the late drainage act, and he informed us that for six weeks past he had employed one hundred labourers upon his estate. He described in forcible terms the sufferings which had been induced by the loss of the potato crop. He valued a good crop of potatoes at 50*l.* per acre, and the average for a poor man's crop 25*l.* to 30*l.* He estimated the loss to Ireland by the blight of the potato at ten millions sterling, and this is believed to be a low estimate. It is difficult for us in England to realize the effects of this visitation upon our sister country in all its varied ramifications. We have so many other means of subsistence, that we should never dream of the loss of our potato crop inducing a famine, although it would, doubtless, be a serious privation to many. In Ireland it is quite otherwise; the potato crop is to Ireland what the wheat and oat crops are to England, the chief sustenance of the people. In many districts, indeed, it is the only food of nine-tenths of the population. When we realize this, and remember the extreme poverty of the mass of the people, it is not difficult to comprehend the existence of that widely-spread famine which is afflicting the land, and to believe that disease and death are rapidly following in its train. The chief, we might say only, sustenance of four millions of our fellow-creatures in Ireland has entirely disappeared. Had a mighty deluge devastated the country, or a fire swept across it, with awful destruction, leaving the people with their lives only, how eagerly would all classes have come forward to the help of the destitute. Who would have ventured to recommend us *to wait* for the operation of the poor-laws and labour acts, however desirable these provisions may be and are in themselves? Whilst these methods are discussing, the people are dying, and already in some districts "more than a twentieth part of the population has been swept away." How, then, can any one doubt that it is the imperative duty of all to endeavour to relieve those who are thus perishing?

From Pettigoe they proceeded through a wild mountainous district to Stranorlar.

"After a long and tedious drive we reached Stranorlar. The following morning we visited the poor-house. It contained 388 inmates, whose appearance and general health formed a pleasing contrast to many we had seen. Three months ago there were but eighty persons in the house, but the admissions the past week had been somewhat short of one hundred. We spoke to many of those who had recently come into the house, and they told us that 'previously they had hardly been able to get anything to eat; sometimes a meal of cabbage, and at other times a little meal once a day for days together.' The master, a very intelligent man, assured us that 'they came in a state

of real starvation,' sometimes 'so weak that they hardly could crawl to the house.' These came from a distant part of the Union, and were principally labourers who take a little 'conacre.' We afterwards called upon the clergyman, *who appeared much devoted to the service of the suffering poor.* He frankly told W. F. that although there was much distress in this district, he believed we should find other districts so much worse, that he felt it hardly right to receive anything from him. He said, however, that as Secretary to the Relief Committee, he had seen much real suffering and distress, and that in their books they had no less than three thousand applicants, who may fairly represent a population of fifteen thousand. He told us that the previous day a poor woman had come to him in a state of great want, and that she and her husband and five children had eaten nothing for twenty-four hours. In company with this gentleman we called upon a county member, to whom W. F. had introductions. On W. F.'s explaining to him the object of his visit, and asking for information regarding the poorest portions of the parish, he fully agreed with the clergyman that in the neighbourhood of Stranorlar the poor were comparatively well off, and mentioned the districts lying to the north and west, along the sea-coast, as requiring the greatest assistance."

Having next proceeded to Letterkenny and the shores of Lough Swilly, they determined to visit a remote promontory, still more to the north, the difficulty of exploring which was increased by the depth of the snow.

"The following morning M. Goodbody proceeded to explore the district of Mevagh, the promontory mentioned above, whilst W. F. and I proceeded through another district to Dunfanaghy, about 20 miles distant; we were now approaching the north coast of Ireland, and the scenery was of the wildest and most mountainous character. We found the inhabitants of the little villages and way-side huts really suffering from want of food, and they received the bread which W. F. distributed, with an eagerness and thankfulness which told of real hunger. At a little village, where we halted, two policemen, who selected the poorest families and carried the bread for us, seemed much interested in their unusual office, and on being thanked for their services, replied, 'We wish we had it to do every day, Sir.' Many of these poor creatures were living on a single meal of cabbage or a few ounces of meal, and their expressions of thankfulness were really affecting. One poor fellow to whom the bread was offered, said, 'Is *this* for me, Sir? My wife was saying this morning, what shall we do this wicked weather? I told her to trust in Providence and relief would come, and now,' he added with tears in his eyes, 'you see, Sir, it is come.' This is but one instance of the patience and resignation of the simple peasantry of Donegal. Owing to the depth of the snow and a constant succession of violent snow-storms, we experienced much detention, and did not reach Dunfanaghy until long after dark.

"A portion of the district through which we passed this day, as well as the adjoining one, in which M. G. was making inquiries, are with

one exception the poorest and most destitute in Donegal. The following particulars, furnished to us by the chairman of the Relief Committee of one of the parishes, a gentleman of high family and respectability, will be read with deep interest. They convey a faithful picture of a large portion of Ireland, and exhibit in a strong light the general destitution and privation which exists. It will be seen that in this district nine-tenths of the population subsisted entirely upon the potato. Nothing can indeed describe too strongly the dreadful condition of the people, many families were living on a single meal of cabbage, and even, as we were assured, upon a little sea-weed.

"This district comprises the parishes of Kilmacrenan and Mevagh, and is about twenty miles in length by eight in breadth, and contained in 1841 a population of 15,270 persons—or, 2778 families, only 639 of whom alone are valued in the poor-rate above four pounds. The Relief Committee have, with great labour, carefully gone over the whole of these parishes, and ascertained the crops, stocks, and condition of each family. The chairman of the Relief Committee says, in writing to us: 'From these returns we have extracted the names of 663 heads of families who are in the *greatest possible distress, without resource of any kind*. I have also gone carefully over these estimates again, and find that there are besides (the examination of the district took place some weeks ago) 1173 heads of families, in *as great distress now*, as the 663 were when their names were extracted, and also 312 who *will require relief* before the others have been set to work.' As this letter was written three weeks ago, we may fairly conclude that the whole of these are now in the dreadful condition described above, '*in the greatest possible distress, without resource of any kind*.' These numbers added together amount to 2148, representing a population of nearly twelve thousand persons in two parishes alone, where the whole number of inhabitants is little more than fifteen thousand. Can anything exhibit in a stronger light the dreadful destitution of the country, or be stronger evidence of the gradual but rapid progress of the farmers to pauperism and famine? This is no exaggerated statement, for the same gentleman says further—'I am even still apprehensive that the number requiring relief ultimately will exceed the figures I have given.'

"The total inadequacy of the public works to provide for the wants of the people is fully proved by the following extract from the same letter. 'It was intended by the Relief Committee that the 663 families whose names were first extracted should be set to work at once, but I regret to state, that notwithstanding every exertion on their part, the calls of the engineers and officers of the Board of Works to lay off roads are such, that *only* 150 have as yet been set to work, whilst tickets have been issued to 181 more, who, it is *to be hoped*, will be set to work before the end of the week, but I fear it will be some time yet before tickets can be issued for the remaining 332, for I know that the inspecting officer who issues them has engagements for a fortnight at least, and the calls upon the engineers in every direction are as pressing as possible. Supposing that by the end of this week there are 331 individuals (some of them women and boys) at work,

there will be 332 families left who have been selected by the committee, as cases of the most pressing and urgent necessity, for whom there is no prospect of work for the next three weeks under the most favourable circumstances.'

"What then is to become of these 332 families in the meantime, or of the remaining 1173 who are described as 'requiring immediate relief'?" How *do* they exist? is a question which we anxiously and constantly put. On a single meal of cabbage, or of turnip, and even sea-weed, or a chance supply of oatmeal made into gruel, given them by the few who *have any* at all, although certainly not to spare, but who cannot allow their fellow-sufferers to perish without sharing that little. In fact, from all we heard and saw, we are satisfied that these poor creatures are thus, notwithstanding their deep poverty, keeping *each other alive*. Is it to be wondered, then, that the visages of the men are stamped with hunger and despair—that in the emaciated and sunken countenances of the women the deepest anguish is depicted—that glee and joyousness and 'childhood's merry laugh' have forsaken the young? Is it to be wondered that they long to die, and count those happy who are first taken? The gentleman from whose letter I have already quoted, thus confirms the above representation:—'No one who attended, as I did, the last issue of tickets for work, and saw the haggard countenances of the recipients of those tickets, with the look of disappointment of those to whom, alas! none could be given, could feel the slightest doubt of the intensity of the distress. I was engaged for three days last week attending the inspecting officer in his issue of tickets, and I can assure you, that notwithstanding all my experience, derived from many years' service in the Poor-Law Commission, three of which were spent in Yorkshire and Lancashire during the extremity of the distress there, the countenances of the unfortunate men who could not obtain tickets, and even also of those who did, have been present to my mind almost ever since, knowing, as I do, the distant prospect of relief for both classes, and that if this severe weather continue, it is impossible to foresee the consequences. I cannot leave this branch of the subject without stating, that the patience and good feeling of these unfortunate men are wholly beyond praise. Where their families are small, so that they have been passed over, to give tickets to others with larger, or where a whole district has been left without tickets, because the road selected to be first made is designed to run through a country suffering under greater privations than theirs, they have listened cheerfully and even thankfully to the explanation given to them, merely begging that they may not be forgotten, 'for that they were indeed sorely put to it to live.' Never have I witnessed so much good feeling, patience, and cheerfulness under privation, of the existence of which there can no longer be any doubt.' To this we can indeed bear ample testimony. Out of the scores of families which we visited, and the many poor people with whom we conversed in Donegal, I hardly remember an instance of their murmuring or begging, although they were at the time suffering from hunger and disease.

"The 13th we spent at Dunfanaghy. A highly respectable mer-

chant in the town called upon us and gave us much information upon the condition of the people in this district, which his business, the corn and flour trade, particularly enabled him to do. He entirely confirmed the previous statements of the widely spread suffering. The small farmers and cottiers had parted with all their pigs and their fowls, and even their bed-clothes and fishing-nets had gone for the one object—the supply of food. He stated that he knew many families of five to eight persons who subsisted on  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. of oatmeal per day, made into thin water-gruel—about six ounces of meal for each! Dunfanaghy is a little fishing town, situated on a bay remarkably adapted for a fishing population: the sea is teeming with fish of the finest description, waiting, we might say, to be caught. Many of the inhabitants gain a portion of their living by this means; but so rude is their tackle, and so fragile and liable to be upset are their primitive boats or *coracles*, made of wickerwork over which sailcloth is stretched, that they can only venture to sea in fine weather, and thus with food almost in sight, the people starve, because they have no one to teach them to build boats more adapted to this rocky coast than those in use by their ancestors, many centuries ago. This is but one among many instances of the wasted industrial resources of this country, which, whether in connexion with the waters or the land, strike the eye of the stranger at every step. Besides the scanty and precarious living afforded by fishing, each cottier holds a portion of potato ground in ‘conacre,’ and as the sea-weed here is a most excellent manure, it requires very little trouble or skill to obtain a crop sufficient to support himself and family in entire idleness for six or nine months of the year. In this district, the ‘conacre’ tenant takes from the small farmer a patch of ground varying in size from half a rood to half an acre; this land the farmer ploughs and prepares for the ‘conacre’ tenant, who sets his own seed and draws the manure from the shore. He digs up his crop in autumn, but has no further right in the land, and here, pays no rent for the use of it, the farmer considering the manure as a sufficient equivalent for its loan. In many other districts, however, the farmer not only ploughs but manures the land for the ‘conacre’ tenant, who then pays him a considerable rent. We are told that the produce of half a rood of potatoes, thus easily obtained, would support a family of five to eight persons for at least six months. The farmer will pay from 15s. to one pound an acre rent for this land.

“We were told that there were at least thirty families in this little town, who had nothing whatever to subsist upon, and knew not where to look for a meal for the morrow. A quantity of meal was ordered to be distributed amongst them, and a sum was left for their further support, and also for a little turf, without which, in this severe weather, many would be frozen to death. The cost of turf is a very serious item on these poor creatures, and it would require 6d. per week, with the most economical management, to keep up the smallest peat fire imaginable. No public works were open in this district, although in this small parish there were, in the opinion of the rate-payers, not less than 2300 persons who were ‘suffering for want of relief.’ The Government were, however, about to open a depot for the supply of

meal at cost price, and the person who gave us this information, and was, as I have before said, himself a flour-dealer, had written to the Government begging this might be done, and even offering his own warehouse for the service; for he found that unless he gave a large portion away daily, he must see his poor neighbours die from hunger. Many of the poor whom we visited, said they should have died long ago had it not been for his kindness.

"We found the poor-house in excellent order, and the inmates appeared to be in good health. The diet was 17 ounces of oat and Indian meal mixed half and half, and three-quarters of a quart of buttermilk daily for the able-bodied, varied with rice twice a-week. This is only a small poor-house, and the number of inmates was 116; the same period in last year there were only 5. Few of the inmates could read or write, and hardly any could speak English; indeed, the Erse is the prevailing language in this district. Near the poor-house a fever hospital has been erected by private charity; it contained 16 patients. During the year 100 patients had been admitted, and only three deaths had occurred.

"The rector of the parish, who called upon us in the morning, between his services, kindly spent the evening with us. *He takes a deep interest in the condition of the poor, and he and his family are devoting much time and attention to their wants.* He immediately undertook to set a number of women to work at knitting the Guernsey shirts, &c., for which purpose we gave him a sum of money, and also to establish a soup-kitchen, for which also a small sum was given for its commencement, and a further sum was offered in proportion to the amount of local subscription raised. *Through the energy of this excellent man, a soup-kitchen, on a small scale, was established in two days after our visit, and a sum of money raised for its future support.*

"M. G., who returned in the morning, having been detained by the severity of the weather, found the district of Fannad (part of the parish of Mevagh, described before) in a dreadful state. *The clergyman (almost the only resident above the small farmer) is, with his family, devoting the whole of his time and care to alleviate the distress.* He gave him some most affecting details of the condition of the inhabitants of this remote promontory; and said that the donations of money which he had distributed had only helped to convince him how universal and widely spread the destitution is.

"Just before leaving, on the following morning, I visited a number of the poorest hovels. Their appearance, and the condition of the inmates, presented scenes of poverty and wretchedness almost beyond belief. One dirty cabin, not more than twelve feet square, contained seventeen persons. Two or three of them were full-grown men, gaunt and hunger-stricken, willing and wishful to obtain work, but unable. The mothers, crouching over a few embers of turf, hardly sufficient to emit any warmth, looked misery itself. Two or three half-naked children were lying in one corner of the room, on a little dirty straw, partly covered by an old rug. In a little space, partly separated from the room, were a number of cabin-like shelves, composed of rough sticks, upon which a little straw was spread. These were the beds of



many of the family, and on these several other children were at the time stowed away in darkness and filth. One of the poor women told me that she was obliged to keep them there, as they had had nothing for them to eat until they received the meal which W. F. had desired to be distributed. In this house there was neither chair nor table, unless a little shelf, fastened to the wall, might receive the latter appellation. They had lived on one meal of oatmeal gruel per day for some time past. Another hovel which I visited was barely four feet high to the top of the wall. I could not stand upright in any part: it was hardly nine feet square, yet in this wretched place, neither wind nor water-tight, the floor of which was damp and filthy, we found a family, consisting of a widow and several children, who appeared to be on the verge of starvation. In another, hardly equal in size to this, was also a widow and a large family. They literally had no means of support. Like the rest, it was a real Irish dwelling; there were neither windows nor chimney, and the smoke found its way out as best it might, by the open door-way, or through the chinks between the loose stones of which the house was built, and through which the keen winter's blast was blowing fearfully. In addition to the poor family who owned the house, I saw in one corner, crouched upon her knees over the little turf fire, a very old and superannuated woman, constantly rocking to and fro, and muttering to herself. Her matted gray hair hung raggedly over her dirty, shrivelled face, adding to her wild and wretched appearance. She was hardly clothed at all, so miserable were the tatters with which she was partially covered. Immediately behind her, on the damp mud floor, a small pallet of straw was spread: this was her resting place at night, and here she sat all day. It appeared that this sad object was no relative of the poor widow of the house, but, with noble kindness, she allowed her to remain here, and shared with her the last morsel. Surely it might be said of her, as of the widow of old, 'She gave more than they all.'

Leaving Dunfanaghy, the travellers visited Gweedore, the estate of Lord George Hill, to whose admirable zeal and enlightened benevolence they declare themselves fully able to bear their testimony.

"16th. We started at daybreak for Glenties, thirty miles distant, over the mountains, and after leaving the improved cottages and farms on the Gweedore estate, soon came upon the domain of an absentee proprietor, the extent of which may be judged of by the fact, that our road lay for more than twenty miles through it. This is the poorest parish in Donegal, and no statement can be too strong with respect to the wretched condition, the positive misery and starvation in which the cottiers and small farmers on this immense domain are found.

"We found, upon inquiry, that there actually was not a single pound of meal, Indian or oat, to be purchased in the place, yet thousands were depending upon this place for their supplies, and the poor people who were flocking to the town for food from the adjacent country, and the island of Arranmore, were crying with hunger and cold. The

nearest market town is at least thirty miles off, and there was no food to be obtained nearer than Bunbeg, the store of Lord G. Hill, some twenty miles distant (that excellent nobleman having with his usual forethought provided a depôt for food, which he allowed not only his own but the neighbouring tenants to purchase at prime cost). The Protestant clergyman, *an excellent man*, spoke in the strongest terms of the 'awful state of distress in the parish.' He thought there were hundreds of families who knew not where to look for bread that day. He mentioned instances of families of seven or eight persons living for one or two days on two pounds of oatmeal, made into thin gruel; he had himself the day before shared in the general want of food, having had but one meal in the house, and not knowing whether there was any supply at Lord George Hill's store, or whether, owing to the snow, it would be possible to pass over the mountains. The *extreme* wretchedness of this district must in part, at least, be attributed to the want of a resident proprietor. The tenants of Lord George Hill are no doubt suffering severely, but he has given them work, has provided them with cheap food, and is constantly employing himself for their benefit. We were told that, although at this time last year, each of his tenants possessed one or more pigs, at the *present time* there was hardly one on the estate."

From Dunglow they went on to Glenties, and visited the workhouse, the miserable condition of which we had occasion to notice last month.

"From this place we proceeded to Ardara, where we called upon a truly benevolent gentleman, who, although far advanced in life, is with his lady actively devoting himself to the relief and maintenance of their poor neighbours. Here, as elsewhere, we were received with the greatest cordiality and kindness, and during our stay were only made more and more sensible of the widely-spread existence of famine. As an instance, they told us that within a very short time they had taken upwards of three hundred fowls from the farmers, who were glad to obtain anything for them; and whilst we were talking upon the subject, a little girl (the daughter of a small farmer) came to the window to implore them to take a little hen; this was done, the lady giving the child 6d. for it, although 2d. or 3d. was considered its value, and would have been gratefully accepted. These excellent people are distributing meal and soup to a large number of people daily, who otherwise would literally have perished from want. They told us that they had been obliged to put the fowls into the soup they distributed, not knowing how else to get rid of them. A soup-kitchen had also been opened in the village. Here, also, we heard of the irregular payment of the poor fellows on the public works, who had worked for two or three weeks and only received pay for one, and had not this gentleman with great kindness advanced the money to them, the most sad consequences might have ensued. The number who were at work was very trifling, compared with the wants of the people.

"We then proceeded to Killybegs, arriving late in the evening.

One of the poor men whom we spoke to on the road, exhibited in an affecting light the gradual, but rapid declension of the farmer to a state of pauperism and want. He told us that he was not able to procure work on the roads, in consequence of still having a cow and a little corn left; he had a wife and large family: he thought the corn would last them a week or ten days, and that then the cow must go; that for it they might get as much as would purchase two hundred weight of meal, which would last them about a fortnight, and then all their little resources would be gone. This is, alas! no solitary instance, but there are thousands daily brought to this dreadful extremity. This poor fellow, small as were his means, said, without the slightest intention of display, that out of them he had been contributing to the relief of those poorer than himself.

"18th. Killybegs is one of the numberless little sea-port towns along the west coast of Ireland, which, having extraordinary natural advantages for shipping, bathing, &c., combined with the most beautiful and romantic scenery, are left unheeded and undeveloped. We found the greatest possible want existing here and to the westward, along the promontory of Glen and Kilcar, which contains a large population. We heard that *the Protestant clergymen in this district were constantly working for their relief, and one of them had converted part of his own house into a store for meal*, there being no shop in the district. We called upon the rector of Killybegs, who is the chairman of the Relief Committee, and *actively working for the assistance of the poor*. He and his lady confirmed all we had before heard of the deep distress of this neighbourhood. They told us of many instances of the poor men fainting on the public works from hunger and exposure to cold, and that disease and death were making fearful inroads into the population. We had also interviews with several other gentlemen, both Catholics and Protestants, who confirmed all the previous statements; but it seems needless, after so much has been said, to particularize cases. They all agree that the 'distress was increasing and becoming daily more and more alarming.'"

Throughout the whole of their tour, Mr. Foster and his friends are constantly bearing testimony to the patience with which the poor people are enduring their fearful sufferings. May we not hope and trust that these sufferings will be overruled, in mercy, to the lasting benefit and improvement of that unhappy country. Much indeed remains to be done by the wisdom of the Government and the Legislature. But patience so remarkable, under privations of such almost unexampled severity, we may hail as an omen of good in store for future generations, as well as a token of present blessing to the sufferers themselves, from that Providence who has seen fit in his inscrutable wisdom to afflict them.

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#### NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Rev. K. A. Willmott has requested the Editor to allow him to take this mode of thanking an unknown correspondent, who has written to him under the signature of "Stranger."

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THE  
BRITISH MAGAZINE.

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MAY 1, 1847.

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ORIGINAL PAPERS.

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THE NORWICH PRAYER-BOOK.

BESIDES the account Archbishop Laud has given of his share in the construction of the Scottish Liturgy, which I have already extracted from his Answer to the thirteenth of the Articles charged against him by the House of Commons, we have another document, printed by Mr. Prynne in his "Hidden Workes of Darknes," which will serve to throw some more light on the history of this transaction. It purports to be a letter to the Bishop of Dunblane, Wedderburne, sent along with what would seem to be the Norwich Prayer-book, or a duplicate copy of it. Whether the original of this letter is in existence or not, I do not know, but it is quite worth while to transcribe the copy given by Prynne (p. 152).

"I have received other Letters from you, by which I finde you have written to his Majesty about the Communion in the Chappell Royall, concerning which the King holds his former resolution; That he would be very glad there should be a full Communion, at all solemne times as is appointed. But because men doe not alwayes fitte themselves as they ought for that great and holy worke, therefore his Majesty will be satisfied if every one that is required to communicate there, doe solemnly, and conformably performe that action once a yeare at least. And in conformity to this, you are to signifie once a yeare, unto his sacred Majesty, who have communicated within the compasse of that yeare, and who not: and of this you must not faile.

"By these last Letters of yours, I find that you are consecrated; God give you joy. And whereas you desire a Copy of our Booke of Ordination, I have here sent you one. And I have acquainted his Majesty with the two great reasons that you give, why the Booke which you had in K. James his time is short and insufficient. As first, that the order of Deacons is made but as a Lay Office, at least,

as that Booke may be understood. And secondly, that in the admission to priesthood, the very essential words of conferring orders are left out. At which, his Majesty was much troubled, as he had great cause, and concerning which, he hath commanded me to write, that either you doe admit of our booke of Ordination, or else that you amend your owne in these two grosse over sights, or anything else, if in more it be to be corrected, and then see the Booke reprinted. I pray faile not to acquaint my Lord of Saint Andrewes, and my Lord Rosse with this expresse Command of his Majesty.

"I received likewise from you at the same time certaine notes to be considered of, that all, or at least so many of them, as his Majesty should approve, might be made use of in your Liturgie, which is now in printing. And though my businesse hath of late laine very heavy upon me, yet I presently acquainted his Majesty with what you had written. After this, I and Bishop Wren (my Lord Treasurer being now otherwise busied) by his Majesties appointment sat down seriously, and considered of them all, and then I tendred them againe to the King without our animadversions upon them, and his Majesty had the patience to weigh and consider them all againe. This done, so many of them, as his Majesty approved, I have written into a service booke of ours, and sent you the book with his Majesties hand to it, to warrant all your alterations made therein. So in the printing of your Liturgie, you are to follow the Booke which my Lord Rosse brought and the additions which are made to the Book I now send. But if you finde the Booke of my Lord Rosses, and this to differ in anything that is materiall, there you are to follow this later Booke, I now send, as expressing somethings more fully.

"And now that your Lordship sees all of your animadversions, which the Kings [*sic*] approved written into this booke, I shall not need to write largely to you, what the reasons were, why all of yours were not admitted, for your judgement and modesty is such, that you will easily conceive some reason was apprehended for it. Yet because it is necessary, that you know somewhat more distinctly, I shall here give you a particular accompt of some things which are of most moment, and which otherwise perhaps might breed a doubtfullnesse in you.

"And first, I thought you could not have doubted but that the Magnificat, &c. was to be printed according to the translation of King James, for that was named once for all. And that translation is to be followed in the Epistles and Gospells, as well as in the Psalmes. Where I pray observe in the Title-page of the Psalmes in the booke I now send, an alteration which I thinke my Lord Rosses book had not. And if you have not printed those Psalmes, with a Colon in the middle of every verse, as it is with ours ordinarily in the English, it is impossible those Psalmes should ever be well sung to the Organ. And if this error be run into, it must be mended by a painful way, by a pen for all such Bookes as the Chappell Royall useth, and then by one of them the next impression of your Liturgie may be mended wholly.

"Secondly in the Creed of Saint Athanasius. We can agree to no

more emendations, no not according to our best Greeke Copies, than you shall finde amended in this Booke.

“Thirdly though the Bishops there were willed to consider of the Holy Dayes, yet it was never intended but that the office appointed for every of them, should be kept in the Liturgie, and the consideration, was only to be of the observation of them.

“Fourthly, for the sentences at the Offertorie. We admit of all yours, but we thinke withall that diverse which are in our Booke would be retained together with yours. As namely the 2d. 4th. 6th. 7. 8. 9. 10. 13. 14. 15.

“Fifthly, I would have every Prayer or other Action through the whole Communion named in the Rubrick before it, that it may be knowne to the people what it is, as I have begun to doe in the Prayer of Consecration, and in the memoriall or Prayer of oblation. *Fac Similiter.*

“Sixthly, We doe fully approve the Collect of Consecration and Oblation should preceed, and the Lords Prayer follow next, and be said before the Communion, in that order which you have exprest, but for the Invitation, Confession, Absolution, Sentences, Preface, and Doxologie, We thinke they stand best as they are now placed in our Liturgie, and as for the Prayer of humble accesse to the holy Communion, that will stand very well, next before the Participation.

“Seavently, I have ordered a Rubrick in the Margin of this Booke according as you desire, to direct him that celebrates when to take the Sacrament into his hand. Namely to take, and breake, and lay hands on the Chalice, as he speaks the words. For certainly the practice of the Church of England therein is very right. And for the objection, that we should not doe it till we expresse our Warrant so to doe, which you conceive is in these words, *Do this, &c.* I answer, 1. That those words, *Do this, &c.* are rather our Warrant for the Participation, or Communication, than the Consecration, 2. That our repeating what Christ did, is our Warrant to doe the same, being there to commanded, 3. That the whole action is *Astus* [sic. *Actus*] *continuuus*, and therefore though in our saying (*Do this*) followes after, yet it doth, and must be intended to that which we did before; and comes last to seale and confirme our Warrant for doing so. And so tis in the other Sacrament of Baptisme, where we take the Child first, and Baptise it, and then afterwards Wee say, We receive this child, &c., Which in *Actu continuo* must needs relate to the preceding act, for the Child was actually received into the Church by the very act of Baptisme itselfe. And this is but our Declaration of that Reception.

“And Whereas you write, that much more might have been done, if the times would have borne it; I make noe doubt but there might have beene a fuller Addition. But God be thanked this will doe very well, and I hope breed up a great deale of devout, and religious pietie in that Kingdome. Yet I pray for my farther satisfaction, at your best leisure draw up all those particulars, which you thinke might make the Liturgy perfect, whether the times will beare them or not,

And send them safe to me, & I will not faile to give you my judgment of them, and perhaps, put some of them to further use, at least in my owne particular. One thing more, and then I have done. In his Majesties authorising of the notes in this book prefixed at the beginning of it, though he leave a liberty to my *Lords the Archbishops of St. Andrewes & Brethren the Bishops who are upon the place, upon apparent reason to vary some things* ;\* Yet you must know, and informe them, that his Majestie having viewed all these additions hopes there will be no need of change of anything, and wilbe best pleased, with little or rather no alteration. So wishing all prosperity to that Church, and a happy finishing of your Liturgie, and health to my Brethren the Bishops, I leave you to the Grace of God and rest.

“ Your Lordship's very loving Friend and Brother,

“ W. CANT.

“ Lambeth, April 20. 1636.”

Reserving myself for the opportunities which the following annotations may afford me of making some remarks on the particular points touched on in this letter, I would merely desire my reader to observe, that what Archbishop Laud here says, bears out the statement I have already made—namely, that the Scottish bishops were desirous of making greater alterations than were allowed by the king, or approved of by the archbishop. I do not mean by this observation to express any opinion as to the wisdom of the demand, or request, of the Scottish bishops. It is not very easy to understand their reasons for wishing a new liturgy—or a revision tantamount to a new one. The English Liturgy was already recognised and sanctioned in Scotland—to a certain degree it was actually in use. And one might have thought—and such would seem to have been Archbishop Laud's opinion—that it would have been easier and less unpopular to have *gradually* brought about the universal adoption of formularies

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\* It is a curious illustration of the spirit with which Prynne endeavoured to make out a case against Archbishop Laud, that, although this letter to Bishop Wedderburne, to which Prynne attaches great importance, as giving “very much light concerning the proceedings of the Archbishop,” contains an actual quotation from the warrant signed by the king the day before, (April 19th,) and it is perfectly obvious that the warrant was written in the book with which the letter was sent; yet, when Prynne gives a copy of the warrant, he actually has the assurance to assert that it is a forgery, and written long after the date it bears. Prynne's words are these:—“First, that to countenance these alterations, he caused this warrant in the king's name written with his own secretaries (Mr. Del's) hand, to be inserted into the Booke (just after the table for the Psalmes and Chapters, and before the beginning of the Common Prayer;) which warrant without doubt (as appears by the contents of it) was procured long after the date thereof, and I presume counterfeited; Charles R. being not the king's owne hand (though somewhat like it) but Master Del's, as I conceive, who writ the warrant, which runs thus Charles R.” &c. And at the end of the warrant he adds, “This warrant, and that for the Canons were both writ by his secretary Dell, this having a date (or rather an Antedate) but the other none at all, that it might fit with any time, if questioned.” (p. 156.) And yet this book was printed by order of the House of Commons.

already in partial use, than to procure a cordial, or even a peaceable reception for a book, which had the appearance of being a new form ;—to say nothing of the fact of parts of it bearing a less *Protestant* appearance, so to speak, than the English Liturgy. On the other hand, the majority of those who opposed the new liturgy were anything but friendly to the old one. And, as it seems incontrovertible, that the disgraceful and unchristian riots by which the new liturgy was put down were anything but purely *religious* in their character or motives, it may fairly enough be urged, that no liturgy of any sort would have kept those quiet, who were only too anxious for an excuse to throw the country into confusion. However, these are questions which I do not feel myself qualified to discuss. The object of my making the observation at all, is simply, and as an act of justice, to desire the reader to remark, that it was *not* Archbishop Laud's wish that these alterations, or any other, should be made ; and that, in point of fact, the king and the archbishop rather yielded to the wishes of those, to whose wishes some degree of deference seemed due, than made these alterations themselves :—and, as I have already observed, if they had not resisted the desire of the Scotch bishops for other alterations (and certainly they were not alterations of a *Protestant* character) the Scotch Liturgy of 1637 would have differed much more from the English Prayer-book than it does.

Having premised these observations, I proceed to lay before my readers such remarks as it seems desirable to make on the alterations noted in the Norwich Prayer-book, or, more properly speaking, in Archbishop Tenison's copy of it.

I hope these remarks may not appear wholly uninteresting or useless. On one account I think they will be found deserving of attention. Comparing the alterations here proposed, with what was actually done by the English Commissioners in 1662, it will be seen that we are far more indebted to Archbishop Laud for the clearness of many of the Rubrics in our present Prayer-book than has been commonly thought. While, on the other hand, it will be seen also, that some of the changes which (whatever he might have thought of them abstractedly) he was very reluctantly induced to make, his successors in the English church have thought it more advisable to abstain from adopting into our Liturgy.

**KALENDAR.** The reason given for printing the word *Februarii*, and the other names of months, in a different character—namely, lest they should be mistaken for the names of saints, is likewise given by Bishop Cosin in his paper of “Particulars to be considered, explained, and altered, in the Book of Common Prayer,” printed by Nicholls among his Additional Notes. “In



the months throughout the whole Kalendar, the printer has set the names of *Februarii*, *Januarii*, &c. names of the saints, without any distinction of letter, or other note of difference from them, which has occasioned many to ask what those saints, *Januarius*, *Februarius*, &c. were; whereas they are to be only notes of the old Roman account, and put into a several character from the rest, as the Solstices Equinoctials are." (p. 67.)

The direction to print the words "Conversion of St. Paul" in red letters was observed in the revision of 1662. And, in like manner, the Festival of St. Barnabas. In Whitchurche's edition of March 7, 1549, and in Jugge and Cawode's, 1559, they are both printed in red letter.

The alteration of the word "Ecolus." into "Eccles.," in the Lessons for the Annunciation and for St. Mark's Day, seems merely the correction of a typographical error; which is found only in some of the editions printed in Charles the First's reign. The error would seem to have occurred in both places in the copy of the Prayer-book which the king corrected. In Archbishop Tenison's copy it occurs only in the former.

October I. Joshua, xx. had been appointed by James I. instead of Tobit, vi.; though in some Prayer-books (1633, folio; 1633, 8vo; 1637, 8vo) Tobit vi. is found. This last is ordered to be replaced, whereas Exod. vi., appointed by King James instead of Tobit, v., is not only retained, but inserted into the Calendar, instead of being left as a foot note where King James had placed it.

In the Calendar of the Scotch Prayer-book, however, no Lessons are taken from the Apocrypha, except on four of the saints' days; for which the chapters selected are the first six chapters of the book of Wisdom, and the 5th, 8th, 35th, and 49th chapters of Ecclesiasticus. I notice this, because if Prynne had been candid he should have observed the fact; as, in the eyes of his party, the omission of the Apocrypha from the daily course of lessons was anything but indicative of a leaning towards popery, and should have been fairly stated, if truth, not to say justice, had been regarded in the prosecution. With respect to the particular chapters of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus which were still retained, I find them all mentioned in a letter printed by Prynne (p. 156), which on other accounts is worth transcribing.

"Charles R.

"Instructions from his sacred Majesty, to the Archbishops  
and Bishops of Scotland.

"That you advert, that the proclamation for authorizing the Service Book, it derogate nothing from Our Prerogative Royall.

"That in the Kalendar you keep such Catholike Saints as are in the English, *that you pester it not with too many*, but such as you insert

of the peculiar saints of that Our kingdome, that they be of the most approved, and here to have regard to those of the blood Royall, and such holy Bishops in every see most renowned. But in no case omit Saint George & Patrick.

“That in your Booke of Orders, in giving Orders to presbyters, you keepe the words of the English booke without change, *Receive the Holy Ghost, &c.* That you insert amongst the Lessons ordinarily to be read in the service, out of the Book of Wisdom, the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, & 6, chapters, & out of the booke of Ecclesiasticus, the 1, 2, 5, 8, 35, & 49, chapters.

“That every Bishop within his own family, twice a day cause the service to be done. And that all Archbishops and Bishops make all universities & Colledges within their diocesses, to use daily twice a day the service.

“That the Preface to the booke of Common Prayer signed by our hand, & the Proclamation authorizing the same, be printed & inserted in the Booke of Common Prayer.

“Given at Newmarket the eighteen day of October 1636, and of Our Raigne the 11.”

**PREFACE.** The alteration in the Rubric at the end of the preface was partly adopted in the revision of 1662. The former Rubric enjoined the minister to perform the daily service, unless he “be let by preaching, studying of divinity, or by some other urgent cause.”

This rule was made more stringent in the Scotch Prayer Book, the words “preaching, studying of divinity,” being omitted, and the clause added making the bishop or archbishop the judge of the urgency of the cause.

Mr. Prynne’s objection to this alteration is certainly most extraordinary, and is a tolerably fair sample of the temper in which his objections are generally made. According to his notion, the animus of the alteration was, “to advance the power of the prelates;” and by way of a proof (for he gives no other) he resorts to the expedient of printing two of the words in the last clause in capitals, thus: “they are to make the Bishop of the Diocese, or the Archbishop of the Province, the JUDGE and AL-LOWER;” as if they had not been always the judges when any question of the sort arose: and as if it were not obvious that when a man pleads “urgent cause” for the neglect of any public duty, some one else must decide whether the cause is “urgent” or a mere pretence. If the objector had been a candid man, he would have seen that the words—“Of which cause, *if it be frequently pretended,*” prove the intention of the Rubric not to be “to advance the power of the prelates,” or of any one else, but to guard against fraud. The whole of this provision, however, is omitted in the English Liturgy of 1662; and our Rubric, omitting the words “preaching, studying of divinity,” as the Scotch does, in-

serts the word "sickness" in their stead; "not being let by sickness, or some other urgent cause." The introduction of the word "sickness," in this manner, is one of the alterations proposed by Archbishop Sancroft; and to the same effect is the note by Bishop Cosin in the paper of "Particulars." He observes, that the old Rubric "requires an explanation (against them that account themselves *reasonably letted* by any common and ordinary affairs of their own) whether anything but sickness or necessary absence abroad shall be sufficient to excuse them from this duty." (p. 67.)

**THE ORDER HOW THE PSALTER IS APPOINTED TO BE READ.** The alterations proposed to be made in these rules were almost all adopted in the English revision of 1662. The new rule for the reading of the Psalms in February: the omission of the paragraphs, "And because" and "Now to know"—it appears had been recommended in the notes for the preparation of the Scotch Prayer-book.

In like manner, the Rubric for repeating the Gloria Patri at the end of every Psalm and every part of the 119th Psalm, originated in the same quarter; and it is remarkable that this rule, though adopted by us in 1662, was not adopted in the Scotch Prayer-book of 1637, when it was first suggested.

The necessity of this Rubric was acknowledged at the time. Bishop Cosin, in his paper of Particulars, says: "There is a difference between many, whether it ought to be said by virtue of this Order, at the end of every portion of the 119th Psalm, which are appointed for so many psalms upon the 24, 25, and 26 days of the month. For if it shall not be said before the whole psalm is ended, it will not be said during three whole days together: To avoid which doubt, an 'explanation of the Rubric is here needful." (p. 68.)

**ORDER HOW THE REST OF HOLY SCRIPTURE IS TO BE READ.** The alteration proposed for the Scotch Prayer-book in the rule for the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, was adopted in 1662 substantially, but expressed with more brevity: the words, "where it is not in this book otherwise ordered," giving the whole sense of the proposed alteration. The latter clause respecting the Psalms and Lessons was not adopted. It is, in fact, only a repetition of the rule in the preceding paragraph.

**PROPER LESSONS.** *Circumcision.* I have not described this alteration correctly. The word which is struck out is "unto," and not "from." And the alteration, which is in fact no more than the correction of a printer's error, will be understood by comparing it with the corresponding passage in Bishop Cosin's paper of Particulars.

"Upon the Feast of Circumcision for the first lesson at

Evensong is appointed, Deut. 10. unto, *And now Israel*, whereas it ought to be, beginning at, *And now Israel*, unto the end. For so it was ordered in the first edition of this Book, which since that time, the printer's negligence has thus disordered, and appointed the first part of that chapter to be read, that has no relation to the day (as all the latter part of the chapter has) and the lesson to end where it should begin." (p. 67.)

The mistake in the first Lesson for the Epiphany (Is. xl. for Is. lx.) seems likewise a printer's error, though very common in the Prayer-books of Charles the First's reign: and even found in this form, "Is. 40." In an octavo of 1633, (Barker and assigns of Bill,) it is printed correctly, "Is. lx."

The mistake is noticed by Bishop Cosin also, who observes that it "came from the printer's negligence, by putting the X here before the L, whereas it ought to follow it." (p. 67.)

THESE TO BE OBSERVED FOR HOLYDAYS, &c. We have seen that the alteration sanctioned by Archbishop Laud consisted in adding here the feasts of the Conversion of St. Paul, of St. Barnabas, and of Monday and Tuesday in Easter and Whitsun weeks,—and the whole extent of this alteration was merely to desire the names of these festivals to be added to this list of Church Holydays. The Festivals themselves were all observed already. Ever since the Reformation, they had stood in the Calendar, and had their proper Lessons, Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, like the rest. Yet this is the manner in which Prynne contrives to make a charge of Popery out of this alteration.

"Secondly, such as savour of Popery, or tend towards it, or are directly Popish, taken out of the very Roman Masse-Book Ceremonial and Pontifical, or made conformable thereunto. As first, his adding of two new Saints dayes, namely, the Feasts of the Conversion of St. Paul, and of St. Barnabas, not in the English Booke, or statute, which runs thus. *These to be observed for Holy-dayes*, AND NO OTHER, &c. of which these two new Holy-days are none; but now added to the Catalogue of Holy-days with the Archbishop's owne hand." (p. 157.)

All the ground for this preposterous and most unjust charge of Popery is this, that Laud (or whoever suggested the correction) supplied an omission in the table or list of Holidays, which was plainly an oversight; and, at the same time, he removed the apparent contradiction between the different parts of the Prayer-book. Bishop Cosin notices the omission in his paper of Particulars. "In the order what days are to be observed for Holidays, and no other, there's no mention made of St. Paul's Conversion, and St. Barnabe's-day, nevertheless are numbered before among the Holidays in this book, where proper Lessons are appointed for them as Holidays: And the like may be said for Good Friday,

and other days in the Passion-week, all set under the title of Holidays. So that here is some explanation wanting to reconcile these two places of the Book together." (p. 67.)

To the same effect is the remark in one of the notes which Nicholls supposes to have been made from Bishop Overall's collections by one of his chaplains, and which he prints in his additional notes on the Table of Proper Lessons.

"It was rather the Printer's Act than the Act of Parliament: for the Act of Parliament was repealed; and certainly, if there were any such Act in force, (as, These to be observed and no other) the Church of England would not have been suffered to have crossed it with calling all these days, here besides, Holidays. It remains therefore, that we stick to this place, as being the proper Act of our Church, and neglect the other place, as being the Printer's addition to fill up the page with the number of Holidays, and the beginnings and endings of terms." (p. 10.)

In the Common Prayer-book of 1662, the error is corrected, and the six days added by Archbishop Laud to the list of Holidays, are found in the "Table of all the Feasts that are to be observed in the Church of England," &c.

Nicholls has printed another note on this subject, which shows that the discrepancy between this list of holidays and the Service-book itself, had been long felt. It is from the same collection of notes which he ascribes to Bishop Overall's Chaplain.

"I suppose this whole page to be but the printer's work, as appears by the subsequent declaration of the beginning and ending of the lawyers' terms; for what had churchmen to do with them? And so here for holidays, I never could see where it was appointed, that these here should be observed and no other. Which are holidays, and which are not, according to the intent and purpose of our church, appears by the lessons appointed before, as proper for holidays, where are many more days appointed holy, than here are, by the ignorance of the printer, in Stat. 5 Edw. cap. 3. These indeed were appointed, and none other; but that statute being repealed, 1 Mary 1. cap. 2, and being not since revived, we are to stick rather to the authority of this Service-Book, in the Catalogue of Lessons proper (as before) than the Printer's pleasure and ignorance. I cannot tell, it seems the printer was loth to lose the work of his servants so many holidays in the year, as he saw proper lessons appointed for before; and therefore he comes stealing in with this *lay-direction*, which the people's ind devotion and carelessness of observing any day, was ready enough to lay hold on, and to make a rule of; though it be no more a part of the Service-book established by the Church, than that, the lawyers' terms should have their beginning and ending, as is here noted." (p. 15.)

The writer of this note seems not to have been aware, that the repeal of Mary was itself repealed by the statute of James I.

But Prynne most probably *was* aware of it, and this may account for his not accusing Archbishop Laud of having added Monday and Tuesday in Easter and Whitsun weeks to the list, as these are among the days appointed by the Act of Edward VI., although they were omitted in the table in the Prayer-book.

**MORNING PRAYER.** *Rubric before the Confession.* The old Rubric was ambiguous—"after the minister, kneeling." This we have seen from the note in Archbishop Tenison's copy, was directed to be altered in the Scotch Liturgy to—"after or with the deacon or presbyter all humbly kneeling." In the English revision of 1662, the word "all" is inserted before the word "*kneeling*;" otherwise the Rubric remains as in 1552.

*The Absolution.* From 1604 the Rubric was—"The absolution or remission of sins to be pronounced by the minister alone:" except that in some editions the word "Priest" is found. In the alteration proposed for the Scotch Prayer-book, and adopted in it, the words, as we have seen, are, "Presbyter alone, he standing up, and turning himself to the people, but they still remaining humbly upon their knees." This alteration was partly adopted at the English revision of 1662: the words of the present Rubric being, "by the Priest alone, standing; the people still kneeling." The direction that the priest should turn himself to the people was not retained.

There is no reason to suppose that any alteration in the recognised mode of performing this part of the service was intended by Archbishop Laud. His object seems to have been merely to make this Rubric so distinct, as to preserve uniformity, and to keep up the old and regular practice. For, at the beginning of the Reformation, when the English Liturgy was first used, a clergyman who had been accustomed to the Latin Service, would scarcely require a Rubric to inform him that he was not to kneel whilst pronouncing the Absolution. But, as time went on, departures from the ancient custom would be introduced, and the Rubric would consequently require to be made more distinct. This is not conjecture, but an account of what really took place. We learn this from what Bishop Cosin says in his paper of Particulars.

"After the Confession is appointed the Absolution *which some ministers read standing, and some kneeling.* For uniformity herein it should be declared what posture he ought to use: And the posture of kneeling is not agreeable to it, because it is no prayer to God, but pronouncing so many words to the people." (p. 67.)

From this it appears evident, that irregularities had crept in. But, generally speaking, the custom had been uniform, that the minister should stand; and so, among the notes ascribed by Nicholls to Bishop Andrews, we find—"Because he speaks

*authoritative*, in the name of Christ and his Church, he must not kneel, but stand up" (p. 19): implying that such was the custom of the Church. And to the same effect, Sparrow, in a passage I shall have occasion to quote presently. And it is not a little remarkable, that although Prynne makes the directions for the people to *stand* one of the principal grounds for his charge of novelty and Popery, yet he takes no notice of the direction here given to the Presbyter to stand. All which seems to confirm what I have remarked, that this Rubric of Archbishop Land's introduced nothing new, but fixed the accustomed form by a more clear direction.

It is observable, that at the Savoy Conference, the Presbyterians took occasion, from the word "Minister" being usually found in this Rubric, to require that it should always be used throughout the Prayer-book. In the Answer of the Bishops, they refuse to accede to their demand, on this ground, that absolution and consecration may not be performed by any under the order of a priest; and the word "Priest" was put into the new Rubric.

The Presbyterians stated their demands thus:—

"That as the word 'minister,' and not priest, or curate, is used in the Absolution, and in divers other places, it may throughout the whole book be so used instead of those two words."

To this the Bishops replied:—

"It is not reasonable that the word minister should be only used in the Liturgy. For since some parts of the Liturgy may be performed by a deacon, others by none under the order of a priest, viz., absolution, consecration, it is fit that some such word as priest should be used for those offices, and not minister, which signifies at large every one that ministers in that holy office, of what order soever he be."\*

The probability, as far as I can learn, appears to be, that, in point of custom, the Absolution had been pronounced by a Priest. But, as liberties began to be taken by the Puritans, the innovation may possibly have been attempted to be checked by putting the word "Priest" into the Rubric, in different editions of the Prayer-book. But whether this was the intention of inserting it in the Prayer-books of Charles the First's reign—or whether the insertion can be explained or accounted for at all, the Commissioners of 1662, by inserting the word at this place, seem rather to have made the Rubric plainer, than to have introduced any innovation in the custom of the Church. And this agrees with Nicholls's account of the alteration. In his note on the Absolution in Morning Prayer, he says, that the

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\* Cardwell's Conferences, p. 307 and p. 342

word *Priest* was put here at the last Review, because "some bold innovations had been made herein, by reason of some persons misunderstanding, or misapplying the word *Minister*. But the first compilers of the Common Prayer understood the same by *Minister*, as we do now by *Priest*; that being the general acceptation of the word at that time." See also his note on the Absolution in the Evening Service. Whether Nicholls be right or not in his statement, that "the first compilers of the Common Prayer understood the same by *Minister* as we do now by *Priest*," it is needless to inquire at present. But, that in the Rubric before the Absolution in the Morning Prayer no distinction was intended by the word *Minister*, I think he is perfectly justified in maintaining.

The Rubrics stand thus in the Prayer Book of 1552:—

"At the beginning both of morning prayer, and likewise of evening prayer, the Minister shall read with a loud voice some one of these sentences of the Scriptures that follow. And then he shall say that, which is written after the said sentences."

"¶ A general confession, to be said of the whole congregation after the Minister, kneeling."

"The Absolution to be pronounced by the Minister alone."

"¶ Then shall the Minister begin the Lord's Prayer with a loud voice."

"¶ Then likewise he shall say,

"O Lord, open thou our lips.

"Answer. And our mouth, &c.

"Priest. O God, make speed, &c.

"Answer. O Lord, make haste, &c.

"Priest. Glory be to the Father, &c."

Where it seems clear that the person who is called *Priest* in the last two Rubrics, is the same as is called *Minister* in the former ones: at least, that the word *Minister* in the Rubric before the Absolution has no technical meaning to imply that a Deacon might pronounce it. And when we turn to the Evening Prayer in the same Book of 1552, we find that, in the Rubric before the Lord's Prayer, *Priest* is used instead of *Minister*.

"¶ The Priest shall say,

"Our Father which, &c."

where *Priest* plainly denotes the same person who is called *Minister* in the corresponding Rubric in the Morning Prayer.

How Sparrow understood the word *Minister* in this Rubric is clear. "Next follows the Absolution, to be pronounced by the *Priest* alone, standing. For though the Rubric here does not



appoint this posture, yet it is to be supposed a reason that he is to do it here as he is to do it in other places of the service." L'Estrange indeed says that the word *Priest* was "changed into *Minister*, both here and in divers other places by the reformers under King James."\* But this is plainly a mistake. Wheatly, whose authority cannot be relied on, says, that "in King Edward's second Common Prayer-book, (which was the first that had the Absolution in it,) and in *all the other books* till the restoration of King Charles, the word in the Rubric was *Minister* and not *Priest*; yet in the review that followed immediately after the Restoration, *Priest* was inserted in the room of *Minister*." But it is certainly untrue that "minister" was printed in this place in *all* the books until the revision of 1662. In some editions we find "priest"—in some, "minister." Dr. Cardwell says—"The editions of 1607 and 1627 have 'minister.' The form of prayer for the Fast in 1625, and the Prayer-books of 1632 and 1633 have 'priest.' But the editions of 1634 and 1639 again have the word 'minister,' and are therefore sufficient evidence, that if the alleged alteration were made clandestinely, the blame cannot reasonably be imputed to Archbishop Laud."† Mr. Clay has noticed the word *Priest* in "Prayer-books dated 1627, 1638, and 1660." The variety in this particular is, in truth, perfectly unaccountable. Even in the same year, and by the same printers, editions were published, in one of which we shall find the word "minister," and in another "priest." Of those, (whether Occasional Forms or Common Prayer-books,) which I have examined myself, I have found the word *Priest* in the following:—

#### *Forms of Prayer.*

1625, 4to, Norton and Bill.	For this time of Visitation.
1626, 4to, Ditto,	For these dangerous times.
1628, 4to, Ditto,	Ditto.
1631, 4to, Barker and Assignes of Bill.	For November 5.
1631, 4to, Ditto,	For the King's Accession.
1636, 4to, Ditto,	For this time of Visitation.
1638, 4to, Ditto,	For the King's Accession.

#### *Common Prayer Books.*

1627, 4to, Norton and Bill.
1628, 8vo, Ditto.
1631, 8vo, Barker and Assignes of Bill.
1633, folio, Ditto.
1633, 8vo, Ditto.

\* Alliance, ch. iii. H.

† Cardwell's Conferences, p. 237.

- 1634, 4to, Barker and Assignes of Bill.  
 1637, 8vo, Ditto.  
 1639, 4to, Ditto.  
 1639, 8vo, Ditto.  
 1641, 4to, Ditto.  
 1660, folio, Field and Ogilby.

In the following copies of the Prayer Book I have found the word "MINISTER":—

- 1603, folio, Robert Barker.  
 1604, 8vo, Ditto.  
 1606, 4to, Ditto.  
 1607, folio, Ditto.  
 1613, 4to, Ditto.  
 1614, 4to, Ditto.  
 1614, 8vo, Ditto.  
 1615, 8vo, Ditto.  
 1617, folio, Ditto.  
 1619, folio, R. Barker and J. Bill.  
 1622, folio, B. Norton & J. Bill.  
 1622, 4to, Ditto.  
 1622, 8vo, Ditto.  
 1623, 4to, Ditto.  
 1624, 4to, Ditto.  
 1630, folio, Barker and Bill.  
 1633, 12mo, no printer's name.  
 1633, 8vo, Barker and Assignes of Bill.  
 1634, folio, Ditto.  
 1636, 4to, Ditto.  
 1636, folio, Ditto.  
 1637, 4to, Buck & Daniel, University Printers, Cambridge.  
 1637, 4to, The Society of Stationers, Dublin.  
 1638, folio, Buck and Daniel, University Printers, Cambridge.  
 1638, folio, Barker and Assignes of Bill.  
 1639, folio, Ditto.  
 1639, 4to, Ditto.  
 1660, 4to, J. Bill and C. Barker.  
 1660, folio, C. Barker.

Mr. Maskell informs me, that in the following copies in his collection, he finds the word *Priest*:—

- 1627, 4to, Norton and Bill.  
 1628, 4to, Ditto.  
 1629, folio, Ditto.  
 1660, 8vo, (no name.)

The following, he informs me, have *Minister*:—

- 1611, 4to, Barker.
- 1613, 4to, Ditto.
- 1615, folio, Ditto.
- 1619, 8vo, Norton and Bill.
- 1619, folio, Barker and Bill.
- 1630, folio, Ditto.
- 1633, 24mo, Barker and Bill.
- 1633, folio, Barker.
- 1634, 8vo, Edinburgh the King's Printers.
- 1639, folio, Barker and Bill.
- 1660, folio, Barker.
- 1660, 8vo, London.
- 1661, folio, Bill.

Such are the facts as far as I have yet had opportunity of ascertaining them. How they are to be accounted for I do not pretend to be able to conjecture; but if the word *Priest* was put into the Rubric in this place, in the Prayer-books printed in the reign of Charles I., with the intention of preventing Deacons from reading the Absolution,—or, indeed, with any intention of any sort,—there does not appear to have been much trouble taken by those in authority to preserve uniformity in the different editions.

*The Lord's Prayer.* In the copy of the Prayer-book into which Archbishop Tenison transcribed these alterations, the Doxology was printed in full in this place. And it appears evident that Archbishop Laud intended it should be read here. The words of the proposed Rubric, “And in *this* and in all other places where the last words (for thine is the kingdom, &c.) are expressed, &c.,” seem to prove this. This Rubric was adopted in the Scotch Prayer-book, and the Doxology printed here in full. The Prayer-books of Charles the First's reign differ in this particular. In some the Doxology is omitted in this place, (e. g., 1624, 4to; 1627, 4to; 1628, 8vo; 1630, folio; 1631, 8vo; 1633, 8vo and folio; 1634, folio; 1636, folio; 1637, 8vo; 1639, folio; 1641, 4to; and in the Forms of Prayer for the King's Accession, 1631 and 1638.) In some it is printed in full, (e. g., 1627, 4to; 1628, 4to; 1634, 4to; 1639, 4to and 8vo; and also in Forms of Prayer in 1625, 1626, 1628, 1631, (5th Nov.) and 1636.) So it is found also in the quarto printed by Bill and Barker in 1660, and in the folio printed in that same year by Field and Ogilby. It seems probable, from the Rubric in Archbishop Tenison's Notes, that, commonly, the Doxology was repeated or omitted according to the taste of the reader. The Presbyterians at the Savoy Conference desired that it should always be added: and it would appear that in the copy which they used, it was omitted here.

"*Rubrick.* The Lord's Prayer after the Absolution ends thus : ' Deliver us from evil.'

"*Exception.* We desire that these words, ' For thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen,' may be always added unto the Lord's Prayer."<sup>\*</sup>

The Bishops replied that there was no reason they should always be used.

"These words, ' for thine is the kingdom,' &c., are not in St. Luke, nor in the ancient copies of St. Matt., never mentioned in the ancient comments, nor used in the Latin Church, and therefore questioned whether they be part of the Gospel ; there is no reason that they should be always used."<sup>†</sup>

However, the Bishops added them here, where it is probable (judging from the majority of the occasional Forms of prayer)<sup>‡</sup> they had usually been repeated, and where Archbishop Laud evidently thought they should. They also printed them in the Communion Service, after all have communicated : and in the Churching of Women. In the Scotch Liturgy, the Doxology was printed in the two former places ; namely, in the morning prayer after the Absolution,—and in the Communion Service, where the prayer is in that book ordered to be read before Communicating. It is also added after the Creed in the Morning Prayer, and in the Visitation of the Sick. But it is not in the Churching of Women. However, although in point of fact this Rubric of Archbishop Laud's seems to be the first sanction for the use of the Doxology, Mr. Prynne takes it quite the other way, and turns it into a charge against him. It is his fifth instance of alterations which "savour of Popery, or tend towards it, or are directly Popish."

"5ly. His order to omit the Doxology in the Lords Prayer, in the repetition of it (as it is omitted in the Roman Missal, p. 311, 312, 913, 314, and elsewhere) for which he inserts this speciall Directory. The Lords Prayer in this & all other places of the Lyturgie, where the last words, For thine is the kingdom &c. shall be expressed, shall read them : But in ALL places, where they are not expressed, HE SHALL END AT THESE WORDS : But deliver us from evill. Amen. (As the Papists do in all their Missals and Houres.) belike, *Glory be to the Father, &c.*, will supply this omission."

Truly it is easy to prove a man a Papist by such methods as these. A more candid critic would have observed, that the Doxology was added in the Scotch Liturgy in the Visitation of

<sup>\*</sup> Cardwell's Conferences, p. 314.

<sup>†</sup> See also Sparrow's Rationale.

<sup>‡</sup> In these forms (at least, from 1625) the Doxology is generally added to the Lord's Prayer after the Absolution, and after the Apostles' Creed, in both Morning and Evening Prayer, and also at the beginning of the Communion Service.

the Sick, a place where in the English Liturgy, until the final revision of 1662, the prayer was printed in the manner usual in the Roman Church, the words, "But deliver us from evil," being printed as a response. So that here was a marked deviation from Roman usage, in addition to the fact that Archbishop Laud was the first to authorize the printing of the Doxology in *any* part of the book. Besides, the general direction to the *minister* to end with the words, "But deliver us from evil—Amen," except where the Doxology was printed, was in itself a departure from the Roman mode (then sanctioned by our Liturgy) of making these words a response.

*Rubric before the Gloria Patri.* "Then all of them standing up, the Presbyter shall say or sing." This was adopted by the Commissioners in 1662, when the present Rubric, "Here all standing up, the Priest shall say," was substituted for the single word "Priest," or "Minister,"—which constituted the Rubric in the former editions of the Prayer-book.

The directions to stand, introduced into the Rubrics in these alterations, constitute a separate count in Prynne's charge.

"Secondly, his introduction and addition of New Ceremonies with Rubrics to command their use, not in the English; as first, standing up when ever *Gloria Patri* is sayd, (borrowed from *Ordo Romanus de Officio Missæ*,) for which there are many Rubricks in the order for Morning and also for Evening Prayer: as, Then all of them standing up, the Presbyter shall say or sing: Glory be to the Father &c. As at the end of the Venite, so also at the end of every Psalm throughout the year and likewise in the end of Benedictus, Magnificat, and Nunc Dimittis, shall be repeated, Glory be to the Father, &c. And the people shall answer, As it was in the beginning, &c., **STANDING UP AT THE SAME.** As is was in the beginning, &c., **ALL OF THEM STANDING UP AS OFTEN AS IT IS REPEATED, &c."**

But however the Rubric may have been cleared and made more distinct by these alterations, there is no reason to suppose that they introduced any new form or ceremony. Standing seems to have been the customary posture during the singing or reading of the psalms and hymns. "When we say or sing these Psalms," says Sparrow, "we are wont to stand." And again:—"When we sing or say these Hymns we stand, which is the proper posture for thanksgivings and lauds."

The word "Answer," which Archbishop Laud desired to be inserted before the second part of the Gloria Patri, is found there in Barker and Bill's 8vo edition of 1633. Mr. Clay has observed it in a Prayer-book of 1627. It was inserted in the revision of 1662.

In like manner, the next alteration proposed by Archbishop Laud, and introduced into the Scotch Liturgy, "Answer, The Lord's name be praised," was adopted into our Prayer-book in 1662.

*Rubric before the Te Deum.* Instead of the old Rubric, "After the first Lesson shall follow"—Archbishop Laud substituted the words, "be said or sung;" which was adopted in 1662. This alteration forms the ground of another of Prynne's charges of Popery. "Sly. Singing or Chanting the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Te Deum Laudamus, Benedictus, and other parts of publike service, after the Popish manner, by adding this new clause (sayd OR SUNG) to their Rubricks, which were said (not sung) before." As if there ever was a period since the Reformation in which the hymns had not been sung, where there was a choir to sing them. "These hymns," says Sparrow, "are to be said or sung, but most properly to be sung; else they are not so strictly and truly called hymns, that is, songs of praise; and not only by the church of England, but by all Christian churches of old, was it so practised."

Proceeding to the Rubric which Archbishop Laud added to the end of the third Collect, we find a similar one introduced into the English Prayer-book in 1662. The Scotch Rubric is—

"After this Collect ended, followeth the Litany; & if the Litany be not appointed to be said or sung that morning, then shall next be said the prayer for the King's Majesty, with the rest of the prayers following at the end of the Litany, & the Benediction."

Our present Rubric, having first directed the Anthem to be sung after the third Collect, proceeds:—

"Then these five prayers following are to be read here, except when the Litany is read; and then only the two last are to be read, as they are there placed."

The alterations made by Archbishop Laud here and in the rubric before the Litany, were considered necessary to render it clear that the Litany was intended to be read in the morning, and at what part of Morning Prayer it should be read. The custom, as was the case in almost all these new rubrics, was not altered. The rule was made more plain, and doubts prevented; for I suppose there can be no question that the general custom was to read the Litany at Morning Service. But the rule was not sufficiently clear; and so Bishop Cosin, in his paper of Particulars, points out the necessity of such an alteration as that which Archbishop Laud had directed. "In the Rubric before the Litany, there is no appointment at what time of the day, or after what part of the service it ought to be said; so that a *contentious man* may take his liberty to say it after Even-prayer, or at any time of the day upon Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays, &c. at his own choice, unless an order be here added to confine him."

Mr. Wheatly, indeed, says, that, "till the last review in 1661,

the litany was *designed* to be a distinct service by itself, and to be used some time after the morning prayer was over." But, besides the alterations,—or rather, the additions,—which Archbishop Laud made to explain the Rubrics on this point, the occasional services seem to determine what the custom was. For example : in Forms of Prayer issued in 1576, 1603, 1620, 1625, 1626, 1628, 1631, 1636, 1640, 1644, 1660, and 1661, the Litany follows immediately after the third collect : and the Communion is called, "The Second Service," or, "The Latter Service."

Sparrow, indeed, considers it to be a distinct service ; but his reasonings are not very convincing. The *Reformatio Legum* is clearly the other way. "*Quapropter antemeridiano quopiam convenienti tempore preces quas appellant Matutinas recitari placet, appositis etiam illis quæ pro Communionis officio præscripta sunt. Et intercurrat in singulis diebus Mercurii et Veneris illa solennis supplicatio quæ Litanía nominata est.*"\* And in Grindal's Injunctions for the Diocese of York, he desires the Minister not to pause or stay between the Morning Prayer, Litany and Communion ; but to continue and say the Morning Prayer, Litany or Communion, or the service appointed to be said, (when there was no Communion,) together, without any intermission : to the intent the people might continue together in prayer, and hearing the word of God ; and not depart out of the Church, during all the time of the whole divine service.†

And, indeed, Hooker's answer to the Puritan objection against the length of our service, shows that the Litany was usually read at Morning Prayers at that time. The Puritans complained that our service was longer than the ordinary length in the reformed churches, in which an hour and a half, they alleged, was thought reasonable for *their whole Liturgy or Service*. Hooker's reply is, that allowing an hour for the sermon, "if our whole form of prayer be read," our service was ordinarily but half an hour longer than theirs—that is, two hours.‡ So that the custom seems to have been what it is now, though "a contentious man," as Bishop Cosin remarks, might have justified his own innovations by the want of explicit directions in the Rubric.

**EVENING PRAYER.** In the English Prayer-books from 1552 until the last revision of 1662, the Rubric at the beginning of *Morning Prayer* was in these words :

"At the beginning both of Morning Prayer, and likewise of Evening Prayer, the Minister shall read with a loud voice some one of these sentences of the Scriptures that follow. And then he shall say that which is written after the said sentences."

From this, it would have seemed, it was sufficiently plain, that the Evening Service should commence in the same manner as the morning, with the Sentences, Exhortation, Confession,

\* De Div. Off. cap. i.

† Strype, 169.

‡ Eccl. Pol., V. 39.

and Absolution." But, as these preparatory portions were not printed at the beginning of Evening Prayer, but the order began with, "The Priest shall say, Our Father which," &c.—some persons took advantage of this omission, and left out the preceding part of the Service, and this gave occasion to Archbishop Laud to alter this last Rubric, as we have seen, and to insert, instead of it, the words,

"After the Sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution, as is appointed at Morning Prayer, the Presbyter shall saye or singe."

But this was not new. In the Form of Prayer for this time of Visitation, 1603, is this Rubric—"The Order of Evening Prayer. ¶ Reade one of the Sentences of Scripture before mentioned, Then reade the Confession and Absolution as at Morning prayer. Then follow the order of Evening Prayer as in the Communion booke."

In 1662 the irregularity was put an end to by printing these introductory portions in the Evening Service, as well as in the Morning. And so we find them printed in the Order for Evening Prayer in the forms of prayer issued in 1626, 1636, and others.

Bishop Cosin, in his paper of Particulars, notices the irregularity and the necessity of amending the Rubric.

"xxviii. At the beginning of Evening Prayer the Rubrick only is, That the *Priest shall say our Father*, &c. which gives occasion to divers Curates to begin this Evening Prayer with *Pater Noster*, & to omit what is before appointed to be said at the beginning both of Morning, and likewise of Evening Prayer, daily throughout the year. That therefore the Sentences, the Exhortation & the Confession, with the Absolution following, (which are all but preparatory to the Morning and Evening Service,) be never omitted; it is requisite, that in this place some word of direction or reference were given to the former Rubrick."

It seems this irregularity was laid hold of by the Puritan party,—who could see no reason why such a practice should be tolerated, while their innovations were resisted and punished,—which possibly may be the reason that Prynne has not enumerated this addition to the Rubric among his proofs of popery. The following, which mentions this circumstance, is one of the Notes ascribed by Nicholls to Bishop Overall's Chaplain. The note is on the words with which the old order of Evening Prayer began.

"*The Priest shall say, Our Father which art in Heaven, &c.*"] Not that the Priest should begin Even-song with the Lord's Prayer, before he has read the Sentences, Confession and Absolution, as at Morning Prayer, as he is by the Rubrick here enjoined; but that after those sentences, &c. as a Preparation both to Morning and Evening Prayer, he should begin and say, *Our Father, &c.* And therefore, because many neglecting that preceding Rubrick, which rules this, do begin the Even-song here, it gave occasion to the



Puritans, in their Survey, to ask whether Ministers were not as punishable for that neglect, as for not wearing a surplice? And truly I think they are. It is the fourteenth Canon that forbids Ministers to diminish any part of Divine Service, as it is appointed, in regard of Preaching, or any other respect, which they that curtail service are wont to alledge.”\*

The necessity for the Rubric introduced by Archbishop Laud after the third Collect for Evening Prayer, is noticed by L'Estrange. The Rubric, it will be remembered, is to direct the prayers for the King, Royal Family, and Clergy, the prayer of St. Chrysostom, and the Benedictin, (which at that time were printed at the end of the Litany,) to be read in the Evening prayer after the third Collect. A Rubric was evidently wanted, unless the rule was made clear by printing those prayers in full at the end of Morning and Evening Prayer, as done in the revision of 1662. L'Estrange's observation is this:

“*Scotch Lit. ‘Then shall follow,’ &c.] A very necessary rubric. For though use and custom had stated in our churches a practice conformable to it, annexing those prayers to the Morning and Evening Service, yet the want of express rule for its establishment, left our liturgy, in this point, not altogether innoxious to exceptions. The morning and evening services constitute offices distinct from the Litany and Communion, offices diurnal and of daily duty, and consequently they ought to have all their parts complete, perfect, and entire. But these offices, as they are bounded with these words, ‘Thus endeth the order of morning and evening prayer throughout the whole year,’ want first a fit prayer for the king. If that versicle of ‘O Lord save the king’ be urged against me, I answer, that short versicle doth not fit the latitude of our obligations to him, nor of those temporal advantages we desire to enjoy under him, nor of his personal qualifications, as man, as father, as king, as Christian, to all which our prayers ought regularly to relate, and which are considered in the litany, collects. Secondly, they want the dismissory benediction of the priest; and it looks like a solecism, for a religious assembly to break off abruptly, as it were in the midst of sacred employment, and for the people to depart without a benediction. The premises well weighed, this rubric was very pertinently inserted.”*

I think it right to transcribe this passage, not only because L'Estrange's argument in favour of the rubric seems just and sensible, but because his testimony is direct and explicit to that which it is so important to know, that the alteration of the rubric was not an alteration of the practice, but that these prayers had been customarily read in Morning and Evening Service. The rubric did no more than state clearly what the custom was, and was intended to be.

ATHANASIAN CREED. To the old Rubric Archbishop Laud de-

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\* Nicholl's Addit. Notes, p. 23.

sires these words to be added:—"The presbyter and all the people standing." This was adopted into the English Prayer-book in 1662, where we find—"the minister and people standing."

This also is one of Prynne's charges.

"2ly. The standing up at Athanasius or the Nicene Creed not formerly enjoined in the English, by this new Addition of his to the Rubrick before it: *shall be sayd, &c., this Confession of the Christian faith the Presbyter and ALL THE PEOPLE STANDING.*"

But, in fact, there was no alteration introduced by the archbishop, the new rubric being merely (as in almost every other case) declaratory of the custom which had always obtained in the English Church since the Reformation. "When we make profession of our faith," says Hooker, "we stand."\* But those that were *contentious* took advantage of the omission of a Rubric, and would sit down both at the Athanasian and Nicene Creeds. Bishop Cosin has noticed this in his paper of Particulars.

"xlvi. At the Nicene Creed there is likewise no posture of standing, especially here appointed, by reason of which omission many people refuse to stand, though at the other creed of the Apostles, they are appointed to do it, as here likewise they ought to do; and at Athanasius his creed besides; for all which, provision may be made in their several places."

PRAYER IN EMBER WEEKS. From these notes it would appear, that the introduction of this collect into the Prayer-book was suggested by Archbishop Laud, and the prayer probably composed by him;—the second of the two in our present Prayer-book. The Rubric also by which he directed the prayer to be said "every day," was retained by the Commissioners in 1662.

The addition of this prayer for Ember Weeks forms the sixth of Prynne's examples of popish alterations.

"6ly. His inserting a new prayer into the Collects, prefaced with this title and directory, *A prayer to be sayd in the Ember Weeks for those who are to be ordained into Holy Orders: And is to be read every day of the weeke, beginning on the Sunday before the day of Ordination; Almighty God, &c.*"

One might have thought that the obviously edifying tendency of special prayers on such occasions, and the great beauty of the prayer itself, would have preserved it from such a strange misconstruction.

*Prayer. O God, whose nature and property, &c.* The awkwardness of the language in the conclusion of this collect, "for the honour of Jesus Christ's sake," was noticed by others. The divines, in 1641, pointed out "the clause perhaps to be

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\* Eccl. Pol., V. 30.

mended.\* The alteration made by Archbishop Laud, (or possibly the King,) into, "for Jesus Christ his sake," was simple enough. The Commissioners in 1662 corrected the phrase by omitting the word "sake," and striking out the final letter *s* from the word "Christs."

*Thanksgiving for deliverance from the Plague.* The alteration of the word "Congregation" into "Church," here recommended, was adopted in 1662. The same remark will apply to the Collect for St. Simon and St. Jude's day, and the Collect for the King in the Communion Service. The change of this word was one of Prynne's proofs of Popery.

"7ly, His obliterating the word *Congregation* in most Collects, Prayers, & inserting the words *Church and Holy Church*, in its place."

**COLLECTS, EPISTLES, AND GOSPELS.** *Collect for Christmas day.* We have seen that as this Collect was ordered to be read until New Year's day, Archbishop Laud desired the words "this day" to be changed to "this time." This was one of the alterations desired by the Presbyterians at the Savoy Conference. Both in this Collect and that for Whit-Sunday, they desired that "the words (this day) may be left out, it being, according to vulgar acceptation, a contradiction."

Bishop Cosin makes a similar remark in his paper of Particulars. On the Collect for the Nativity, he says—

"It is likewise here ordered, that the same Collect shall be used upon every day unto the Circumcision. But how can it be said in *iisdem Terminis*, and that said to be done upon this day, which those following days are not?"

And in like manner on the Collect for Whit-Sunday he says:

"xxxix. Upon Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun-week, the same Collect is appointed which was read upon Whitsunday itself: But upon those two days, and all the week following, we cannot say, *As upon* this day. Therefore there is a direction here wanting, for the change of that word, *This Day*, into some other."

In the revision of 1662, the words "this day" and "as upon this day," are changed to "as at this time."

*Circumcision.* The Rubric proposed by Archbishop Laud in this place—"And so likewise upon every other day from the time of the Circumcision to the Epiphany" is the basis of the present Rubric—"The same Collect, Epistle, and Gospel shall serve for every day after unto the Epiphany."

There was no Rubric of this sort in the Prayer-book in 1549. But from 1552 until 1662 there was a Rubric directing the Service for the Circumcision to be read, in case a Sunday should

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\* Cardwell's Conference, p. 275.

happen to fall between the Circumcision and the Epiphany. Bishop Cosin, in a note quoted by Nicholls,\* gives the following account of the reason of that Rubric being added in 1552.

“This was added in the fifth of King Edw. being *casus omissus* before; for between the second and fifth year of that King, there happened a Sunday after Circumcision, and before the Epiphany; and they were at a loss, not knowing what to do with it; for in the old missals it was cast upon the Octaves, whereof we had none left.”

The whole object of the change introduced by Archbishop Laud was to make the meaning of the Rubric plainer.

*Ash Wednesday.* The words commonly called Ash Wednesday, which were found here in the Prayer-book of 1549, were omitted in 1552, and not restored till 1662. The restoration of these, we see, originated in their being restored in the Scotch Prayer-book.

Archbishop Laud directed, as we have seen, that the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for Ash Wednesday should be read every day until the first Sunday in Lent. In 1662 the present Rubric was introduced, which directs the collect for that day to be read every day in Lent.

*Easter Even.* It was from the same source, also, we see originated our having a separate Collect for Easter Even. It will appear, likewise, that the Collect which was drawn up for the purpose, and adopted in the Scotch Prayer-book, is the basis of ours.

*25th Sunday after Trinity.* On examination it will be seen that those who drew up our present Rubric were evidently following the one drawn up by Archbishop Laud, for the Scotch Prayer-book. The latter part of our present Rubric had nothing like it in the English Prayer-books prior to 1662.

The omission may have been an oversight in the first instance. A similar Rubric existed in the English Service-book before the reformation. And the subject of the Epistle and Gospel for the 25th Sunday refer so plainly to Advent, that it seemed right to desire them to be read in all cases on the Sunday next before. In his paper of Particulars, Bishop Cosin notices the want of such a Rubric here as that introduced by Archbishop Laud.

“And because the last words of the Gospel appointed upon the twenty-fifth Sunday refer to the Advent, or coming of Christ into the world, next to follow, and to be remembered in the Church Service; therefore it were requisite, that here a rubrick should be added to make this Epistle and Gospel of the Twenty-fifth Sunday to be the last of them all, both when there are more, and when there be fewer Sundays after Trinity.”†

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\* Addit. Notes, p. 26.

† No. XL. Nicholls Addit. Notes, p. 68.

It would lengthen this paper too much to continue these observations any farther this month. And perhaps this is as convenient a place as any other to break off for the present. Next month I hope to return to the subject.

*St. Mary-at-Hill, London,  
April, 1847.*

JOHN C. CROSTHWAITE.

## ESSAYS ON SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

NO. XVII.

GARDINER AND BONNER, DE VERA OBEDIENTIA.

WHOEVER has paid attention to the examinations of the reformers, as they are recorded by Fox in his Martyrology, must have observed how frequently they were characterized by a spirit of retort and recrimination which certainly was not more politic than it was Christian. It seems as if common sense might suggest that the *argumentum ad hominem* is not for one who stands at Cæsar's bar, and who is being tried, not by the man, but by the judge. A prisoner who is indicted for stealing a horse, he will not entitle himself to an acquittal by proving that the judge has stolen two. And, indeed, though he may be sure of his proofs, and feel bound in conscience to produce them, yet, if he is a wise man, he will certainly, both for his own sake and for the purposes of justice, let the matter stand over till he has got out of the dock. But, in the cases here alluded to, the pleasure of having a hit at a papist persecutor—especially a bishop—and most especially one of those two bishops who had provokingly come out of gaol, and reseated themselves in the chairs lately filled by Poynet and Ridley—was so great, and the thing was so congenial with the mocking and jeering spirit of which too many popular writers and preachers of the party had set examples to their followers, that the temptation seems to have been irresistible. But after the specimens which I have given (considering, too, that for decency's sake I have passed over the worst) it is unnecessary here to enlarge on this matter.\*

\* I need not remind the reader of the styles of Bale and Ponet; but as we are at present principally concerned with Bishop Gardiner, I am tempted to quote what he says with particular reference to Barnes, but with a more general application to the body to which he belonged. It is in the preface to "A Declaration of such true Articles as George Ioye hath gone about to confute as false," printed in 1546.

"Barnes whom I knewe fyrst at Cambridge, a trymme minion frere Augustine, one of a merye skoffynge witte frerelike, and as a good felowe in company was beloued of many, a doctour of diuinitie he was, but neuer like to haue proued to be either martyre or confessor in christes religion, and yet he began there to exercise raylynge (which amonge such, as newly profess christ, is a great pece of connyng)

One very favourite course of this kind was (if I may so misapply terms to carry on the figure which I have used) something like filing a cross bill against the Lord Chancellor himself. It was the taking the opportunity of being brought before him to tell him to his face, that whatever his poor orator might be with regard to such matters of treason, sedition, or heresy, as he was charged with, his lordship himself, with his great seal and mitre, and his pomp, and pride, and papistry, was an unprincipled turncoat, and a perjured rascal. A weathercock, too, they called him; though, if he was, he had certainly got rather rusty in the time of Edward. And Bonner came in for his share in all this; and, in particular, it was charged upon these two bishops, that in former times they had joined in making a book to deface the Pope, and set up the King's supremacy; and the taunt against them was, that now, with shameful, or rather shameless, inconsistency, they were setting up the Pope. Whether those who made this an offence meant that Gardiner and Bonner, having once maintained the supreme headship of King Henry, were bound to maintain that of Queen Mary, they did not clearly explain. The matter was done rather in the way of what Fox calls "privy nips"—sly hints and inuendoes—which were understood by those who were present, and which being, of course, wholly irrelevant, and obviously intended only to aggravate the judge and render him odious in the eyes of the assembly, were not dwelt upon, and never (as far as I know) so fully explained as one could wish.

One word, however, I must say about these examinations before I quote from them—namely, that I do not look upon them in the same light as I do upon those "taken in short-hand by Mr. Gurney." The accounts which we have are in many cases given by the parties themselves, and it is not impossible, or even unlikely, that some of the writers might be rather bolder, and wiser, and wittier, after reflection, and on paper, than they had been at the moment, and by word of mouth. In these cases, and also where we are indebted to the observation and memory of friends who were present, we must not forget that we are reading *ex parte* statements. Some of them, too, by persons who, giving them all credit for honesty of purpose, were not qualified to understand and report long discussions, not unfrequently relating to matters involving a good deal of abstruse and subtle disquisition. And it must be added, for it is a still more important consideration, that many of these documents

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and a great forwardness to reputacion specialle if he rayle of Byshops as Barnes began, and to please suche of the lower sort as enuieth euer auctoritie) cheeflye againste my lorde Cardinall, then vnder the Kinges maiesty, hauing the high administracion of the realme."

passed through the hands of men who did not hesitate to give to the public what, in their opinion, *should have been* said, instead of what really *was* said, by the champions of their party.\*

With the knowledge of this fact, we must of course look on these reports with suspicion; but bearing it in mind, and considering that we have nothing better, we must take things as we find them, and run the risk of sometimes appearing inconsistent by being obliged, as the truth is developed, to abandon statements which have, in the first instance, been acquiesced in, because there did not seem to be sufficient evidence to contradict them.

A striking illustration of what I have been saying is offered to us in what may perhaps be considered as one of the first overt acts of Protestantism which was followed by severe punishment after the accession of Queen Mary. The reader will remember that she came to the crown on the 6th July, 1553, and was crowned on Sunday, the 1st of October. On the next Sunday but one "Master Laurence Saunders preached at All-hallows, Bread-street, in the morning; where he declared the abomination of the mass, with divers other matters, very notably and godly."† This led to his being brought before his diocesan Bonner on a charge of treason, sedition, and heresy. The Bishop seems to have declined entering into any inquiry respecting the first two of these offences; and having, in reference to the third, examined the prisoner on the doctrine of the eucharist, he sent him to the Lord Chancellor, who was out when he arrived, but—

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\* The following extract from Strype's *Life of Grindal* will explain and attest this, and by those who really desire truth it should be most deeply pondered. The brackets are Strype's.

"Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, and Martyr, his Examinations also were soon come over from England. Which, when Fox had spoke somewhat concerning, and consulted with Grindal, Whether they ought not to have a review, and some Corrections of them made, before they were exposed to the Publick; Grindal freely thus exprest himself in this Matter, 'That there were some Things in them that needed the File; that is, some prudent Hand to usher them out into the World. For, that Philpot seemed to have somewhat ensnared himself in some Words, not so well approved; as, That Christ is *Really* in the Supper, &c. And, That if the English Book had not been divulged, some Things might be mitigated in it. And next, That he sometimes cited the Ancients Memoriter, being void of the Help of Books; where one might easily slip; [as he did.] As when he said, That Athanasius was Chief of the Council of Nice; when as he at that Time was only the Deacon of the Bishop of Alexandria, as he [Fox] had remembered rightly. But Athanasius, he said, laboured in Disputes more than the rest, and in that Sense, indeed, he might be said to be the Chief. But there the Controversy was of Honour and Primacy. [And therefore Philpot could not be brought off by that Means.] Grindal also supposed, that Fox himself might in like Manner espy some other Oversights; wherefore he had him use his Judgment. Grindal subjoined, that he had heard, that Peter Martyr and Bullinger had wished, that in the Writings of Bishop Hooper, he had had time and Leisure to recognize what he wrote. For being wrote suddenly, and under confinement he had not warily enough writ concerning the cause, that had been tossed about by his Disputations with so many, as such an envenomed Age required."—*Fol. Ed.*, p. 20.

† Fox, Vol. VI. p. 541.

"At last the bishop returned from the court, whom, as soon as he was entered, a great many suiters met and received: so that before he could get out of one house into another, half an hour was passed. At last he came into the chamber where Saunders was, and went through into another chamber: where, in the mean way, Saunders's leader gave him a writing, containing the cause, or rather the accusation, of the said Saunders; which when he had perused, 'Where is the man?' said the bishop. Then Saunders, being brought forth to the place of examination, first most lowly and meekly kneeled down, and made courtesy before the table where the bishop did sit; unto whom the bishop spake on this wise:

"'How happeneth it,' said he, 'that notwithstanding the queen's proclamation to the contrary, you have enterprised to preach?'

"Saunders denied not that he did preach; saying, that forso much as he saw the perilous times now at hand, he did but according as he was admonished, and warned by Ezekiel the prophet—exhort his flock and parishioners to persevere and stand steadfastly in the doctrine which they had learned: saying also, that he was moved and pricked forward thereunto by the place of the apostle, wherein he was commanded rather to obey God than man; and moreover, that nothing more moved or stirred him thereunto than his own conscience.

"'A goodly conscience, surely,' said the bishop. 'This your conscience could make our queen a bastard, or misbegotten: would it not, I pray you?'

"Then said Saunders, 'We,' said he, "do not declare or say, that the queen is base, or misbegotten, neither go about any such matter. But for that, let them care whose writings are yet in the hands of men, witnessing the same, not without the great reproach and shame of the author:' privily taunting the bishop himself, who had before (to get the favour of Henry the Eighth) written and set forth in print a book of 'True Obedience,' wherein he had openly declared queen Mary to be a bastard. Now master Saunders, going forwards in his purpose, said, 'We do only profess and teach the sincerity and purity of the word; the which, albeit it be now forbidden us to preach with our mouths, yet notwithstanding, I do not doubt, but that our blood hereafter shall manifest the same.' The bishop, being in this sort prettily nipped and touched, said, 'Carry away this frenzy-fool to prison.' Unto whom master Saunders answered, that he did give God thanks, which had given him at last a place of rest and quietness, where he might pray for the bishop's conversion."—Fox, vol. VI. p. 616.

This the martyrologist calls in his margin, "A privy nip to Winchester;" and of course by the time when Fox wrote, it was merely a good joke. But if we consider the manners and feelings of the age, and endeavour to realize the idea of a priest accused of treason and sedition most lowly and meekly kneeling and making courtesy before the Lord Chancellor (to say nothing of the bishop), and then talking to him in this way, we shall not be surprised to find that he was treated as one out of his



wits, and sent to prison. It may indeed surprise some of those whom (if I may without offence borrow a phrase from a passage which I am about to quote) I will call the "Foxie generation," to learn that Laurence Saunders was not instantly racked with insufferable torments, and then burned out of hand. But instead of this, for some cause or other, which, whatever it might be, seems inconsistent with a raging thirst for blood, he seems not to have been brought up again for examination, or rather, not to have been formally examined at all, until after an interval of about fifteen months.

The object, however, to which I wish more particularly to draw the reader's attention, is the book to which Saunders on this occasion referred, as written, and set forth in print, by Gardiner. There is a mystery about this book *De vera Obedientia* which I have not yet been able to fathom, and which, I freely confess, I do not understand. There has been so little inquiry about the matter that I may perhaps give some information; but I write also with a view of obtaining it, and with a consciousness that under such circumstances I am very likely to make mistakes. If I do, the correction of them will not only be a satisfaction and benefit to myself, but a contribution towards our knowledge of a portion of our ecclesiastical history which is peculiarly worthy of study, and which offers to the enquirer many little mysteries which even when they are not intrinsically worth investigation, yet frequently repay that trouble by throwing light on other matters of greater importance, and which have been supposed to be better understood than they really were.

Others have probably sympathized with Mr. Stevens, who has lately reprinted this work of Bishop Gardiner; and who tells us, "the extract which Fox gives of this very scarce and extraordinary tract of Gardiner's, with its no less extraordinary preface by Bonner, had often excited in our mind a great desire to see the originals, and that desire was considerably increased by the frequent appeal to it by almost all the reformers upon their examinations."\* Yet it must be confessed, that no such curiosity seems to have induced the two most recent biographers of Gardiner and Bonner even to look at the title page of the tract, or at least to get by heart its short and simple title "*De vera Obedientia*." The former writer tells us that Gardiner "not only acknowledged the King's supremacy, but wrote a book in defence of it, entitled, "*De verâ et falsâ Obedientia*;" the latter says, "Stephen Gardiner's famous book, *De Vera Differentia regię potestatis et Ecclesiasticę* was published in 1534 . . . . . it was reprinted in 1536, and a stringent preface was prefixed to it by Bonner."

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\* Life of Bradford. App. p. lxi.

Yet surely it must have struck both writers and readers as rather an odd thing, and one not altogether unworthy of inquiry. Familiar as we are with the united names of Gardiner and Bonner, and natural as it would seem to most modern readers to meet with them joined in an order to burn a heretic, one is not quite prepared to find them forming a sort of literary firm or partnership. Of course, we know that there have been such unions between distinguished writers at all times, from the days of Beaumont and Fletcher to those of Mant and D'Oyly; but in this case of Gardiner and Bonner, the relative position of the parties, and the division of labour, is so very strange. The Bishop of Winchester, both personally and officially one of the most eminent and powerful men in the kingdom, writes a little book on a political subject of the utmost delicacy and highest importance. The Archdeacon of Leicester, a man of no particular personal importance, and comparatively of no consequence at all, issues a new edition of it, with a fulsome puffing preface of his own. To be sure it may be said that strange things of this sort have happened in modern times, and that in our own days popular writers have bestowed the same sort of prefatory patronage on eminent authors. But that I believe was generally supposed to be rather an affair of the trade; and besides, it was not done in the lifetime of the authors, or to their faces or while they were (for indeed they never were) among the greatest men in the church and state.

But if we can get over all this, there is one thing more, if we may trust Fox, which is quite enough by itself to puzzle the matter. He declares that the archdeacon and the bishop (the puffer and the puffed) hated each other. He tells us in the plainest terms, that Bishop Gardiner continued to favour the reforming party, and was firm and forward in it, "so that who but Winchester during all the time and reign of Queen Anne. After her decease that time by little and little carried him away, till at length the emulation of Cromwell's estate, and especially (as it seemeth) for his so much favouring of Bonner, *whom Winchester at that time in no case could abide*, made him an utter enemy both against him, and also his religion."\* Fox had previously told us, that "so long as Cromwell remained in authority, so long was Bonner at his beck, and friend to his friends, and enemy to his enemies; as namely at that time to Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, who *never favoured Cromwell*, and therefore Bonner could not favour him, but *he and Winchester were the greatest enemies that might be*. But so soon as Cromwell fell, immediately Bonner and Winchester pretended to be the greatest

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\* Fox, Vol. VII. 587.

men that lived."\* What are we to say to this? Perhaps we need not say anything immediately. Perhaps we may be allowed, in such a trifling matter as this, to reverse the usual mode of writing history, and defer speculation until we have inquired respecting facts. What are they?

Under the year 1534, Strype says, "This year also Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, put forth his book *De vera Obedientia; Of true Obedience*, which he wrote to justify the parliament in giving the king the title of Supreme Head of this church."† Anthony a Wood gives as one of the works of Bonner, "Preface to the Oration of Stephen Bish. of Winchester concerning true Obedience. Printed at London in Lat. 1534, 35;"‡ but his account is in other respects so palpably incorrect, that it is not worth while to criticise the date which he gives. Herbert,§ however, also represents the book as having been printed by Thomas Berthelet, the king's printer, in the year 1534. He is entitled to the highest respect and confidence when speaking of those books, which he distinguishes as having been in his own possession, or under his own eye; but as this is not one of them, and as I do not find any other grounds than those which I have mentioned for supposing that there was such an edition, I am inclined to suspect that there has been some mistake. Perhaps the same confusion which I have already noticed, between Bishop Gardiner's book *De vera Obedientia* and Bishop Fox's *De vera Differentia*; the latter of which really was printed by Thomas Berthelet in the year 1534; but of Bishop Gardiner's work I suspect he printed only one edition, and that not until the next year.

This edition of 1535 is mentioned by Herbert as one of the books in his own possession, and correctly, though briefly, described by him.|| There is a copy in the British Museum.¶ It is a small quarto of thirty-six leaves, numbered in a large Roman type. The only words on the title-page are STEPHANI VVINTON. EPISCOPI DE VERA OBEDIENTIA ORATIO. They are within the well-known Holbein border, having in the bottom piece (which Dibdin has copied\*\*) what Herbert calls, "boys in procession

\* Fox, Vol. V. p. 414.

† Mem. I. i. 264.

‡ Ath. Ox. ed. Bliss, Vol. I. p. 370.

§ That is, Herbert the bibliographer, (Typ. Ant. Vol. I. p. 425,) for Lord Herbert has been quoted as an authority about this book, which he describes as Gardiner's "Latin *Sermon De vera Obedientia*." I cannot imagine that it has any right to be called a "Sermon," and I do not know why it is called an "Oration," for the language seems obviously addressed, not to hearers, but readers. It is probable, however, that his Lordship was not very accurately acquainted with the book, for he tells us that it had a "preface of Dr. Bonner, Archdeacon of *Lichfield*."—*Life of Henry VIII.* p. 389.

|| Ubi. Sup. p. 246.

¶ It appears by the catalogue of the Bodleian Library that there is one there also.

\*\* Typ. Ant. Prel. Disq. Vol. I. p. xlv. The lower of the two engravings.

to the left." The back of the title is blank, and the work begins on the following page. On the back of the thirty-sixth leaf is the colophon, "LONDINI IN AEDIBUS THO. BERTHELETI REGII IMPRESSORIS EXCUSA. AN. M.D. XXXV. CVM PRIVILEGIO." I do not see anything which looks as if it was a second edition; and as I have mentioned Bonner's preface, I ought to add, that it contains only Gardiner's Oration, with no mention of Bonner, no preface by anybody, no dedication, no addition whatever.

Then there is an edition, which is said to have been printed at Hamburgh the next year, with this title\* :—

STEPHANI WINTONIEN-  
SIS EPISCOPI DE VERA OBE-  
dientia oratio.

VNA CUM PRAEFATIONE EDMVN-  
DI BONERI ARCHIDIACONI LEY-  
cestrensis sereniss. Regiæ ma-  
Angliæ in Dania legati,  
capita notabili-  
ora dictæ  
ora-  
tionis com-  
plecten-  
te.

IN QUA ETIAM OSTENDITVR  
causam controuersiæ quæ inter ipsam sereniss.  
Regiam Maiestatem & Episcopum Ro-  
manum existit, longe aliter ac  
diursius se habere, q; hactē  
nus a vulgo puta-  
tum sit.

Hamburgi ex officina Francisci  
Rhodi. Mense Ianuario  
1536

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\* This, and two subsequent title pages, are not to be considered as perfect fac-similes; but they will furnish the reader with such a knowledge of the words used, and of the spelling, disposition, and arrangement of them, and of the general appearance of the title-page as to capitals, figures, &c., as will enable him to identify any copy which he may meet with. Should he meet with any that materially varies from them, I shall be much obliged if he will let me know.

This is, I believe, the first appearance of Bonner's Preface; but I shall have occasion to speak more particularly of this edition presently.

Another edition is said to have been published in this year at Strasburgh, in 8vo. I have never seen a copy, or met with a particular reference to one.\*

I do not know of any other edition, until in the year 1612, the tract was reprinted by Goldastus, who does not tell us what edition he followed;† but if there was one printed at Strasburgh, it was probably that one; for a long address to the reader which is prefixed to the Oration is subscribed by, "W. F. Capito, C. Hedio, M. Bucer et cæteri Ecclesiastæ Argentoratenses." This address bears no other mark of time or place that I see; and (what is most to be remarked) in the whole reprint I do not find one word of, or about, any Preface by Bonner.

The only other edition of the original Latin with which I am acquainted, is that published by Dr. Brown in his "*Fasciculus Rerum expetendarum*," &c. The reader who turns to p. 800 of the second volume, will find both the Preface and the Oration, with a title almost literally the same as that of the Hamburg edition, of which I have just given a copy, except that the humorous editor, having copied as far as "*Archidiac. Leicestr.*," relieved his feelings by inserting in a parenthesis, after those words, (*postea uero Episc. Londinensis pinguiissimi et sanguinolenti*), and also that "*Hamburgi*" is altered to "*Juxta editionem Hamburgensem*." This latter annunciation in the title would, of course, lead the reader to suppose that the whole work (Preface and Oration) were printed from the Hamburg edition. And as he would be quite right in so doing, it would not be necessary to say anything about it here if Dr. Brown himself had not taken pains to tell him the contrary. As if to keep up the

\* In Simler's edition of Gesner's *Bibliotheca*, in the article on Bishop Gardiner (in v. *Stephanus*), it is stated that an edition was published at Strasburgh, in 1536, in 8vo. Bauer says—"Gardineri (Stephani) de vera Obedientia oratio. Argentor. 1536. in 8° Rarissima et notabilis est. Schelhorn Amoen. H.E. T.I. p. 837. sqq. Gerdes. p. 133." *Bibl. Libr. Rar.* Tom. II. p. 10. I have not at present the means of referring to these authorities, but the latter of them elsewhere says—"Hunc libellum Argentorati curante W. F. Capitone 1536 8° recusum excerptis doctrinæ. Schelhornius in Amoenit. Historico-Eccles. Tom. I. p. 837. seq." *Introd. in Hist. Ec.*, Tom. IV. p. 237.

† In his *Monarchia. S. Rom. Imp.* Vol. I. p. 716. Printed at Hanover. There is at the beginning of the book a "*Dissertatio de Auctoribus*," which professes to give an account of the authors whose works follow. But after going through a good many, and before we come to the Oration, we are told "*Qui sequuntur Tractatus nulla indigent dissertatione, quod et recentes sint eorum auctores, et scripta ad amussim polita*," &c. The authors of the prefatory address begin by saying "*Nasti nuper orationem de vera obedientia R. P. Stephani Episc. Wintoniensis, committere non potuimus, quin eam tibi communicaremus*;" but I do not see that they throw any further light on the question.

puzzle about the book, though, at the same time, with a real wish to be accurate, he has particularly specified that he printed the Oration from the *London* edition; while nothing can be more clear (to me, at least, with the very copy which he used on my table) than that the Oration in the Fasciculus is really reprinted from the *Hamburgh* edition, and not from the *London*.\* What difference it may make, or whether any, I do not know. On a very cursory comparison of the two editions I did not perceive any variation; but it is not improbable that they may differ, and at any rate, the mistake should be corrected.

These are, as far as I know, all the editions of the original Latin; and they purport to have been printed respectively in the years 1535, 1536, 1612, and 1690. Whether there is any material, or even verbal, difference between these various editions, I am not able to say. Nor do I know whether, during the first eighteen years after its publication, the work attracted any degree of public attention, or was translated into any modern language. Of course, I say this merely taking the dates as they stand in the various title-pages, and keeping the question of their truth and accuracy quite open for future discussion.

There is, however, an English translation of the work, which has undergone (one may properly use the word in speaking of such very barbarous books) three editions. The earliest dated, and I believe, though it has been questioned, the first of them, presents the following title-page:—

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\* In Dr. Brown's preface is the following passage—"Boneri præfatio in Stephani Gardineri librum de vera obedientia Oxonio mihi missa est a viro doctissimo Georgio Hickes ecclesie Vigorniensis Decano, qui illum meis precibus diutius in omnibus academis bibliothecis quæsierat, in Baliolensi vero solum invenit: ipse autem Gardineri liber excuditur juxta veterem editionem Londinensem, cui deest ista præfatio (callide enim eam editioni illi subtraxerat hypocrita crassus, quasi rei pudæfactus) quam nobis suppeditavit perhumaniter vir de ecclesia nostra et omnigena literatura bona præclare meritis Thomas Tenisonus S.T.P. et S. Martini in Campis Vicarius." There is something very humorous in the idea of the stupid hypocrite's withdrawing a preface in the manner here suggested. Dr. Brown was, however, mistaken in supposing that the copy from which he printed (though it does want the Preface) was of the old London edition. The copy in the Lambeth Library cannot be doubted to have belonged to Archbishop Tenison. In the "List of early-printed books" which I printed in 1843, I mentioned this book. I was not then aware of this passage in Dr. Brown's preface, but it was so obvious that the book had been through a printer's hands, that I said, "It appears to have been used in printing some larger edition, in which it began on the signature K 2, and went on to M 3, the signatures being here noted in the margin with a pen," p. 252. I ought to have said 5 K 2 and 5 M 3, but I did not then, I suppose, observe, or make out the 5, which is plainly enough written over the references, to save the trouble of writing K k k k k, and so on to M m m m m, as the signatures actually stand in Brown's Fasciculus. Should this meet the eye of any one who can give me information with reference to what is here said respecting Baliol College, I shall be thankful for it. It does not appear from Dr. Brown's statement whether it was printed or manuscript.

## DE VERA OBEDIENCIA



Ration made in Latine, by the ryghte Reuerend father in God Stephan B. of VVinchestre, nowe lord Chaücellor of england, with the preface of Edmunde Boner, sometime Archedeacō of Leicestre, and the kinges maiesties embassadour in Denmarke, & sithence B. of London, touchinge true Obedience.

Printed at Hamburg in Latine, In officina Frācisci Rhodi. Mense Ia. M.D.xxxvi.

And nowe translated into english and printed by Michal Wood: with the Preface and conclusion of the traunslatour.

¶ From Roane. xxvi. of Octobre. M.D.liii.

In Readinge marke the Notes in the margine

A double mynded man, is inconstāt in al his waies, Iac. i.

It is a small octavo, in fact not larger than the common duodecimo size. The first twelve leaves are occupied with the title and translator's preface. Then Bonner's Preface and the Oration occupy sixty leaves. After this, the Translator again addresses the Reader, and occupies eleven pages. The body of the work is in Roman type; the letter w being of uncouth shape, and wrong size, either because it was printed abroad, or to make it look as if it had been; and the marginal notes are in a small genuine black letter.\* Without prejudice to any question which may be raised as to the place of its birth, we may, for distinction's sake, call it the "Roan" edition.

\* It will be seen that the three large letters in the second line of the title do not answer to this description. They belong to the German type into which the Gothic letter passed. I give them because they are what were used in printing Coverdale's Bible, and by several English printers afterwards.

A second edition of this English version professes to have followed the first very speedily, and has the following title-page.

De vera obedientia  
**An oration ma**  
**de in Latine / by the**  
**right Reuerēde father in God**  
**Stephā bishop of Wiche**  
**stre now Lorde Chāū**  
**celour of Eng**  
**lande**

With the Preface of Edmonde Bonner than  
 Archideacon of Leicester, and the kinges  
 Maiesties Embassadour in Denmar  
 ke, and now bishop of London: tou  
 ching true obedience, Printed  
 at Haburgh in Latine, in  
 officina Francisci Rhodi  
 Mense Ianuario,  
 1536.

And now transla  
 ted in to Englishe, and  
 printed eltsones, in Rome,  
 before ye castle of .S. Angel, at the signe of S.  
 Peter. In nobembre, Anno do. M. D. Liij.

This edition is, like the former, in a small octavo form, though with a page considerably larger than the other. It is printed, both text and marginal notes, in a sharp, thin, and not genuine, black letter, on fifty leaves, the last of which (notwithstanding the announcement on the title-page) bears the well-known device of a London printer, Hugh Singleton. It is hardly necessary to say that there is no more probability of its having been printed by him, than of its having been printed at Rome; though, perhaps, we might find some grounds for suspecting that it (not to say the Roan edition, also) was printed in England. But, without discussing or prejudicing this question, we may call this the "Rome" edition.



The third edition, being a reprint from this second, was published by Mr. Stevens, in London, as lately as the year 1832, by way of Appendix to his Life of Bradford. It is right to mention this reprint, not only because I am endeavouring to give a list of all the editions both of the original and of the translation, but because all the old editions, whether Latin or English, are scarce books; and the reader who feels any curiosity to look at the work, is more likely to have access to this modern edition than to any other; and he should be admonished that it is executed with astonishing ignorance and incorrectness.\*

\* Many readers will feel that I can hardly say more in a few words than by stating, that this piece of "Martyrological Biography," as the author entitles it, is quite worthy to take its place with the Seeley edition of Fox. I speak, of course, with reference to the reprint of Gardiner's work which it contains, for I have not had occasion to look at any other part. Take the following specimens of what seems almost unaccountable carelessness—"do not go about traiterously," for "do not *only* go," &c., page lxvi., line 28. "If their *works* and writings," for "if their *words*," &c., lxix. 27. "To worship a pretty white coated *casket*," for "*cake*," lxxii. 8 from bottom. "*Therewith* the consent of the whole church," for "*thas* with the consent," lxxvii. 25. "And *prefaced* the same also in his deeds," for "and *performed* the same," &c., lxxxvii. 24. "Giveth us more plain *meaning* of this," for "*warning*," *ibid.* 28. "If *he* had to call him," for "if *ye* *lust* to call him," xcvi. ult. "This indeed is the most *special* way," for "the most *spedy*," cii. 17. "For their *beauty*," for "their *duetie*," cvi. 1. "When they have taken," for "*where* they have taken," cvi. 14, and after line 25, a whole line omitted. "Should be called *also*," for "should *not* be," *ibid.* penult. "It was meet to *mistake*," for "to *mislike*," cxii. 5. "In *half* estate of worldly power," for "*hault* estate," cxvii. 5 from bottom. "Therefore take away the *other* from the cause, for the *other* ought to be a servant of truth, and cannot nor ought not to be prejudicial;" for *other* read *othe* twice, and put out *not*, cxxxvi. 24. Much more might be adduced in proof of the very negligent and careless way in which the reprint has been made; but there are other blunders of a grosser character, indicating, not only negligence, but such a degree of ignorance as should have prevented the editor from meddling with the matter, and as is quite fearful when thus combined with a free and easy method of altering the text at his discretion. For instance, at p. lxvii., (where, by the way, there is a good deal left out,) we read of a "*piurours*," a class of persons of whom few people, I suppose, have ever heard. The editor was so entirely unacquainted with books belonging to the same period as that which he was editing, as not to know that a p with a transverse stroke across its tail, (p) was a most common contraction for "per," and that the "double-faced" people of whom his author spake were "*periuours*," or "*per-jurers*." But he was content to print nonsense which he could not himself pretend to understand. And so he was two pages farther on—who or what are "*kabies*"? One would imagine they must be the people who used the celebrated "*kimes*"—but no, it is merely that the reprinter of a printed book is so little acquainted with the type of the time, as to take a capital R for a capital K, and so, from being "*ruffling Rabyes*," the papistical prelates who made sermons and orations have been turned into "*Kabies*," instead of "*rabbies*." He modernised it as far as he could, explain it he could not, but he was content to let it stand, and say nothing about it. A still grosser and more absurd specimen of the same sort of ignorance and absolute incompetency to read the book which he had undertaken to edit, is afforded by a note on p. cxi., which is literally as follows:—

"If the Bishop of Rome were Christ's Vicar, he would not have practised ing-glises.—Wood."

The reader will understand that in the original this is a marginal note, and the narrow margin required the last word of it to be divided. It is hardly worth the

The Roan and Rome editions, however, though generally considered as (and substantially, I suppose, they really are) one and the same version—perhaps, by the way, one of the most barbarous versions of Latin into a sort of English that ever was perpetrated—present a great many variations, some of which may be just worth mentioning.

In the first place, at the very outset, instead of a blank page at the back of the title, the Rome edition has in black-letter—

“The Contentes  
of Wynchesters boke.

The Kinge supreme head of y<sup>e</sup> churche  
The Bishop of Rome hath non au-  
toritie in Englande  
The Kinges mariage with the la-  
dy Anne, chaste and launfull  
The Diuorce of the lady Katheri-  
ne donne by Goddes lawe. etc.  
The autoritie of Goddes worde,  
only to be obeyde.  
Mennes traditions repugne in most  
thinges to Goddes truthe  
The word of truth lay buried,  
whan the bish. of Rome ruled here.  
The cōming agayne of light  
confessed  
Folishe and vnlaunfull othes and  
vowes not to be kepte

And other which these incar-  
nate deuilles impudently  
and traiterously goo about  
to subuerte at this day.

In the Roan edition, as I have already said, the translator adds an appendix of eleven pages, addressed to “the Christen Reader.” In the Rome edition this is all omitted, and there are

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trouble, but if the reader will turn the i into a j, invert the n, remove the hyphen, and supply the common mark over the next i, to indicate that an n is omitted, he will arrive at the word “jugglinges.” How could any man, especially one who so freely used his discretion about inserting the marginal notes of the translator, think of disfiguring his book by what he must have felt to be nonsense? But superadded nonsense is not the worst effect produced by this tampering of ignorance, as the following specimen may show. In the old edition, the translator speaks of certain valiant soldiers, who loved to sleep in a whole skin, and he compares them to “Gnatoes.” This the editor (guiltless of Terence) did not understand, and so he has actually stripped the poor parasite of his capital, and printed the passage thus—“like gnats with ait, aio, negat, nego,” p. lxx. What did he think the gnats did, and how did they do it?

only two leaves after the end of the Oration, two pages and a half of which are occupied by matter headed—

“¶ Resistaunce of y<sup>e</sup> Gospells is a most manifest sygne of dampnacion.”

But the minor variations are numberless ; and it may, perhaps, be sufficient to quote one specimen, and to make one general remark, the tendency of both being to give the reader a clearer idea of the difference between the two editions, and a ground for forming an opinion as to which was published first. It is this—that, as far as I have compared them, the phraseology of the Rome edition is generally (not quite always) less rude, coarse, and scurrilous, than the Roan text ; and I think that whoever reflects on even the specimen which follows, will believe, though an opposite opinion has been maintained, that the passage, which I here give according to the Roan text, was the original, and that the Rome text, which substitutes what is here in *italics* for what is here in brackets, was the corrected edition. I do not know whether the mode of printing which I have adopted is the best for the purpose ; but I trust that the reader will understand, that if he reads straight forward all that is in Roman type, as if there were no brackets, and omits what is in *italics*, he will have the passage as it stands in the Roan edition ; if he reads it, omitting what is included in brackets, and taking instead what is in *italics*, he will have the Rome text.

¶ The Preface of the Translatour to the gentle Reader.

I haue hertofore (with no smale admiration) readde a certaine Sermon made in English, before our late souereine Lorde King Henry the .viii. about .xiiii. yeres past, by D, Tonal *than* B. of Duresme, and set furthe in print (by like) for his owne glorye, or rather purgation, beyng suspected (*and not without cause*) to be a fauourer of the pretended autoritie, and Antichristian power [and detestable enormities] of the B. of Rome whereof he [semeth at this daye to be] *is bent at this day* with other his complices *to shew himself* (that Sermon notwithstanding) not onely to be [no hinderour, but also] a frindelye fauourer, *but an open diligent* [a trustie] proctour, and [an open defodour, much to be lamented, in respect of his excellent gifts, and vertues otherwise.

Ther is also] a certē Oratiō *also written* in latin [made] by D. Samson, [late] *than* B. of Chichester, and now the double faced epicureous bite shepe of Coventry and Lichfield [which Sermon and Oratiō, proue and make learned assercion] aswel *for the proof and assertion* of the kinges supremacy, by the vndoubted truth of Gods vnsaying worde as *of* the [necessary and] iust abrogation of the sayde bishop of Romes fained power out of england. [And albe it men iustlye maruaile at these mennes inconstancy, seyinge howe they sayde and wrote

than, and how slepperli thei speke and doo nowe, yet thei are not muche compted vpon. because that lyke as Doresme was] *By which Sermon and oracion I beige indifferently instructed in the truthe for those dayes in som poyntes cannot chose but marvaile somewhat at this their so sodayne alteration of mynde and procediges presently sene to al mēes understanding.* *Howbeit for as muche a Tostall hathe ben longe* [a goo] *reputed a still dreamyng Saturne, alwaies imagininge mischief, [so is] and Samson [known to be] an idelbellied carnal epicure, [that] which for worldly honour, and paltring pelfes sake hath euer holden with the hare, and runne with the hounde as they say : and [as he hath theuishlye spoiled and made away pore mens liuings, the patrimonye of his bishoprike, so would he] (if he were bidden) would saye Christ [was] were a hangman and his father a thiefe.* [Therefore, it forceth not what suche dubble mynded marchautes\* write or speak, seing (as saint Iames sayth) thei are inconstant in all their waies, and of no satled] *I compted not muche vpon them, nor thought that their Sermon and Oracion proceeded of any perswasion of cōscience but [forecast altogether, howe] to serue the time, as the cōmon [study &] practice of [al] that foxie generation is.*

[And in like sort] *But now of late I chaunced [lately] to read an excellent, and a right notable [learned] Oration, entitled De vera Obediēcia, made in latine [nere] about .xx. yeres past by D. Stephan Gardener,*

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\* This word may appear as strange to some readers of modern books as it did to an anonymous writer who, four or five years ago, published a very large joke in the form of a burlesque Life and Defence of Bishop Bonner, "By a Tractarian British Critic." When this writer found that Bishop saying of Latimer, "as for this merchant I know him well," and adding, "as touching the other merchant Hooper, I have never seen him before," he did not know what to make of it, having probably been led by something which he had seen or heard to connect the names of Latimer and Hooper with ecclesiastical, rather than mercantile, affairs. Accordingly, with the characteristic boldness of ignorance, he struck out the word *merchant* from the text, and substituted *mechant*; showing that if he did not understand English, he was not altogether ignorant of French, and knew how to adorn his work with some such flowers of conjectural criticism and humorous emendation as should render it worthy of the Seeley press from which it was to issue. It might be vulgar, but it would be not only truth, but good English, if a reviewer were to say of this author, that it was "hard to deal with such a chap;" and perhaps most readers would pass over the phrase without once thinking of the words, "dealer and chapman," which still linger amidst our phraseology in a sense which has now become obsolete with respect to "merchant." This work is anonymous; but in case any future Placcius should be inclined to inquire about its authorship, three marks may be mentioned as possibly offering a clue. First, some other exhibitions of ignorance, such as I have mentioned—as for instance, in support of his assumed character of an ultra-tractarian, the author dates his dedication, "October 23, Feast of St. Ignatius Loyola." As a piece of humour this is, perhaps, equal to anything in the whole book; but not being much at home in the Calendar, he has unluckily got hold of St. Ignatius the Patriarch, instead of St. Ignatius the Jesuit, whose day is the 31st of July. Again, any man who should affect to write a life of Bishop Bonner, though only in a solemn jest of less than four hundred pages, while under a belief that the Cotton. MSS. are at Oxford, should really be himself placed in the British Museum as a national curiosity. See p. 13; and it is likely that where there are such things, there are plenty of such like. A second mark is, that the book is printed at Durham. A third, and the most observable, is, that it quotes a "charge" delivered by one "of the Dignitaries of the church," named Townseid.

than B.isshop of VVinchestre, [and] now Lord Chancellour and comon cutthroat of England, touchinge as well the kinges supremaci and absolute power (vnder God) of the church of England, and the necessary diuorce (as he calleth it) of the said king Henry the eighte from the quenes [graces] Mother that now is, [and] *together with* the laufull and chast mariage (for so he termeth the matter) [solemnised] *had* betwene the sayde Kynge and quene Anne, to consist by the vnfailynge almightie word of GOD: as also concernynge the false fained authoritie and vsurped power of the bishoppe of Rome, and vnlaufull or vnadvysed othees and vowes: ioyned with the [pleasaunte] preface of doughtie Doctoure Boner, than archedeacō of Leicestre, [and the kynges Embassadoure in Denmarke], gaping to be [made] a bishop as he is now by the way of *usurpacion* [was afterwarde] of London for the commendacion and praise of the same *Oration*.

I think the reader will believe that these two editions were printed in the order which their title-pages suggest; but, supposing their dates to be relatively true as to the order of precedence between them, do we not begin to feel some surprise at those dates themselves? The former edition purports to have issued "from Roane, xxvi. of Octobre," in the year 1553; and the later from Rome "in Novembre" of the same year. It will be seen, therefore, that the date of this Roan book is only eleven days after Laurence Saunders's sermon, at Allhallows, Breadstreet. To be sure, Gardiner had been Lord Chancellor ever since the 23rd of August, but how had he earned the title of "common cut-throat of England"? Whose throat had he or anybody else cut? What had "doughtie D. Bonner" done *by that time*? In short, does not this style of writing, as well as even the coupling together of the names, rather savour of a later period, and a subsequent state of things and of feelings? Does it not look as if there was something not quite accordant with strict truth in the *times* so punctually set forth in the titles of these books, any more than in the *places* assigned to them by the same authority?

And now that these suspicions are raised, let us go back a little, and look again at that Hamburgh edition of 1536, which was the first to present the public with Archdeacon Bonner's Preface, and from which Dr. Brown's reprint in his *Fasciculus*, as well as the English translation, are professedly made. I propose this, because there is something very curious about the early history of printing in Hamburgh. I lay the following story, relating to that subject, before the reader, without pretending to vouch for the truth of all its particulars; but at the same time assuring him, that in such sources of information as I have had opportunity to consult, I have found nothing to contradict any of them.

*The Story of Hamburg.*

One fine morning, in the year 1491, when all the inhabitants of Hamburg were deeply engaged in business and pleasure—that is, either in actual buying and selling, or in bargaining—so that even the gate-keeper (it is not known of which gate) had stepped up into the city to learn the state of exchange between Hamburg and Berlin,\* two men, whose outlandish appearance afforded no information as to the place whence they came—indeed, I believe it has never to this day been even guessed at—contrived to slip in unobserved. How they managed to bring in with them all the materials and machinery necessary for establishing a printing office is not known; but it may well be imagined that nobody observed them, in a city where every man had his hand in his pocket, his heart in his purse, and his head in his ledger. So John and Thomas Brocard, or Borchard, or Burchard, with their typographical gear, went forward unmolested, until they came to the vacant space in front of the Town-house; where, as it seemed to them that they should have plenty of room and be in nobody's way, they set up their press, and incontinently fell to work, printing a folio book in great Gothic type, to the honour of the Virgin Mary.

All that day, as every day, everybody in Hamburg was minding his own business, and the Proconsuls and Consuls (as the citizens loved to call what more modern folks would designate as the Burgo-masters and Town-Council) were assembled in the Town-house, to mind the business of everybody else. Nobody, therefore, heeded the printers, until the municipal grandees came forth, after a long day's discussion on a new tariff, and were struck with amazement by the strange novelty. John and Thomas, by incredible skill and diligence at case and press, had just worked off their book, and hastily gathering and folding a few copies, presented one to each of the senators who had surrounded them, and were gazing in silent wonder at their proceedings. Most of the Consuls, indeed, had little idea of what was going forward; but two or three of the most enlightened looked at each other knowingly, and in a way that plainly said, *this will not do*. "Aye, aye," said one of the Proconsuls, at length, giving utterance to

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\* Some readers may think I ought to have said Lubeck, perhaps, or some other place more known in the early history of commerce. But as the exact truth is not known, I do it on purpose to give the good city of Berlin a lift, as Mr. Cattley has done in his edition of Fox, by telling us that in the year 1538 it was honoured by the presence of Henry the Eighth, while his Vicar-General Cromwell was for some inscrutable reason quartered at Utrecht, or, as the cautious editor (not to depart at once too much from the ancient orthography which he is correcting) is pleased to spell it, "Entrecht." The proof of this is a letter from no less a person than Archdeacon Bonner, then bishop elect of Hereford, to the Lord Cromwell. The antiquated mode of spelling, which the editor has so carefully corrected, would in all likelihood have led some readers to quite another part of the world. They would have been liable to suppose that *Byrting* and *Ewridge* were the two seats of the Lord Burgavenny in Kent and Sussex, better known to modern readers (especially the readers of Nichol's Royal Progresses) by the visits of Queen Elizabeth.—See Fox, Com. Ed., vol. V. p. 152.

the thoughts of the others as well as his own, "if this is allowed it will be the ruin of the place. The exchange will be deserted by book-reading fools, and the workhouse crammed with book-writing beggars. Trade will be ruined, and all the profit of our exports and imports together will not meet our poor's rates. We have staved off this new-invented folly during twenty or thirty years that it has stultified Mentz and Cologne, Frankfort and Strasburgh, and I know not what places beside, and we must not give way now. In spite of bad example, not a type has ever yet been set up in the good city of Hamburgh, and we are not going to begin now."

John and Thomas rubbed their thumbs on their aprons, and looked sheepishly at each other. It was clear that they had made a great mistake. But they were sharp fellows, and in great emergencies great wits jump. They formed a sudden resolution, made a sudden start, ran off at full speed, and were never more seen or heard of.

The Senators stood still and stared after them, but they stirred not a step. Perhaps they had some sympathy with Dogberry, and were not sorry to get rid of bad company at so little expence. For that matter, indeed, when the property which John and Thomas had abandoned in their flight came to be carried to account as firewood and old metal, there was a balance of some dollars in favour of the city chest. But so deeply were the Proconsuls, and Consuls, and Citizens, and indeed all the inhabitants, impressed with a sense of the danger which they had so narrowly escaped, that so long as any one of those senators lived (and it was more than forty years) no man, woman, or child, ever printed a book, or a bit of one, in the good city of Hamburgh; though none of them knew all the particulars which have just been laid before the reader, some of which have never, indeed, been divulged until this present occasion.

I have already said that I do not vouch for the truth of all things contained in this story, and I hope the reader does not think that I believe it all myself, or wish him to believe more of it than he likes. I merely give it as what *may* be true—that is, what cannot be contradicted on the authority of any of the common sources of bibliographical information. This must, I think, appear to every reflecting person very remarkable; and it will, perhaps, be hardly believed, unless I state the case more plainly and technically.

If the reader will turn to Panzer's "*Annales Typographici*,"\* he will find what that writer has to say of printing in Hamburgh during the fifteenth century. It is all comprised in a notice of one single book, entitled, "*Laudes beate Marie virginis*," said, in its colophon, to have been printed (if not with all the circumstances here stated) by the persons, and at the time, specified in this Story of Hamburgh. Panzer states that it was the first book, and the only one, printed there before the year 1500. In

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\* Vol. I. p. 453.

accordance with this, Santander tells us that this book, "est la seule impression faite dans la ville anséatique d' Hamburg, avant l'an 1500, et par conséquent Joh. et Thomas Borchard sont les seuls imprimeurs de cette ville."\* Dr. Falkenstein, in his history of early printing, published so recently as 1840, has nothing to offer against these statements, and acknowledges that the ancient city of Hamburg, so celebrated in the history of German commerce, can boast of only one book printed in the fifteenth century.†

One book, and only one book, and that by printers who are not known to have printed any other book, there or elsewhere, before or after. Surely this is very singular. Dr. Falkenstein gives us a list of 176 places in which printing had been carried on before this year 1491, and it is strange enough that Hamburg should not be among them. But it is incomparably more strange that, when the art had penetrated that city in the year 1491—when a press had been set up and had produced one book—it should have disappeared and remained unheard of for forty-five years. And not only did the newly-arrived art disappear, but the artists also vanished, not from Hamburg only, but from all human ken. The migrations of early printers are notorious, and nobody would have been surprised to learn that John and Thomas Brocard had been next heard of at the far end of Christendom; but I am not aware that their names are to be found connected with any other time, or place, or book, than that single one which they are said to have printed at Hamburg in 1491, or that there is anything else in the world to attest that such persons ever existed.

Now when we consider how easy it was for any one of the printers who really were hard at work in other places, to put a false name in a book—how very possible it is that some one of them may have been led, by some reason or some caprice which we cannot fully understand, to do in this case what we know to have been done in so many others—shall we not be led to suspect that the book of "Laudes" bearing the date of 1491 was not really a native of the city of Hamburg? Especially because, though I have more particularly insisted on the fact that no book is known to have been printed therefore before that time, we must also bear in mind that there is no proof, so

\* "Essai historique sur l'origine de l'imprimerie, ainsi que sur l'histoire de son établissement dans les villes, bourgs, monastères et autres endroits de l'Europe."—p. 433.

† Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in ihrer Entstehung und Ausbildung, &c. Ein Denkmal zur vierten Säkular-Feier der Typographie. p. 198. He says, "Die alte Hansestadt Hamburg, die in der Geschichte des deutschen Handels eine so ausgezeichnete Rolle spielt, hat nur ein einziges Druck aufzuweisen, welcher dem fünfzehnten Jahrhunderte angehört. Es ist 'Laudes,'" &c.



far as I know, of anything having been printed there for forty-five years after. I am fully aware, and I feel it right to state, that if any reader should do me the honour to look out my authorities, he may think that in this statement I exaggerate; but as it would not be to such an extent as would materially affect the argument, and as this essay has already run to so great a length, that my entering into proof on the subject would render it intolerable, I must beg him to have patience with me, and I hope to convince him that I am not misrepresenting the matter.

I am, &c.,

S. R. MAITLAND.

### ANCIENT CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS OF A CITY PARISH.

(Continued from page 404.)

This is the Accompt of Richard Kyng & John Baker, wardeyns of the Rentes & goodes belongyng vnto the Chirche of Seint Andrew Huberd beside Estchepe of london made from the last day of Aprill the ix<sup>th</sup> yere of the reigne of Kyng Edward the fourth vnto the last day of Aprill the xij<sup>th</sup> yere of the reigne of the said kyng. which is by iij hole yeres. [From April 30th, 1469, to April 30th, 1472.]

#### Receytes of Rent.

First, reseyued of John Okeley for the Rent of the tene-  
ment which he holdeth by this iij yere past at the feest  
of midsomer the said xij yere euery yere iij<sup>li</sup> vi<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.

Summa x<sup>li</sup>.

Summa pr.

#### Receytes for Pascall light.

Item, Receyued in money for iij pascalls by all the said  
tyme . . . . .

xxviij<sup>s</sup> j<sup>d</sup>

Summa pr.

#### Receytes for beme light.

Item, Receyued in money for beme light by all the said  
tyme . . . . .

v<sup>li</sup> v<sup>s</sup> x<sup>d</sup>

Summa pr.

#### Receytes for May money.

Item, receyued in May money . . . . .

v<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>

Summa pr.

Receytes of Margery Kene.

Item, resceyued of Margery Kene for iij yere euery yere ij <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	Summa	vi <sup>a</sup>
Summa pr.		

Summa of thise Receytis, xvij<sup>li</sup>. v<sup>s</sup>. iij<sup>d</sup>.

Receyt for Buryels & Knellys.

Item, resceyued of the wyf of Richard Bafford for the pyt and knell . . . . .	ix <sup>a</sup>
Item, resceyued of the pytt and knell of Arnold the Gascoyn . . . . .	x <sup>a</sup>
Item, resceyued of maistress Alhede for the pytt and knell of hir housbond . . . . .	xxxiiij <sup>s</sup> . iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, resceyued for ryngyng of the grete bell for our parson . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> . iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, resceyued of Vndrewode for burying & bell ryngyng for hys wyf . . . . .	x <sup>a</sup>
Item, resceyued of Rolf Smyth for ryngyng of the grete bell for his wyf . . . . .	iiij <sup>a</sup>
Item, resceyued of the said maistresse Allhede to the Chirche werkes . . . . .	vi <sup>a</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> .
Summa, iiij <sup>li</sup> . xv <sup>s</sup> . iiij <sup>d</sup> .	

Receytes for the wast of Torches and for other thynges.

Item, Receyued of Richard for leuyng of the Chaleys . . . . .	vij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, Receyued of Mundys for wast of the Chirche torches . . . . .	vij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, Receyued of Mawde Hanssinne for wast of ij pound save a quarteron . . . . .	xij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, resceyued of Thomas Wattes for a pound wast . . . . .	vj <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for wastyng of a Torche for Jenot the Gascoyne . . . . .	vi <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for Peyntyng of Seint Andrewe of Richard Bafford wyf . . . . .	xx <sup>d</sup> .
Item, resceyued for Tyle . . . . .	ijj <sup>a</sup> . vi <sup>d</sup> .
Item, resceyued of Rychemond for the wast of ij torches . . . . .	xij <sup>d</sup> .
Summa, ix <sup>a</sup> . v <sup>d</sup> .	

Receytes for the Chambre ouer the Vestry.

Item, receyued for the Chambre ouer the vestry for half a yere of Sir Richard Sefton preest past at midsomer A <sup>o</sup> xij <sup>o</sup> . . . . .	ij <sup>a</sup> . v <sup>d</sup> .
Summa pr.	

Summa totalis receyued xxj<sup>li</sup>. xij<sup>s</sup>. v<sup>d</sup>.

## Paymentes made by all the tyme of the Accompt.

First payed to Richard Kyng all that that is to hym owyng as appereth in the fote of the last accompt.	xxxj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payed to Sir Richard for his salary . . . . .	xxx <sup>s</sup> .
Item, payed for makyng of the Funte . . . . .	xi <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payed to Thomas Crowcher for amending of ij lokkys [locks] to the Chirche dores . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for a Rope to the Cloke . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for a Clapre to the secunde bell . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> x <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for scowryng of Candelstikkes . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for the Organ player in Christmasse weke . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for amending of a surpleys . . . . .	xv <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for makyng clene of the Candilstikkes of the Chirche . . . . .	ix <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for amending of the pentyse at the Chirche dore . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> xi <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for setting on of an hoke . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, payed to Thomas More for poleys nailys and Rollys with other amending of whelys . . . . .	xx <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for a Rope to the Clokk for the grete peyse pris . . . . .	vi <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for amending of a lok to a Chest . . . . .	j <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for an hoke to the pentys . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for amending of the Clok . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for dressyng of a Candelstik to the Resurreccion . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, to Richard Rolf for amending of a Claper . . . . .	vi <sup>s</sup> .
Item, payed to Thomas Crowcher for amending of a Claper and a spryng and other gere for the Clok . . . . .	vij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for scowryng of Candelstikkes . . . . .	vij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for a staff to the Crosse . . . . .	v <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for ij bawdrykkys for ij bellys . . . . .	xiiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, payed for a litell bell Rope for the Sanctus bell . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for a Rope to the Almesse bell . . . . .	v <sup>s</sup> .
Item, the pascall for ij yere . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to Robert luters wyf for coloryng of a Sirples . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, to Reygaytes wyf for coloryng of a nother surpleys . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, payed for wex of the Bemelight . . . . .	xv <sup>s</sup> vi <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payed for makyng of the Bemelight . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> vi <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payed for Richardes pytte . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, payed to Granger for ij lode lyme and v sakkys for the Chirche and for Okeleyes hows . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> x <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payed to the mason for pauyng of the pytt for Arnold the Gascoyn . . . . .	vj <sup>s</sup> .
Item, payed to John Clerk for Rychard Baffordys pytt makyng. . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, payed for Corpus Christi day for flaggs & garlondys . . . . .	vij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, payed for Amending of the Awbys in the Chirche . . . . .	vij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, payed to the Rakeyr for beryng away of the dust . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for leying of a stone vpon Vndrewodys wyf . . . . .	vij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, for makyng of ij new whelys . . . . .	x <sup>s</sup> .
Item, payed to Symond Turnour for peyntyng of the dyall . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> .

Item, payed for Reperacion of the hows about the Clok for naills bords & werkmanshipp . . . .	vij <sup>s</sup> ix <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for scowryng of laton gere in the Chirche . .	xiiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for makyng of the Clok . . . .	v <sup>s</sup> .
Item, payed for a Rope . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payed to Sir Nicholl for j quarter . . . .	xij <sup>s</sup> iij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to geffrey Raker . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payed to Thomas Wattys for Cole and Candell by the said tyme for the chirche. . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payed for wasshyng of the Chirche gere by x quarters of this Accompt that is to sey the first quarter vij <sup>d</sup> . the secunde quarter viij <sup>d</sup> . the thridde quarter viij <sup>d</sup> . the iiijth quarter vij <sup>d</sup> . & every quarter than next after by all the said x quarters vij <sup>d</sup> . . . . Summa	vi <sup>s</sup> vij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for scowryng for the gere of the Chirche at Ester the xijth yere . . . .	xiiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for an Organ pleyer . . . .	xj <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for a key to the Chirche dore . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to Crowcher for amending of the Claper of the grete bell . . . .	vj <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for makyng of the pascall the said xijth yere . .	ij <sup>s</sup> vi <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for laumpe oyle by all this tyme . . . .	xij <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payed to Mundus for Candyll this our tyme . .	ij <sup>s</sup> ix <sup>d</sup> .

Summa of these paymentes, ix<sup>s</sup> vij<sup>s</sup> ij<sup>d</sup>.

Paymentes of Quyte Rent And Kepyng of the Obyte of Julyan  
Fairhede.

Item, payed for quyte Rent goying out of Okeleyes hows for every yere this iij yere at vij <sup>s</sup> the yere . . . . Summa	xxiiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, payed for the Obyte of Julyan Fairhede every yere this iij yere that is to sey the first yere ix <sup>s</sup> j <sup>d</sup> . the second yere ix <sup>s</sup> vij <sup>d</sup> . the thridde yere ix <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup> . . . . Summa	xxvij <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup> .
Summa, ij <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup> .	

Reperacions in Okeleyes hows.

First, for Amendyng of A wall in John Okeleyes hows . .	xvj <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for amendyng of A gutter in the same hows . .	vj <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for amendyng of the Gable ende in the Garet and nailys to the same hows . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for makyng of an hoke to the dore in the Seler by the Strete side . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for Tyle to the same hows . . . .	v <sup>s</sup> vi <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for sond . . . .	vi <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for a Tyler and his man for v dayes . . . .	v <sup>s</sup> v <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for amending of A gutter in the Garet of the said hows, and for sowdre . . . .	xv <sup>d</sup> .

Item, payed to Mott Carpenter for borde nayll and for A  
 new wyndowe and amending of the old wyndows to  
 the shopp of the same hows . . . . . xiiij<sup>d</sup>  
 Item, Allowed to the said Okeley at the resceyt of his  
 Rent by ij tymes either tyme ij<sup>d</sup>. . . . . iij<sup>d</sup>  
 Item, payed for the engrosyng of this Accompt . . . . . xvj<sup>d</sup>  
 Summa, xxx<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>.

Summa totalis payed, xiiij<sup>l</sup>. x<sup>s</sup>.

And so remayneth clerely in the box viij<sup>l</sup>. xi<sup>s</sup>. vij<sup>d</sup>. in redy money.

And ouer this Nicholas Okerford oweth for the hire of the  
 Chambre ouer the vestry . . . . . iij<sup>s</sup>. iij<sup>d</sup>.

This is thaccompt of Symond Tapycer and John Halle wardeyns of  
 the Rentes & goodes belongyng vnto the Chirche of Seint Andrew  
 beside Estchepe of london made from the last day of the moneth  
 of Aprill the xij<sup>th</sup> yere of the reigne of Kyng Edward the fourth  
 vnto the last day of the moneth of Aprill the xiiij<sup>th</sup>. yere of the  
 reigne of Kyng Edward aforesaid which is by ij hole yeres.  
 [From April 30th, 1472, to April 30th, 1474.]

Receytes in the Chirche box.

First, Receyued in redy money . . . . . viij<sup>l</sup>. xi<sup>s</sup>. vij<sup>d</sup>  
 Item, receyued Nicholas Okerford in dettour . . . . . iij<sup>s</sup>. iij<sup>d</sup>  
 Summa in dettour & money viij<sup>l</sup>. xiiij<sup>s</sup>. xj<sup>d</sup>.

Receytes of Rent of Okeleys hows.

First, resceyued for the said hous that is to sey of the said  
 Okeley for mighelmesse quarter the said xij yere  
 xvi<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. and for voyde termes that is to sey for the  
 termes of Christmasse the same xij yere & Ester the  
 xij yere of the said kyng nil. And of the leve called  
 the late wyf of Gerard Morcys for the termes of mid-  
 somer & Mighelmesse the same xij yere nil for hit  
 was geven & perdoned hir for the Costs the said Gerard  
 did in the said hows and of the newe husbond of the  
 same late wyf of Gerard called Chestre Herold for  
 Cristmasse quarter the same xij yere xvi<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>. and  
 for Ester quarter the xiiij yere of the said kyng in  
 pertie of payement of that Ester quarter x<sup>s</sup>. Summa  
 totalis resceyued for the said hows in our tyme . . . . . xliij<sup>s</sup>. iij<sup>d</sup>.

Receytes of Pascall light.

Item, resceyued in money for ij pascalls this ij yere that  
 is to sey the first yere x<sup>s</sup>. vij<sup>d</sup>.: And the secunde yere  
 x<sup>s</sup>. vj<sup>d</sup>. . . . . Summa . . . . . xxi<sup>s</sup>. j<sup>d</sup>.

Receytes for bemelyght.

Item, resceyued in money for bemelicht this ij yere . . . . . iij<sup>li</sup> v<sup>s</sup> x<sup>d</sup>.

Receytes of Margarete Kene.

Item, resceyued of the same Margarete Kene for hir ston-  
dyng this ij yere at ij<sup>s</sup> the yere . . . . . Summa . . . . . iij<sup>s</sup>.

Item, for an old gown that was geuen to the chirche by vs  
sold . . . . . iij<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup>.

Receytes for Buryels and Ryngyng of Knellys.

First, resceyued of the Waserer for ryngyng of the grete  
bell for his wyf . . . . . iij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>.

Item, for brekyng of the grounde in the Chirche for  
Gerard . . . . . vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.

Item, for the knell for John Hallys wyf . . . . . iij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>.

Item, of Nicholas Okerforn for his wyfes knell & pyt . . . . . ix<sup>s</sup>.

Item, for old lede that was solde . . . . . viij<sup>s</sup>.

Item, for a quartern of borde . . . . . ix<sup>d</sup>.

Summa, xxxj<sup>s</sup> i<sup>d</sup>.

Summa totalis receyued, xvij<sup>li</sup> ij<sup>s</sup> ix<sup>d</sup>.

Paymentis by all the tyme of this Accompt.

First, paid to Sir George at our lady day the Assumpcion  
the xij yere of the Reigne of kyng Edward the fourth  
for his salary for an hole yere . . . . . vii<sup>li</sup> xij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>.

Summa pr.

Paymentes for the Chirch.

Item, payed to the Raker for half a yere . . . . . iij<sup>li</sup>.

Item, for a poste vnto the Chirche Wall . . . . . ij<sup>s</sup>.

Item, payed to the Mason . . . . . viij<sup>d</sup>.

Item, payed for ij sakkys of lyme . . . . . iij<sup>li</sup>.

Item, for stapilles and haspys . . . . . iij<sup>s</sup>.

Item, payed for mendyng of an Antysonar . . . . . xij<sup>d</sup>.

Item, payed vnto the lauandre for midsomre quarter . . . . . viij<sup>d</sup>.

Item, payed for amending of A nawbe [an alb] to the  
Circh . . . . . j<sup>d</sup>.

Item, for threde . . . . . ob.

Item, payd to the lavendir for Cristmase quarter . . . . . viij<sup>d</sup>.

Item, payd for the obyte of William Feyrer and Jelyan  
his wyf . . . . . ix<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>.

Item, payed vnto the Plommer for sowdyng of the Chirch  
Goter . . . . . ij<sup>s</sup>.

Item, payed to the Raker for a quarter . . . . . ij<sup>d</sup>.

Item, for mendyng of surplyses . . . . . x<sup>d</sup>.

Item, for a Rope for the grete payse to the Clok . . . . . xx<sup>d</sup>.

Item, in Costes for brede and ale . . . . .	iiij <sup>l</sup>
Item, payed for nayles . . . . .	ob.
Item, paied for amending of the Canapee . . . . .	xij <sup>l</sup>
Item, for a Carpenter half a day . . . . .	iiij <sup>l</sup>
Item, for a planke an nayles to the Chirch durre . . . . .	v <sup>l</sup>
Item, for a pece of tymbre to the same . . . . .	j <sup>l</sup>
Item, for makyng of the grete peyse and sowdyr . . . . .	ix <sup>l</sup>
Item, for half an ell of Cloth . . . . .	iiij <sup>l</sup>
Item, to the Canell Raker . . . . .	ij <sup>l</sup>
Item, for a Rope to the grete belle . . . . .	ix <sup>l</sup> ob.
Item, payed for mending of ij Clapers . . . . .	ij <sup>l</sup>
Item, for quarters of tymbre . . . . .	xiiij <sup>l</sup>
Item, payed for nayles . . . . .	xj <sup>l</sup>
Item, for makyng of a pytt . . . . .	x <sup>l</sup> ob.
Item, payed to the Carpenter for vi dayes . . . . .	iiij <sup>l</sup>
Item, payed for the Clocke . . . . .	xiiij <sup>l</sup> iiij <sup>l</sup>
Item, for fetchyng of the Clok and beryng home . . . . .	iiij <sup>l</sup>
Item, to the lavendir for iiij quarters . . . . .	ij <sup>l</sup>
Item, for C. xvi fote planch borde . . . . .	ij <sup>l</sup>
Item, for C. di. xxix fote of quarter borde . . . . .	v <sup>l</sup> v <sup>l</sup>
Item, a bonde for a belle whele . . . . .	j <sup>l</sup>
Item, for henges and nayles . . . . .	xi <sup>l</sup>
Item, payed for tyling of the Chirche to the Tylar and his man for ij Dayes . . . . .	ij <sup>l</sup> ij <sup>l</sup>
Item, for ij C Tyle . . . . .	xvj <sup>l</sup>
Item, for iiij rose Tyles . . . . .	iiij <sup>l</sup>
Item, for Sande . . . . .	iiij <sup>l</sup>
Item, for ij <sup>lb</sup> . Sowder & di. . . . .	xv <sup>l</sup>
Item, for amending of the Sirplys Colars . . . . .	j <sup>l</sup>
Item, for Scowryng of the laten ware in the Chirche . . . . .	xvj <sup>l</sup>
Item, to the Raker for a quarter . . . . .	ij <sup>l</sup>
Item, for half an ell of Cloth to bynde with the Surplyse . . . . .	iiij <sup>l</sup> ob.
Item, for a Rope for the grete bell . . . . .	ix <sup>l</sup>
Item, to a mason for leying of the stone of Gerard . . . . .	v <sup>l</sup>

Summa aswele for the prest as for the paymentes aforseide  
ix<sup>lb</sup>. xvij<sup>l</sup>. i<sup>l</sup>. ob.

#### Reperacions for the stalle & hous belongyng to the Chirche.

First for Elmyrn borde . . . . .	vij <sup>l</sup> ob.
Item, for v peny nayle . . . . .	j <sup>l</sup>
Item, in iiij peny nayle . . . . .	j <sup>l</sup>
Item, for iiij quarters for the stalle . . . . .	v <sup>l</sup>
Item, a borde for the stalle . . . . .	j <sup>l</sup>
Item, for Di. C. iiij peny nayle . . . . .	ij <sup>l</sup>
Item, in v peny naylle . . . . .	j <sup>l</sup>
Item, to a Carpenter a day and an half . . . . .	xij <sup>l</sup>
Item, for a Tyler and his man ij dayes . . . . .	ij <sup>l</sup> ij <sup>l</sup>
Item, for ij C. Tyle . . . . .	xvj <sup>l</sup>
Item, for a C quarter borde and an halfe and half a quarter . . . . .	iiij <sup>l</sup> x <sup>l</sup> ob.

Item, for v quarters borde . . . . .	v <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for a C. of v peny nayle . . . . .	v <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for a C. of iij peny nayle . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for ij spykyngys . . . . .	ob.
Item, for Sande . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for iij sakkes of lyme . . . . .	vj <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for the Cariage of the Duste. . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for di. a C. of iij peny nayle . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup> . ob.
Item, for di. a C. of Rofe Nayle . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for di. C. of hertlath . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for Rofe nayle . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for latyse for the bay wyndows . . . . .	xij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for di. a C. of iij peny nayle . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup> . ob.
Item, for ij lb. sowdyr . . . . .	xij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, in v peny nayle . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup> .
Item, in etyng and drynkyng . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, an hoke for the Garet wyndow . . . . .	ob.
Item, a Carpenter ij dayes and di. . . . .	xx <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for the one part of the Indenture for the said hows . . . . .	vij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for ringyng of the waserer wyfes knell . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .

Summa, xvij<sup>s</sup>. ix<sup>d</sup>.

Mo paymentis for the Chirch.

Item, payed to an Orgau player . . . . .	xvj <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payed to the Chaundeler for the pascall & tene- brasse light . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> .
Item, payed for the obytte of William Fayrer and Julian his wyf . . . . .	ix <sup>s</sup> . v <sup>d</sup> . ob.
Item, payed for the Pavyar . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> . x <sup>d</sup> .
Item, ryngyng for the knell for hallys wyf . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for Girdiles to the Chirch . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paied to the Raker for a quarter . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paied to Rolf Smyth for iij spykyngys . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for mending of a bolt to the Chirch durre . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for nailes to the same durre . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for ij stroppes of Iren for the Clocke . . . . .	x <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for a key to the Vestry durre . . . . .	vij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for a key to the store hous in the Chirch yerde . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for Cuppes for feyrers terment . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for kuttyng of the vyne in the Chirch yerde . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for Garnyschyng of the Crosse baner . . . . .	ii <sup>s</sup> . vj <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paied to the Raker . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for kuttyng of the tree . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to the lavendre . . . . .	vij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for ij peynted Clothes to the high Auter . . . . .	vj <sup>s</sup> . vij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, to the plommer for ij lb. souder . . . . .	xij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, in fyre and ale . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for making clene of the Goter . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup> .



Item, for mending of the Clocke and water to the font .	ij <sup>d</sup>
Item, for flagges and Garlondes & pakthrede on Corpus Christi Day . . . . .	v <sup>d</sup>
Item, for ale to the Carpenter that made the Crosse .	j <sup>d</sup>
Item, for a Claspe and a bolte for the litel bell whele .	ij <sup>d</sup>
Item, for a new whele to the same bell . . . . .	ii <sup>d</sup> v <sup>d</sup>
Item, for hangyng and trussyng of the bellis in the stepil	iiij <sup>d</sup>
Item, for Chaungyng of a nobil that was broken for the Chirch hows . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup>
Item, paied in the Receyt of the Chirch hous rent. . . . .	j <sup>d</sup>
Item, paied for xxxviij fote tymbre to the Crosse . . . . .	vi <sup>d</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Item, for xi daies werk of a Carpenter . . . . .	vij <sup>d</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Item, for viij. daies werk of the kerver . . . . .	v <sup>d</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Item, paied to the peyntour . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup>
Item, paied to the plumber for the ledyng of the Crosse	ij <sup>d</sup> v <sup>d</sup>
Item, paied to Munde for iiij dosein Candell for the Chirch . . . . .	v <sup>d</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Item, paied to Champeney for lampe oyle for the Chirch	xiiij <sup>d</sup> ij <sup>d</sup>
Item, for leying of a stone for Okerfordes wif . . . . .	xij <sup>d</sup>
Item, for a sak lyme . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup>
Item, for the Pascall . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup>
Item, for a Crosse of Iren . . . . .	xvj <sup>d</sup>
Item, paied for a lode of lombe . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup>
Item, for an henge . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup>
Item, for nayles . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> ob.
Item, for engrosyng & makyng of this Accompt . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup>

Summa, iiij<sup>l</sup> xiiij<sup>s</sup> ij<sup>d</sup>

#### Quyte Rent.

Item, paied for quyte rent goyng oute of the Chirche hous for this ij yere euery yere viij <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	Summa xvj <sup>d</sup>
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#### Summa pr.

#### Allowaunces.

Paied. Item the said Accountantes Ax to be allowed of that they stond afore charged not yet resceyued of Nicholas Okerford . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
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Summa totalis of All maner of Payementes and allowaunces  
xvj<sup>l</sup> ix<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> ob.

#### Dettours the tyme of this Accompt.

Payed. First, the said Chestre Herald for the residue of his rent yet beyng behynd of a quarter Rent at Ester the xiiij yere of the reigne of the said kyng	vi <sup>d</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Item, the same Chestre for midsomre quarter the same xiiij yere . . . . .	xvi <sup>d</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Payed. Item, John Briggess oweth for Sir George . . . . .	v <sup>d</sup>
Payed. Item, Richard Kyng oweth . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup>

And so remayneth clerely in the box, xxx<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> ob.

This is thaccompt of John Brugges & Nicholas Okerford wardeins of the Rentes and goodes belongyng to the Chirch of Seint Andrewe Huberd besyde Estchepe of london made from the last day of the moneth of Aprill The xiiij yere of the reigne of kyng Edward the fourth vnto the last day of the moneth of Aprill the xvi yere of the Reigne of kyng Edward the fourth which is by ij hole yeres. [From April 30th, 1474, to April 30th, 1476.]

Receytes in the Chirch Box.

First, resceyued in the Box as appereth in the fote of the last Accompt . . . . . xxx<sup>s</sup> v<sup>d</sup>.

Summa pr.

Receytes of the Chirch hous.

Item, resceined of Chestre Herald for the Rent of the Chirche hous for a quarter of A yere endyng at Midsomre A<sup>o</sup> xiiij<sup>o</sup> as appereth in the fote of the last Accompt xvi<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>. Item, resceyued of the same Chestre for recompense of his termes which he had to com in the seid Tenement xx<sup>s</sup>. Item, resceyued for the Rent of the seid Tenement for A yere & di from the seid fest of Midsomre A<sup>o</sup> xiiij<sup>o</sup> vnto the fest of Cristemasse A<sup>o</sup> xv<sup>o</sup> nil. Item, resceyued for the Rent of the same Tenement for half a yere from the seid fest of Cristmasse A<sup>o</sup> xv<sup>o</sup> vnto the fest of Midsomre A<sup>o</sup> xvj<sup>o</sup> of John Mante Bowyer xxvi<sup>s</sup> viij. . . . Summa ijij<sup>l</sup> ijij<sup>s</sup> iijij<sup>d</sup>.

Summa pr.

Receytes of Pascall light.

Item, resceyued in money for ij pascals this ij yere xviiij<sup>s</sup> vij<sup>d</sup> qua.

Receytes for bemelight.

Item, resceyued in money for bemelight for this yere ijij<sup>l</sup> xiiij<sup>s</sup> ix<sup>d</sup> ob.

Summa pr.

Receytes of buryels and knellys.

Item, resceyued of William Graunger for the burying of his fader in the Chirch. and for the knell . . . . . x<sup>s</sup>  
Item, resceyued of the wyf of Richard Kyng for the burying of hir husbond in the Chirch and for his knell . . . . . x<sup>s</sup>

Summa, xx<sup>s</sup>.

Mo Receytes.

Item, resceyued of Margaret Kene for hir stondyng atte Chirch Dore for a hole yere . . . . . ij<sup>s</sup>

Item, resceyued of the same Margarete for hir seid stond- yng for an hole yere . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup>
Item, resceyued in gaderyng of May money for the Chirch	ix <sup>s</sup> i <sup>d</sup> ob.
Item, resceyued for ij empty pypes that wer left in the Chirche hous . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup>
Item, resceyued for the clerkes wages for iij quarters of A yere endyng at the feest of Ester A <sup>o</sup> xvi <sup>o</sup> . . . . .	xxxij <sup>s</sup> iij <sup>d</sup>
Item, resceyued for the hire of v torches . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup>

Summa of thise Receytes, xlvij<sup>s</sup> v<sup>d</sup> ob.

Summa totalis resceyued, xij<sup>l</sup> xiiij<sup>s</sup> vij<sup>d</sup> qua.

Paymentes made by all the tyme of this Accompt.

First paid for quyterent oute of the Chirch hous for ij yere either yere viij <sup>s</sup> . . . . . Summa	xvi <sup>s</sup>
Item, payed for Ryngyng of Graungers knell & for leying of the stone vpon his grave ageyn . . . . .	vij <sup>d</sup>
Item, paid for Ryngyng of Richard Kynges knell and for leying of the stone vpon his grave ageyn . . . . .	vij <sup>d</sup>
Item, payed for a quarteron of wex for the bemelight . . . . .	xij <sup>s</sup> vi <sup>d</sup>
Item, payed to John Kene for makyng of the seid beme- light . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> ix <sup>d</sup>
Item, payed for makyng clene of laton ware in the Chirch for ij yere . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup> iij <sup>d</sup>
Item, paid for a bauderyk for the grete bell . . . . .	xij <sup>d</sup>
Item, paid for makyng of a new benche in A pew in the Chirch . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup>
Item, for mendyng of a Claper for a bell . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup>
Item, paid for mendyng of the Clokk . . . . .	xij <sup>d</sup>
Item, paid for ij new bell Ropes one for the grete bell an other for the litell bell . . . . .	xx <sup>s</sup>
Item, paid for byndyng and coueryng of v bokes that is for to sey ij Massebokes ij Antifoners and a procession- ary and for Claspes to them . . . . .	xxxvij <sup>s</sup> iij <sup>d</sup>
Item, paid for mendyng of the Vestementes for silke riband and for werkmanshipp . . . . .	xix <sup>s</sup> vij <sup>d</sup> ob.
Item, paid to Brownynge wyf for wasshyng of the Chirchgere for ij yere at midsomere A <sup>o</sup> xvj <sup>o</sup> . . . . .	v <sup>s</sup> iij <sup>d</sup>
Item, paid for hauyng oute of Dust of the Chirch at diuerse tymes and for makyng clene about the Chirch . . . . .	x <sup>s</sup> ob.
Item, paid for Coles for watchyng of the sepulcre for ij yere . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup>
Item, paid to Prestis and Clerkes syngers beyng in the Chirch ij Chirch halydayes . . . . .	ij <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup>
Item, paid for sowyng and amendyng of aubes & sur- plises . . . . .	xij <sup>d</sup>
Item, paid for makyng clene of the table at the high Auler . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup>
Item, paid for makyng and writyng of ij newe Inven- taries of the Chirche goodes . . . . .	iiij <sup>s</sup>

Item, for makyng of an obligacion with a condicion for the clerkes suertee . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payed for flagges & garlondes on Corpus Christi dayes for ij yere . . . . .	xiiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payed for threde for to sowe on the Fanons vpon the Aubes . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid for makyng and wast of the Pascall for ij yere . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> . j <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid for tenebre Candelles for ij yere . . . . .	xxij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid to John Kene for mendyng of torches that were broken . . . . .	xv <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payed for xxvj lb. of Talowe Candell . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> . vij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for iij lb of watchyng Candell . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> . ob.
Item, paid for peyntyng of banerstaves for the ij stremers . . . . .	vij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid for a pole to be a banerstaf for one of the same stremers . . . . .	vj <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid for Spykynges and nayles for hangyng of the bellys . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payed for ij new holow keyes for the Chirch Dore . . . . .	xij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid for bromes and for water to the font . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payed for lamp oyle for the lamp for v galons & a quarte . . . . .	v <sup>d</sup> . iij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payed for a new Crosse of Coper and gilt . . . . .	xx <sup>d</sup> .
Item, payed to the Clerk for his wages for iij quarters of a yere that is to sey for the termes of Mighelmasse Cristemasse and Ester last passed . . . . .	xxx <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid in Costes for holdyng of the Obite of William Fayrehede and Julyan his wyf for ij yere . . . . .	xvij <sup>d</sup> . x <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid for the engrosyng and makyng of this Accompt . . . . .	xvj <sup>d</sup> .

Summa of thise paymentes, x<sup>li</sup>. xj<sup>d</sup>. ob.

Reperacions for the hous belongyng to the Chirch.

Item, paid to a Dawber for hym and his man for a dayes labour for mendyng of walles & flores in the Chirche hous . . . . .	xiiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid for a lode of lombe . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid for lyme sonde latthes and for sprigge Nayle . . . . .	vj <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid for amending of a benche in the halle for quarters nayle and for werkmanshyp . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> . vj <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid to Rolf Smyth for makyng of newe keyes & for mendyng of lokkes in the same hous . . . . .	ij <sup>d</sup> . x <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid for Costes for goyng to Westmynster to speke with Chestre Harauld . . . . .	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
Item, paid for j lb. & di. of Sowdre for gotters in the saide hous . . . . .	ix <sup>d</sup> .
Item, for fagottes for to hete their Irens . . . . .	j <sup>d</sup> .

Summa of thise Reperacions, vij<sup>d</sup>. iiij<sup>d</sup>.

Summa totalis payed, x<sup>li</sup>. ix<sup>d</sup>. iij<sup>d</sup>. ob.

Rest clere in the box, xliiij<sup>d</sup>. iij<sup>d</sup>. ob. qua.

## ANTIQUITIES, ETC.

## ARCHBISHOP WARHAM'S VISITATION IN THE YEAR 1511.

*(Continued from page 421.)*

895. *Item.* It raineth into the said chancel.

[The fermour of the Rectory was ordered to repair the roof before St. John the Baptist's Day, under pain of excommunication.]

896. *Item.* William Sherewood withholdeth *iiii.d.* of Peter-pence, which is unpaid these *ix.* years.

[William Sherewood appeared, and said that he had come to an agreement with the Churchwardens, and they said the same.]

897. *Item.* The heirs of John Menfeld withhold *ii.d.* of Peter-pence by year.

[The Churchwardens stated that the heirs of John Menfeld had settled with the parishioners.]

898. *Item.* Thomas Mett, executor to John Menfeld, hath not fulfilled the will of the said John; for whereas a certain house and land should have been sold for *iii.* years past, and the money thereof coming to the use of the church.

[Thomas Mett, executor of John Menfeld, appeared, and stated that the house and land ordered to be disposed of by the will had been sold, and he had settled with the Churchwardens; and they confirmed it.]

899. *Item.* Lucia, servant with Maister Edmond Martyn, is great with child by William his servant, and so is departed.

[The Churchwardens stated that she had quitted the diocese, and was gone they knew not whither.]

900. *Item.* The Porteous and the Manuell there are broken and not sufficient to serve God on.

[The Commissary enjoined the Churchwardens either to repair them or provide new ones before Easter, under pain of excommunication.]

901. *Item.* William Tyler withdraweth of the church to the sum of *xl.s.* et ultra.

[He appeared, and acknowledged that he had some money in his hands belonging to the church; he did not know how much;

but not so much as was claimed. The Commissary enjoined him to account with the Churchwardens, and pay them what should appear to be due before the Feast of Pentecost, under pain of excommunication.]

902. *Item.* The parishioners oftentimes come late to the service on holidays.

[The Commissary enjoined the vicar of Graveney to admonish his parishioners to keep their church duly at times of divine service, and to be in the church at the beginning of the service, under pain of the law.]

#### ECCLESIA DE HARNEHILL *vel* HARNEHELL.

903. *Compertum est.* That the Maister of the College of Wye draweth to the house of one John Stephyn suspiciously.

[M. John Goodhewe, Master of the College of Wy, appeared, and the Commissary enjoined him not to frequent the house of John Stephen, and to avoid the company of his wife, except in public places, under pain of excommunication.]

904. *Item.* Henry Symonnys wife draweth to John Percyvall suspiciously.

[The Commissary enjoined Joan Symonds to avoid the company of John Percyvall in prohibited places, under pain of excommunication.]

#### ECCLESIA DE HARTEY.

905. *Compertum est.* That the curate lacketh a mansion-place that hath been there of old time.

[The Lady Matildis, Prioress of Davington, appeared, and stated that there was no mansion-place for the parish priest, and that, to the best of her belief, she was not bound to build one. The Commissary enjoined her to build, or otherwise provide, a house for him within two years after Michaelmas ensuing, under pain of sequestration, unless she should obtain a longer term from the Archbishop.]

906. *Item.* There is a part of the Churchyard is not closed, in the default of my Lady of Davington.

[She expressed her belief that she was not bound to do the repairs, but said, that if it could be proved that she was, she would do them. The Commissary enjoined the Churchwardens either to prove her liability or to do it themselves before St. John the Baptist's day, under pain of excommunication.]

## ECCLESIA DE BADELM.

907. *Compertum est.* Omnia bene.

[Of course no *acta*.]

ECCLESIA DE DODDYNGTON *vel* DODINGTON.

908. *Compertum est.* That the vicarage is almost down, and the vicar do lodge in the town suspiciously at alehouses.

[Sir John [blank] the vicar appeared. The Commissary enjoined him to repair his vicarage before the Michaelmas ensuing, under pain of sequestration. And also that he should reside in it, and not in suspect houses, under pain of the law.]

909. *Item.* That one Robert Bachiler withholdeth a certain bequest of one William Hynde of the sum of five marks, and will not pay it.

[Thomas Okenfold appeared as executor of Robert Bacheler, and confessed the debt. The Commissary enjoined him to pay it before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.]

910. *Item.* That the church walls are unrepaired in the default of the parishioners, and also the roof of the body of the church.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and the Commissary enjoined them to repair the body of the church sufficiently, both as to walls and as to the roof and otherwise before Michaelmas, under pain of excommunication.]

## ECCLESIA DE FEVERSHAM.

911. *Compertum est.* That Thomas Reed, Richard Lulle, Robert Lacy, and Robert Deve, late wardens of the said church, now dead, were in arrearage of ii.s. ii.d., the which John Venor and John Pollyn, executors of the testament of the said Richard Lulle, will not pay.

[John Venor and John Polyn, executors of Richard Lull of Feversham, appeared, and the Commissary enjoined them to pay the money before St. John the Baptist's day, under pain of excommunication.]

912. *Item.* There remaineth in the hands of the said Thomas Reed of the arrearage of Richard Bedill late warden of the said church as yet be not paid xx.s. the which Robert Withiot that married the said Thomas' wife executrix to the same will not pay it.

[Robert Wydeot appeared and denied the debt. The Commissary enjoined him to pay it before St. John the Baptist's day

or to prove the payment on the Tuesday after that day. On which day the executors of the will of the said Robert Wydeot appeared, and exhibited a receipt for the xx.s. and so the Commissary dismissed the matter.]

913. *Item.* That whereas Robert Deve now deceased, confessed and willed in his last will that the Church should have viii.s. Goodleve the wife and executrix to the said Robert will not pay it.

[Goodleve the widow of Robert Dove appeared and said that she had paid John Brode the churchwarden; and he confirmed it.]

914. *Item.* That John Pryston willed that a priest should sing for his soul in the parish church of Feversham halfayear, the which Jaffray Brech will not pay.

[Geoffrey Breche of the city of Canterbury appeared and confessed the legacy, but said it had been paid; and having been sworn the Commissary dismissed him.]

915. *Item.* That Edward Thomson willed that a priest should sing for him xx. years which is not found by the fault of Margaret Horne.

[Margaret Hoorn appeared and acknowledged the truth of the matter contained in the article; but said that the priest had fulfilled eighteen years. The Commissary enjoined her to provide a priest for the two remaining years, before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.]

916. *Item.* That the same Margaret withdraweth xl.l. of the bequest of her husband that willed xl.l. to be delivered to the church of certain lands if his ii. daughters died the which are both dead.

[The said Margaret acknowledged that the xl.l. left by the said Edward Thomasson to the church, remained in her hands. The Commissary enjoined her to pay it to the churchwardens by yearly instalments of x.l. for the reparation of the church until she should have paid the whole sum, under pain of excommunication.]

917. *Item.* That one Robert Withiot, John Sole, William Sparrow withhold from Roose Lacy certain lands that were one John Thomsonnys while he lived that had no issue of his body, and so is fallen to her by reason of next to the blood, where it availeth nothing to trouble for it, for they are the principal jurats of the said town.

[The Churchwardens stated that the business between Rose Lacy and Robert Whiteot, John Sole and William Sparrowe was pending at common law.]



918. *Item.* That there remaineth in the hands of Margaret Horne x.l. the which was spared of the buying of a suit of vestments of the bequest of Thomas Edward Thomassyn late her husband.

[The said Margaret Hoorn said that she had no such sum in her hands; for that she had expended the whole legacy of Edward Thomasson on the suit of vestments, as would appear by her account in that behalf.]

### **Decanatus de Sittynghborne bel Sydyngborn.**

PRIMO die mensis Octobris Anno Domini 1511. In Ecclesia de Sidynghborn Reverendissimus in Christo Pater . . . . . visitavit clerum et populum Decanatus de Sittynghborn sermone facto per Mag. Rowland Phelipp.

[Monitio generalis ut supra.]

*Sequuntur detecta et comperta in dicta  
Decanatu de Sittynghborn.*

### **ECCLESIA DE MILTON.**

919. *Compertum est.* That the executors of Emery Stonard that is to say Henry Stonard withdraweth certain lands bequeathed to the wife of the said Emery now being wife of Robert Joyx, not alonely that but keepeth her from me her husband and will not suffer her to come to me, and also manassith me so that I am aferd daily of my life.

[There does not appear to be any reference to this in the *acts* which begin with the next parish.]

### **ECCLESIA DE KYNGISDOWNE.**

920. *Compertum est.* That the Chancel is not repaired.

[M. William Kettilsden the Rector appeared and the Commissary enjoined him to repair the chancel sufficiently before the Feast of the Assumption under pain of sequestration.]

921. *Item.* That the parson is not resident.

[The said M. William Kettlesdon said that he resided on another benefice, namely Hedcronn.]

922. *Item.* That divine service is not duly kept as it should be for there is no service but once in a fortnight.

[The Churchwardens said that the Church was duly served.]

**ECCLESIA DE BAKCHILD vel BACCHILD.**

923. *Compertum est.* That the chancel is sore decayed for default of tiling the which is in default of the parson which is a canon of Chichester.

[The Vicar appeared as proctor of the Rector, and the Commissary enjoined him to repair the Chancel sufficiently before the feast of the Assumption, under pain of sequestration.]

924. *Item.* That the Vicar of Sittyngborne withholdeth from the church vi. marks at the bequest of Sir James Lyell vicar there.

[Sir Roger [blank] vicar of Sittingbourne appeared and denied that he withheld any such legacy. He said, however, that the administration of the goods of the said Sir James Lyell had been committed to him by the official, and that he had accounted before him for all such goods as had come to his hands.]

925. *Item.* That Maister Doctor Thabbot hath no masse nor any divine service in his chapel at Radfeld in the parish aforesaid and yet he receiveth xxx.s. by year for the same.

[Forasmuch as Master Talbot (*sic*) resides out of the diocese the Commissary remitted the matter to the Lord Archbishop.]

926. *Item.* That one Jeffrey ap John hath taken away certain goods of Sir Robert ap John and converteth them to his own use and so the debts of the dead man be it unpaid. [*sic.*]

[Jeffery ap John of Tong appeared, and denied that he had withdrawn any goods which had belonged to Sir Robert ap John late vicar of Tong or that he had in his possession any goods that had ever been his, except such as he had given him in his lifetime.]

927. *Item.* That the vicar of Sittyngborne hath taken many implements from the vicarage of Bakchild viz. a chain and a ropp, a table and ii. tressels belonging to the said vicarage of Bakchild.

[The said Vicar stated that the goods referred to were valued among the goods of the late vicar, and delivered to him, and valued in the inventory, and accounted for by him as before stated.]

**ECCLESIA DE HERTLEPE vel HARTLEYP.**

928. *Compertum est.* That John Adowne oweth to the painting of the Roodloft vi.l.

[John a Down confessed that he owed the Churchwardens the vi.l. and the Commissary ordered him to pay it before the Feast of the Assumption under pain of excommunication.]

929. *Item.* That William Godyn oweth to the said church viii. bushels of Barley.

[He appeared and the Commissary enjoined him to pay the barley before St. John the Baptist's day under pain of excommunication.]

930. *Item.* John Blaket is greatly suspected that he doeth fornication with Johane Polell.

[He appeared and denied the charge and for certain causes the Commissary adjourned the matter to the Thursday next after the Sunday *in albis*. On which day he appeared and on his making oath the Commissary dismissed him, admonishing him to avoid the company of the said Joan, except in public places, under pain of the law.]

931. *Item.* That the said John Adowe withdraweth from the church a cow and iii. mother ewes.

[John a Downe appeared and stated that he had settled with the Churchwardens.]

#### ECCLESIA DE LAYSDEN.

932. *Compertum est.* That the Chapels butting of every side the chancel are like to fall down for reparation.

[The Churchwardens appeared and were enjoined to repair before the Feast of the Assumption under pain of excommunication.]

933. *Item.* That certain Cattle is kept in divers men's hands for to keep a light withal, and the overplus resteth in the keeper's hands, and is converted to the use of the church. [*sic.*]

[The Churchwardens reported that all the defaulters had settled with them in presence of the parishioners.]

934. *Item.* That the churchyard is not sufficiently closed.

[The Churchwardens were enjoined to repair it before St. John the Baptists day, under pain of excommunication.]

#### ECCLESIA DE SITTYNGBORN *vel* SYDINGBORN.

935. *Compertum est.* That the churchyard walls are not repaired.

[The Churchwardens appeared and were enjoined to repair them before the Feast of the Assumption under pain of excommunication.]

936. *Item.* That Stephen Bole withdraweth xxiii.s. from the church for iii. graves and mending of the bells.

[They stated that Stephen Bulle had settled with the parish.]

937. *Item.* That John Wade of Canterbury withholdeth xl. sheep from the church, the which was executor to Thomas Bunse that had in his life the said sheep in keeping for the behoof of the said church, and fulfilleth not the dead's will, that willed a lamp to brenn in the said church yearly.

[He appeared and denied that he had ever had any such sheep; that he had administered the goods of Thomas Bunse and accounted for them all before the Official; and that he was not, nor could be proved to be, bound to maintain any such lamp. The Commissary enjoined the Churchwardens to prove on the Tuesday next after Ascension Day. On which day they did not appear and he dismissed John Wade.]

#### ECCLESIA DE BORDEN.

938. *Compertum est.* That Thomas Catelet oweth to the church of Borden iiiid.

[The Churchwardens appeared and stated that Thomas Catlot had paid them the money.]

939. *Item.* That Philip Mores beateth his wife very sore oftentimes, and keepeth other women.

[They stated that Philip Morys had left the parish and that they did not know where he was gone to.]

940. *Item.* That the said Philip withdraweth v. semes of Malt from the said church.

[They said that for the reason above stated the debt was desperate.]

#### ECCLESIA DE RODMERSHAM.

941. *Compertum est.* That William Mason of the parish of Bersted withholdeth an obit of v.s. bequeathed by William Peryn.

[The wife of William Mason appeared and alledged that this matter concerned the possession of lands and tenements. The Commissary remitted it to the Lord Archbishop.]

942. *Item.* That the churchyard lacketh closure.

[The Churchwardens appeared and were enjoined to repair before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.]

943. *Item.* That William Foxton bequeathed to pave the church-porch a certain legacy, the which Edlyn Foxton his executor withdraweth.

[Helen widow and executrix of William Foxton appeared and said that she was ready to repair the pavement of the church porch, but that she could not do it until the business of the church (opus ecclesie) should be finished. The Commissary enjoined her to do it as soon as it should become possible under pain of excommunication.]

CAPELLA DE QUENEBOROUGH *vel* QUYNBOROUGH IN PAROCH  
DE MYNSTER.

944. *Compertum est.* That my Lady of Sheppey receiveth the tithes there and she will not repair the chapel.

[The Lady Prioress of Mynster in Sheppey appeared by M. William Mody her proctor, who stated that in his belief she was not bound to repair the chancel but that if she could be shown to be bound she would do it. The Commissary enjoined the parishioners to prove on the Tuesday next after the Sunday *in albis*. On which day they did not appear, and he dismissed the Prioress.]

945. *Item.* That there is a house that is supposed to be for a chauntry priest the which is in decay.

[The Churchwardens appeared and said that this *compertum* was not of their finding, and that they knew of no such house.]

946. *Item.* That one John Brett withholdeth *x.s.* from the chapel, which was given by one Peter Smyth of Sityngborn.

[The Churchwardens stated that he had settled with them for the legacy of Peter Smythe of Sydingborn.]

947. *Item.* That William Clerk, now of Sittyngborn, withholdeth *xl.s.* of the chapel light afore the Sepulchre.

[They stated that he had engaged to pay it.]

ECCLESIA DE MYNSTER IN SHEPPEY.

948. *Compertum est.* That Thomas Power bequeathed to the church *xxxi.s. x.d.*, the which Thomas Jacob the elder doeth withdraw.

[He appeared and acknowledged that he had the money, and said he was ready to deliver it. The Commissary enjoined him to pay it to the Churchwardens before Ascension day, under pain of excommunication.]

949. *Item.* Margaret Kingisdon, executrix to Henry Randall, her husband, which Henry was executor to William Randall, his father, oweth a bequest of her husband's father of xlvii.s. viii.d. to the steeple there.

[Margaret Kingesdoun appeared, and stated that she did not know whether her late husband has paid the money towards the steeple or not; but that if they would allow her sufficient time, she would pay it. The Commissary enjoined the said Margaret and the Churchwardens to communicate with the parish on the subject, and certify on the Tuesday after Ascension day. On which day the Churchwardens appeared, and certified that she had paid.]

950. *Item.* That John Estlond oweth a bequest of Margery Gibbis for the buying of a cope of blue velvet, vi.l.

[John Estland of Estchurche, executor of Margaret Gybbys, appeared, and the Commissary enjoined him to pay the legacy to the Churchwardens before Christmas, under pain of excommunication.]

951. *Item.* That Robert Ippyngbury withholdeth of the church goods xliii.s.

[The Churchwardens stated that Robert Ippingbury had paid them the money in the presence of the parishioners.]

952. *Item.* That William Rich withholdeth ii. ewes, and the farm of them from the said church by the space of iiij. years, and for the farm of the said ii. ewes ii.s.

[They stated that he had died in such poverty that they did not know whom to apply to, or how to get anything.]

953. *Item.* That Alisander Peter, executor to John Kingesdone, withholdeth ii.d. a year of the church rent, and hath withhold it v. years, x.d.

[Alexander Pettar appeared and acknowledged. The Commissary enjoined him to pay before St. John the Baptist's day, under pain of excommunication.]

954. *Item.* It is desired that where of long time ago, in the said chapel, a knight and his wife buried and their pictures upon them very sore worn and broken, that they may take away the pictures, and lay in the place a plain stone with an epitaphy who is there buried, that the people may make setts and pewys where they may more quietly serve God, and that it may less cumber the rowme.

[The Commissary admonished the Churchwardens and parishioners to present themselves before the Lord Archbishop, and to implore his paternity for help in this matter.]

955. *Item.* There is a lime kiln in the said churchyard, the which is noyfull to them and keepeth it unclean.

[The Churchwardens were enjoined to have it removed before the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, under pain of excommunication.]

ECCLESIA DE MILSTEDE *vel* MYLSTEDE.

956. *Compertum est.* That the chancel of the said church is not repaired, but is decayed for amending of the glass windows, in the default of Sir Thomas Pierson, parson.

[Sir John Wullaston, Curate, appeared in the name of the Rector. The Commissary enjoined him to admonish the Rector duly to repair the chancel, both in glazing and otherwise, before the Feast of the Assumption under pain of sequestration.]

957. *Item.* That the church walls are sore decayed, and had need of reparation, in the default of the whole parish.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and the Commissary ordered them to repair sufficiently before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.]

ECCLESIA DE WECHLYNG *vel* WICHELYNG.

958. *Compertum est.* That the parson should find two tapers of the high altar.

[The Rector of Wychelyng appeared, and acknowledged that he was bound, and stated that he now did it.]

959. *Item.* That he leaveth his cure oftentimes unserved and goeth to another.

[He denied that he had left that cure unserved or gone to any other.]

960. *Item.* The parsonage is in decay.

[He denied it.]

961. *Item.* The parson doth not repair for cieling of the high altar.

[He said that it had been duly repaired.]

962. *Item.* Robert Trussel is evil disposed towards the church, and withdraweth viii.d. by year of a pasture called le Forstall, the which he hath withdrawn by the space of viii. years.

[He appeared, and denied the claim. He said that James Diggs, gent., was possessor, and that the said James was not

bound to pay. The Commissary enjoined the Churchwardens and some of the parishioners to prove the claim on the 22nd of April next. On which day the Churchwardens appeared, and produced Richard Hemman, Thomas Parker, Alan Hemman, Robert Parker, John at Lee, Elisha Parker, and John Harman, as witness whom the judge admitted and caused to be sworn. On whose evidence the Commissary enjoined the said Robert in the name of the said James Diggs to pay the said sum to the Churchwardens before Corpus Christi day, or else to appear before the Lord Archbishop within xiii days after the said feast.]

963. *Item.* The said Robert withdraweth certain tithes due to the church of his kine and sheep.

[The Commissary enjoined Robert Tassel to pay iii.s. iv.d. which he confessed that he owed to the Rector, for tithes before Ascension day, under pain of excommunication.]

964. *Item.* The said Robert and Robert Parker, churchwardens, hath made none account of the goods of the church by the space of v. years, being churchwardens.

[The Commissary enjoined Robert Tassel and Robert Parker to give an account of their receipts and expenses for the time that they had been in office on the Tuesday after the Sunday *in albis*, under pain of excommunication. On which day the said Robert Tassel and Robert Parker exhibited their account before the new churchwardens and parishioners and the Commissary dismissed them.]

965. *M.* That dictus Thomas Trussel habeat in mandat. ad comparend. coram Dno. xv. die mensis Octobr. apud Lamhith ad dicend. caus. quare non debet excommunicari eo quod subtrahit bona ecclesie &c. Quo die Dnus. continuavit comparicionem ejudem Roberti usque ad xxi. diem ejusdem mensis Octobris.

966. *Item.* That Cecily the wife of William Hoydon withdraweth to the church by her husband [*sic.*]

[The Churchwardens said that Cicely wife of William Heydon was not living in the parish, nor was the detection of their making for they knew no such woman.]

#### ECCLESIA DE HALSTOWE vel HALGHSTO.

967. *Compertum est.* That the Vicar is on sea and hath left us desolate of all divine service.

[The Vicar appeared, and said that he had been in parts beyond sea with Master Edward Poynyngs Knt., but that he did not leave his cure unserved.]



968. *Item.* That the vicarage is sore in decay and unrepaired.

[The Commissary enjoined the said vicar duly to repair his vicarage before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of sequestration.]

#### ECCLESIA DE TUNSTALL.

969. *Compertum est.* Omnia bene.

[Of course no *acta*.]

#### ECCLESIA DE MORSTONE.

970. *Compertum est.* That there lacketh a portecouse.

[The churchwardens appeared and the Commissary enjoined them to provide one before Easter, under pain of excommunication.]

971. *Item.* There lacketh a surplice.

[The same.]

972. *Item.* That our Lady Chapel needeth greatly of reparation.

[The churchwardens said that the parish were not bound to repair, but William Crowmer Knt. The Commissary decreed that he should be cited for the Tuesday next after the Sunday *in albis* to shew cause if he had any why he should not be compelled to repair the Chapel. On which day he appeared, and undertook to do the repairs before Michaelmas.]

#### ECCLESIA DE TONG.

973. *Compertum est.* That John Crippys and John Wade late churchwardens never gave account of the Church goods nor will not and Thomas Crippis is now departed and left no mention of the same goods in his testament nor the executors will not pay the duty remaining in the dead's hands at his departure the sum of viii. marks. xx.d.

[The executors of John Cryspe appeared and said that they intended to pay the sum claimed. The Commissary enjoined them to do so before the Feast of Pentecost, or else to appear on the Tuesday next after Corpus Christi day to show cause why they should not be compelled to do it.]

974. *Item.* That the executors withold xiii.s. iiii.d. bequeathed by the said John Crippis.

[They said that they knew nothing of any such legacy; and the churchwardens undertook the proof.]

975. *Item.* That they withdraw of the said John's bequest towards a branch to set on light before our Lady xx.s.

[They denied that John Cryspe left such a legacy. The churchwardens undertook the proof. The Commissary enjoined the

said churchwardens to produce witnesses on the Friday next after the Feast of St. John Port Latin. On which day they produced Thomas Rede of Tong as a witness whom the Commissary admitted, and caused to be sworn and subsequently the parties agreed to refer it to the arbitration of M. Robert Woodward, the Commissary, and John Williams, bachelor in decrees, promising to stand by their decision in all the aforesaid matters.]

976. *Item.* That the chancel is not sufficiently repaired.

[The churchwardens reported that it had been sufficiently repaired.]

(To be continued.)

## CORRESPONDENCE.

The Editor begs to remind his readers that he is not responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

### MR. ARNOLD IN REPLY TO MR. ELLIOTT.

#### LETTER VI.\*

#### THE PAULICIANS.

SIR,—I have now obtained those numbers of your Magazine which contain Mr. Elliott's first and second letter in reply to my objections; but as there are one or two statements in those letters which make me wish to refer to books which I do not at present possess, I shall go on to the next subject of debate, the Paulicians, who are, according to Mr. Elliott, "one of the two witnesses foretold in the Apocalypse, one of 'the two olive-trees, and the two candlesticks, standing before the God of the earth;' one of those faithful servants whom He armed with miraculous powers, so that they could even shut the heaven, that it should not rain, like Elijah; and, like Moses, turn the waters to blood, and 'smite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will.'"

When I wrote my pamphlet, I was not in possession of any of the *original* authorities; I *could* not, therefore, attempt the task of verifying Mr. Elliott's quotations; I could not even form an opinion as to the validity of this or that plea of extenuation which that author urged in behalf of the Paulicians; but I was amazed at the mixture of perverseness and rashness that could unhesitatingly set aside *all* the historical testimony we possess, and raise these universally reputed heretics to the rank of one of the candlesticks of God's sanctuary, one of the two witnesses of the Apocalypse.

I referred to Gibbon, and found him deliberately professing that it should be the *object* of his candid criticism to *magnify the good*, and *abate or suspect the evil* that is reported of them by their adversaries. I referred to a separate essay upon the Paulicians, by the very learned and very accurate church historian, Dr. Gieseler—and placed before the reader the *amount of guilt* that, after all the deductions which one

\* May I beg the reader to correct in my last letter the unaccountable erratum of *quatuorvirate* for *quatuorvirate*.

or both of these historians are disposed to make, still remains unre-moved from the memory of these "faithful witnesses." What I wished my readers to feel was this: there may have been prejudice, exaggeration, calumny:—but is it possible that an interpreter of the Bible can be justified in reasoning upon what can at best be probable, as if it were certainly true; in assuming that to *be certain* which cannot be *proved certain*, and that to be *false* which the most learned investigators have been compelled by positive testimony to *believe*? This proceeding was highly displeasing to my opponent: it produced "increasingly painful feelings" in his examination of my pamphlet. "My commencement," he says, "is a profession of the utmost fairness; 'no man can blame Mr. Elliott for resolving to *abate* and *suspect* the evil that is reported of the Paulicians by their adversaries,' but having said this, all fairness is in fact thrown away." (p. 86.) What he here makes the *commencement* of my remarks, and describes as being *followed* by the throwing away of all the fairness which that commencement professes, is really *the last remark* that I make in *summing up* my view of the case: it follows my long quotations from Gibbon and Gieseler. This sort of inaccuracy in stating the substance of my remarks, is very frequent with Mr. Elliott, and very reprehensible in any controversialist.

But let us pass on to far more important matters. Mr. Elliott's own view of the manner in which he has dealt with the historical evidence against the Paulicians, is this: "My own *deliberate belief* is, that I have only so reasoned on the hostile evidence against them, as *any one of our upright and learned judges on the English bench would have done, were such evidence in a case of defamation brought before them.*" (p. 37.) The italics are mine.

Let us examine how this upright and learned judge deals with the hostile evidence in the action for defamation, brought by *Sergius* and others against one *Petrus Siculus*.

I ought here to mention that I *have now* before me the second volume of the *first* edition of the *Horæ*; and that it is to the *first* edition that my references are made; that edition contains Mr. Elliott's discussion, as first drawn up and published, and it is with reference to that discussion that its author states his conviction that he has conducted it with the severe exactness and impartiality of an upright and learned judge. I have also before me the *original* of *Petrus Siculus*, as edited, with a new and very correct Latin translation, by Dr. Gieseler.\*

This *Petrus Siculus* had heaped on *Sergius* "the most virulent abuse, yet it appears from the narrative," (says our upright and learned judge,) "both that this eminent Paulikian was, before his conversion to the sect, a young *man of excellent moral character*, and that, &c." To establish this fact, the judge quotes from the evidence: *audio te, Sergi, bonum virum usquequaque.*

Now these words were not used by *Petrus* himself: he tells us, in

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\* I have also broken through my resolution, and sent for Mr. Elliott's third edition, but the answer is, that it will not be published for six weeks at least. My having now the second volume before me arises from its having passed through the Clerical Club, to which I belong, and been returned to me, as the secretary.

his evidence, that they were uttered by a *disreputable woman*, who wishing to gain Sergius over to her heretical views, addressed him with this subtle flattery. The statement of Petrus is this: "This person, then, when he was still a youth, chanced to make the acquaintance of a disreputable female,\* who was, as has been mentioned, of the Manichean heresy. This pupil of the devil, being a knavish and plausible person, thus addresses him: I hear, my lord Sergius, *that you are perfect in your acquaintance with letters and erudition, and are in every respect a good man*; tell me, then, &c."†

Such is the narrative, from which it *appears* that "this eminent Paulikian was, before his conversion to the sect, a *young man of excellent moral character!*"

From the same flattering address of a disreputable female, our judge feels himself authorized to speak of "the *admitted* learning and wisdom of various of their most eminent teachers (*witness the instance of Sergius* and [referring to other evidence] the Orleanist Canons."

Petrus had given in evidence that Sergius had written to them a letter, in which were these words: "Let no one seduce you in any wise; but having these promises from God, be of good courage; for we, being persuaded in our hearts, write to you, that *I am the keeper of the door, and the good shepherd, and the guide of the body of Christ, and the candlestick of God's house, and I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.*‡ For even though I am absent from you in the body, yet am I present with you in the spirit," &c.

In the judge's summing up, this evidence is given thus;—

"Let no one seduce you in any wise: having these promises from God, trust in them. For we write to you, having confidence in our hearts: since *as an imitator* (of Christ) *I am a good shepherd, a leader of that which is Christ's body, and a lamp of the house of God. And I am ever with you, even to the end of the world (or of life sæculi* [!]) for though absent in body I am present in spirit with you," &c. (p. 632.)

Observe that Sergius's assertion (as given in the evidence) that he was *the good shepherd, the guide of the body of Christ, &c.*, is softened down into the statement that *as an imitator of Christ* he was a *good shepherd, &c.*; the statement *made in the concluding words of St. Matthew's gospel*, words used by our blessed Lord to convey his most glorious promise to his church, *Lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world* (ὡς τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος) is said to mean, *perhaps*, no more than I will be present with you to the *end of my life*.

Again, our upright judge asserts that Petrus vents his indignation against this passage thus: "'Child of the devil,'" says Petrus again, 'to make thyself equal with God, *as ever present with them!*'" Sergius's

\* δόσινου τινὸς γυναικός. P. 41.

† Ἡ δὲ τοῦ Διαβόλου μαθήτρια, πανούργος ὑπάρχουσα καὶ ὑπουλος, λέγει αὐτῷ ἀκούω περὶ σοῦ, κύριε Σέργιε, ὅτι ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ γραμμάτων καὶ παιδείᾳ πλείεις [legendum videtur, τίλειος. G.] καὶ ἀγαθὸς κατὰ πάντα ὑπάρχεις ἄνθρωπος, &c.

‡ ὅτι ὁ θυρωρὸς, καὶ ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς, καὶ ὁ ὁδηγὸς τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ὁ λύχνος τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγώ εἰμι, καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ὡς τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος, &c.—P. 48.

meaning, however, is evidently only the same as St. Paul's, Colossians, ii. 5.\*

Had Petrus, indeed, founded his assertion, that Sergius *made himself equal with God*, upon his statement, that he *would be ever present with them*? No. Mr. Elliott says the words of Petrus are, "Child of the devil, to make thyself equal with God, *as ever present with them.*" Petrus *never used* these words (!) but having quoted the passage as given above, in which Sergius assumes to himself one of CHRIST's titles, and promises his perpetual presence with the church in *the very words used by our Saviour*, exclaims: "O thou enemy of the truth, thou son of the devil, and worker of all wickedness, how didst thou dare to utter such things, making thyself equal with God?"\*

According to the evidence of Petrus, and the document put into court, Sergius promised his presence with the church *twice*, once in the words of our Saviour, ("Lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world;") once in the words of St. Paul, ("*for though I be absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit.*") Is it not evident that Petrus founds his charge against Sergius, of making himself equal with God, upon his appropriating to himself, not the words in which St. Paul promised his merely *figurative* and *virtual*, and *temporary* presence, but those in which our Lord promised to the apostles his *real*, *absolute*, and *eternal* presence.

Let us take one more instance of the manner which Mr. Elliott believes—nay, *deliberately* believes—to be but a counterpart of the manner in which "any one of our upright and learned judges on the English bench" would have acted, in dealing with the hostile evidence given in a case of defamation. At p. 544, he quotes a passage of some length, and at the end of it, says: "Such, I say, is the account of his conversion, given by the hostile historian, Petrus Siculus; and which seems to me *too characteristic to allow of omission* and abridgement." To this the following note is appended: "My translation is literal. The Latin is given by Mr. Faber, p. 41."

By Mr. Faber!—Is *he* an *amicus curiæ*? I trust that our judge has not been over-hasty in receiving his testimony.

The beginning of this document, which strikes Mr. Elliott as "too characteristic for omission and abridgement," is *abridged* to about a quarter of its original length, and *twenty-three* words at least, are omitted out of the first *thirty*! It begins thus in Mr. Elliott's: "A woman addressed him while he was yet a young man."

The *real beginning* and the original words have been already given. The "*certain disreputable woman addicted to the Manichaean heresy*"—*pupil of the devil—crafty—plausible*—is all compressed—thanks to Mr. Faber's power of *breveiloquence*, and our judge's credulity—into the indefinite article "*A*!"

But is it only the prefatory statement that has been thus mutilated by the *abridgement* and *omission* that Mr. Elliott disclaims, and virtually assures us that his extract has not suffered? At least *forty lines*—the

\* Ὁ ἐχθρὸς τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ Διαβόλου, καὶ πάσης ῥηδιουργίας ἐργάτα, πῶς ἐτόλμησας, &c.

long lines of a quarto page—are omitted. Mr. Elliott, apparently, having taken Mr. Faber's words, ("In the same style running through various passages of the gospel") for Petrus Siculus's, whereas that author really gives, and that in a very *characteristic* style, the particular passages by which this *disrep*—, I beg pardon, by which "a woman" deluded Sergius.

And now for the explanation of all this—I must beg the reader to affix a name to it.

The explanation is given at a note on p. 578, about thirty page from the beginning of the Paulician history. "Let me take this opportunity of observing, that whereas my previous references to *Petrus Siculus* were copied from Mr. Faber, [!!! the italics and three notes of admiration are mine]—it *so happening* (!) at the time of writing, that I had not the original work at hand—in the review of the subject now commencing they will be to the Latin translation of the work given in the Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima, tom. xvi. p. 754."

Mr. Maitland's Facts and Documents are frequently quoted by Mr. Elliott, and in that work he might have read the following remark—a remark that ought to have been to him suggestive of duty. "The well-read historian of the Decline and Fall, might afford to say, that the work of Photius had not *fallen into his hands*, but the echo from Milner is very sad. 'Photius and Peter have not fallen into my hands.' No, indeed; it seems as if none of the books which an historian of that period ought to have consulted had fallen into his hands, except Gibbon and Mosheim."

"It so happened at the time of writing that I had not the original work at hand"—hence, he did what he could; he *copied* Mr. Faber; and he did, what he ought not to have done, *vouched* for the *integrity* of a long quotation, copied from that gentleman, which unfortunately happened to be really curtailed to very much less than half its length!

After, however, this *fortuitous* absence of the *original* work had continued for some time, he obtains possession of a *Latin translation* of it, and from about the thirtieth page of his Paulician narrative, we are told we may expect references to this Latin translation given in the Bibliotheca Maxima. Surely this is a curious statement. Either the preceding thirty pages were *printed off*, or *they were not*. If they were not printed off, ought not Mr. Elliott, when the fortuitous want of the original work was *so far* supplied, to have verified the *borrowed quotations*? Would not the attempt to do this have led him to detect the curtailment of the "characteristic" narrative, which he professes to give without omission or abridgement? If Mr. Elliott, having his work still in manuscript, did not take this little trouble, which it was his *duty* to take, (if the wish to observe historical truth *is* a duty,) of what carelessness, what laziness, what wilful disregard of accuracy is he guilty? If, on the other hand, his work was *not* in manuscript, but already printed off, ought he not, even then, to have compared the quotations with the translation, and have at least acknowledged his previous inaccurate statements? I will ask, however, further, *ought* even this Latin translation to have satisfied Mr. Elliott? Could not he obtain a copy of the original work? and ought any thing *short of*

this to have satisfied him, when the question to be determined was, whether the authority of all the historians before Milner\* ought to be set aside, and their judgment reversed?

I will proceed to show what blunders Mr. Elliott has made, even with his translation, and how little it has enabled him to conjecture the meaning of the original Greek. I shall show, too, that some of his mistakes are almost irreconcilable with the notion of his having consulted his Latin version, and that one overthrows his whole structure.

"Like Simeon," (he says,) "those that possessed property had to leave all on the very undertaking of the work: like Sergius, to labour with their own hands whilst fulfilling it." To prove that Sergius laboured with his own hands, he quotes from the Latin, "*Genibus meis laborans*," which he presumes is a "*misprint for manibus*." The quotation he prints from St. Bernard just below, might have reminded him that *laborare manibus* is not *operari manibus*: the Greek is τοῖς ἰσχυοῖς γόνασι βαρύνων, "*I have run from the east even to the west, and north and south, preaching the gospel of Christ, with the wearisome toil of my own knees*." A second attempt at correcting his Latin translation is equally unsuccessful. "*We sojourn among you*, knowing beforehand the proof of your faith, that," &c. He justifies his translation, "*we sojourn among you*," by this observation: "I presume the word should be *commoramur*, not *commemoramus*, which gives no sense." The original is, ἐκδημιῶμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ποιοῦμεθα (*vos monemus*) "*we remind you*, . . . that," &c.

Now, let me beg the reader's attention to the following extraordinary, and in its consequences most important, mis-statement.

On p. 609, we have this note: "After the commencement of the conversation given literally, p. 543-4, [the curtailed quotation before given,] she proceeds to question Sergius on the meaning and application of that text, (For look, she said, and see whether it is not so written,) 'Many will say to me in that day, Lord, have we not in thy name cast out dæmons and done many virtues? [*sic*] and the king (rex) answering, will say, I know you not.' On Sergius's hesitation, she added, "With us the explanation is obvious. There are those even now who profess Christianity, and have the reputation of living piously, that make use of certain charms for expelling dæmons and curing diseases; just like the sons of Sceva, spoken of in the Acts of the Apostles as exorcists. These are they to whom the Lord will say in that day, I never knew you. To others, too, that fall into error, he will say, Thou hadst in this life what was thine; now depart; and who will thus fail of the kingdom of heaven."

Let us stop here. This quotation is given in inverted commas, as containing the very words of Peter's narrative.

Now, incredible as it may seem, the explanation of the text put into the Paulician woman's mouth is Petrus's own explanation, not the woman's!

The whole passage that follows the questions is:† "But he, being

\* I see from Mr. Dowling's pamphlet, which I have just received, that Milner was not quite the first to whitewash the Paulicians.

† The only important part of the quotation is that which proves the explanation

very foolish and unlearned, was at a loss, and made no reply. Now, the meaning of the text in the gospel is really to be understood thus: There are even now some who retain their citizenship in Christ,\* and appear to live piously, who, nevertheless, know how, oftentimes, even to expel devils, and to heal diseases and sufferings by enchantment, as of old the sons of Sceva did, who were called exorcists, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles, that when they exorcised those who were possessed with devils, they said, '*We adjure you, by Jesus, whom Paul preaches, come out of the men:*' and the devils were put to flight by the fear of CHRIST'S name. Even at the present day there are some who act thus, and know not that by their enchantments they fall away from their salvation. These are they who shall cry on that day, saying, 'Lord, Lord, did we not in thy name cast out devils and do many wonderful works?' and the Lord shall answer and say to them, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, I know you not.* And there are others, too, who have taken up a solitary and irreproachable life,† but have fallen, from ignorance and want of learning, into heresies, and for this reason shall not attain to the kingdom of heaven. But that nothing may be due to these persons from the just judge on that day, they receive here the gifts of healing, that when they shall cry, *Lord, Lord, did we not do many wonderful things in thy name?* they may receive for answer, '*Friend, I do thee no wrong; thou receivedst in thy lifetime thy [good] things, now take that thine is, and be gone.*' But Sergius, I say, being ignorant of these and such like things," &c.

Not to speak of the way in which this passage is mutilated and dislocated in Mr. Elliott's quotation, how was it possible for him to mistake the passage for a statement of the Paulician woman's? No version could be so bad, as to attribute these words to her.

But now, *what follows* from this blunder, which is no simple blunder, but one upon which Mr. Elliott builds most important consequences; which are these.

1. From this passage he proves the difference between the Catholics and the Paulicians, as to "*the prospects held out beyond death.*" "Not one word" (he says) "do we find in any of the existing records of the Paulicians, throughout the long period of 500 years now passed in review, either of *purgatory*, or *transmigration of souls*, or a final consummation, such as that set forth by Manes and the Manichees. On the contrary, we read in the Paulician woman's characteristic conversation with Sergius,‡ (of which see the extract below, [*It is that just given*]) a faithful Scripture statement of Christ's judgment at the last day†—a separation at that time between the false professing Christians and the true†—and the exclusion of the one and the admission of the other into the kingdom of heaven."

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of the text to be Peter's catholic explanation: 'Ο δὲ (i. e. Σύριος) ἀλογώτατος καὶ ἀμαθής ὢν ἱεραπορηθεὶς ἐσιώπα. Ἔστι δὲ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ ῥητοῦ οὕτως νοῆσαι, &c. After the explanation follows the resumption of the narrative: ταῦτα τοίνυν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀγνοῶν ὁ Σύριος, &c.

\* Τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ πολιτείαν κατέχουσα.

† οἱ τινες μοναδικὸν βίον καὶ ἀνεπίληπτον ἀνιλάβοντο, &c.

‡ The italics are mine,



Since, then, what Mr. Elliott thus praises is *Peter's doctrine*, he must now allow that at least one writer of the apostate church delivered "a faithful Scripture statement of Christ's judgment on the last day, and of the separation of that time between the false professing Christians and the true," &c.

2. Upon this passage Mr. Elliott founds a statement, which he repeats several times, that the Greek priesthood used *incantations and charms*; and he sometimes considers the *doctrine* of baptism as then taught to be the very system of incantations and charms reprobated by the *Paulikian woman* (!)

"The same is the inference from the Paulikian woman's reprobation of those who were accustomed, with *certain charms*, incantamentis quibusdam, to cast out demons, &c., a description that is but the counterpart of that which I gave long since of the baptismal exorcising process introduced into the church before the middle of the fourth century, and which we see still continued."\*

"The Paulikian woman, after noticing the exorcising incantations and charms of the *Greek priesthood*," &c.†

It is now time to go on with this remarkable note on p. 609.

"Again she quoted the passage, 'Many shall come from the east and from the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom will be cast into outward darkness.' And who are these *children of the kingdom*? she said. Most stupid man, observes Petrus Siculus of Sergius, that he did not know it was simply of the *Jews* that Christ spoke. But the woman applied it more home. It is your holy ones, she said; they who expel *dæmons*, &c., and whom ye venerate as if they were deities—the living and immortal Lord being left by you." (Petr. Sic. p. 762.) Petrus seems to suppose *departed saints* to have been meant by the woman in the last passage. But it seems clear to me, that it was the reputed holy ones then living, i. e., their *priests*; respecting whom, as we have seen, (p. 243,) Mahomet charged the Greek Christians of the seventh century thus: They take their priests and works for their lords besides God."

It will seem clear, I think, to most readers, that Peter was right. "These saints of yours are children of the kingdom, they who expel devils, and heal the diseases of men, whom you venerate as gods, having deserted the living and immortal Lord."

It is time that I should end this *first fasciculus* of observations on Mr. Elliott's *judicial impartiality* in dealing with the narrative of Petrus Siculus; but I must add *one* instance of the amount of proof that will sometimes satisfy him, or, at all events, that he will think a probable argument.

One of the charges against the Paulicians is, that they rejected the Epistles of St. Peter; but a Paulician teacher had used these words: "I exhort you, as you have received apostles and prophets, who are four [four heads of the Paulicians], receive also *shepherds* and teachers, lest you should become the prey of wild beasts," (*ἵνα μὴ θηρίαλωτος γίνη.*)

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\* P. 625.

† P. 627.

To an ordinary reader, the becoming a *prey to wild beasts* would seem a very natural way of describing the evil consequences of not *receiving shepherds*; but Mr. Elliott has a deeper insight into such matters. "Is not," he asks, "the allusion to 1 Pet. v. 8. The devil, who as a roaring lion, &c.? If so, it is an indication that the Epistles of Peter were received by Sergius."\* (!)

I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

T. K. ARNOLD.

London, April 15, 1847.

#### A QUERY.

SIR,—By the Act for Registration of Births, &c., (passed in the year 1812,) it was required that the clergy should make to the registrar of the dioceses in which they officiated, a return of the several registries of births, &c. occurring in the year.

I shall be glad if one of your correspondents or readers will inform me through your Magazine if these returns are still required, or whether the late acts of registration have virtually, if not legally, rendered them unnecessary.

Your constant Reader,

L.

#### SPECIAL FUND FOR THE SPIRITUAL EXIGENCIES OF IRELAND.

SIR,—There was stitched into the corner of your Magazine of the month of March a document, which must have awakened some surprise, and not a little regret, I should think, in the minds of many readers. I refer to that which was thus headed—"Special Fund for the Spiritual Exigencies of Ireland." It appears from this document, that some laymen and clergymen of high respectability, of whose sincerity in the cause of religion it would be very unbecoming to express a doubt, and most uncharitable to entertain one, thinking the present a very favourable season for furthering the spiritual interests of Ireland, set about collecting a fund for that purpose. They thought, naturally enough, that if they could obtain the sanction of the Archbishop of Armagh to their undertaking, it would very much help it forward. They therefore state that they applied to his Grace on the subject, stating that they were desirous of obtaining his sanction to the object which they had in view, *as far as regards those societies which are under his patronage*. They received an answer full of courtesy and kindness,—qualities, the want of which none, I believe, have had to complain, who have ever been in correspondence with that prelate. In his letter, the Archbishop pointed out three societies which he thought especially worthy of their patronage, and in the welfare of which he informed them that he was deeply interested. His words are these—"As you state that the committee are desirous of obtaining my sanction to the object which they have in view, *'as far as regards*

\* P. 632.

*those societies in Ireland which are under my patronage,'* I beg to say that there are three societies in the success of which I take a very great interest; and it would give me much pleasure if their inadequate funds were to receive aid out of the contributions which you and the other members of the committee are endeavouring to collect in behalf of the 'spiritual exigencies' of this country. Any assistance given to them would, in my opinion, be well bestowed. The first society to which I allude is, 'The Church Education Society,' with which are connected one thousand eight hundred schools, scattered over every part of the country; and many of these situated in districts the most impoverished. The urgent demand upon the clergy, arising out of the extreme distress that prevails in these parishes, leaves them unable to give their accustomed support to these schools; and amongst the persons in humble life who are now suffering from the exorbitantly high price of provisions, the respectable and ill-paid teachers of the schools of the Church Education Society stand in much need of assistance. The second society I would name, is the 'Additional Curates' Fund,' which aids in the support of those clergymen in parishes which, from their great extent, or from the denseness of their population, require additional ministers, while the ecclesiastical endowment attached to them is insufficient to defray the expense of their maintenance. This society has been in operation for the last eight years, and has been of very great service; but its resources now are so much reduced, that it is with difficulty a sufficient sum can be obtained to pay the salaries of the curates for the current year; and unless timely aid be afforded it, the services of some of the clergymen now employed by its means must be discontinued. The third society, is the 'Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge,' which is in this country the counterpart of the society with a similar designation in England. It distributes bibles, prayer-books, and tracts; and also gives rewarding books to the children who attend the catechetical examination, annually held by the clergy. This association is now oppressed with a heavy debt, occasioned by the falling off of the contributions from the country parishes." The Archbishop concludes with this sentence:—"I have thus, in compliance with your request, named the institutions under my patronage, to which it would afford me great satisfaction if by means of your kind and zealous exertions any aid could be given."

Now, what might one expect would be the result of this communication, but that they who asked, with all apparent deference, the sanction of the Primate, *as far as regarded the societies he approves of*, in order to aid their undertaking, would, after they had obtained it, show some real deference to his expressed wishes, and contribute largely to the support of the institutions which, in compliance with their request, he had recommended to their notice? And this expectation would appear still more reasonable when we find that at the foot of the Archbishop's letter they say:—

"Under this sanction, your Committee have received donations from several of the English Bishops. The Committee will joyfully be receivers of contributions, to be applied to the three Societies specially named by the Primate."

It will, perhaps, scarcely be credited by many, that out of the funds

left to their disposal, and obtained in part, as they avow, under the sanction of the Archbishop's letter and approval, they gave comparatively a very small contribution to two of these institutions, and to the third *they did not contribute anything*. In their circular, they express their readiness to receive contributions from any one in behalf of the three societies named by the Primate, but, I repeat it, out of the funds wholly at their own disposal, and not assigned by the donors to any particular object, they have given a little to two of them, and they have left the third wholly unassisted. Out of 3100*l.*, they have given 400*l.* to the Church Education Society, and 200*l.* to the Additional Curates' Fund. To the Christian Knowledge Society they have given nothing.

Now, although it may be a question with some, whether a person holding the office of Bishop in the Christian church is entitled to respect on that account, yet every moralist will allow, that, where respect is professed, it ought to be paid when occasion offers; and that it is not merely indecorous, but morally wrong, to profess deference in order to gain a certain end, and, when the end is gained, virtually to withhold it. Yet that this has been done in the present instance, every one who considers it with an unprejudiced mind must admit. Not that I mean to insinuate that personal disrespect was intended to be shown to the Archbishop; for, while his own character is one which would necessarily shield him from this, except by the rude and ignorant, I feel at the same time that the persons engaged in this transaction are incapable of intentionally doing him this wrong, and though they did it virtually, they did it unawares. The cause of this, and of many other serious evils, I take to be this,—that, in the zeal which is felt for doing good, there is often a temptation to be too little considerate as to the propriety of the means which are taken to attain it. Men are strong enough in their condemnation of the popish error, that “the end sanctifies the means,” and they readily receive St. Paul's warning, that we are not to “do evil that good may come;” yet this error is continually insinuating itself into transactions which ought to be kept pure from such a taint, and I do not believe that any temptation, so much as this, against which the inspired words of the apostle are directed, is likely to prevail, or does in fact so generally prevail, with zealous-minded men, especially when they belong to a party in the church. Their earnestness to reach what appears to them a great good, often prevents them from scrutinizing, as carefully as Christians ought to do, the intermediate steps which they take in advancing to it; and thus, as in the present case, moral obligations are unconsciously disregarded in the zealous pursuit of a religious object. “I greatly admire,” said one\* of our Colonial Bishops in a late charge to his clergy—(and I know not a sentence that has been written of late years which is more important for all parties in the church to keep in view)—“I greatly admire doing good; but there is one thing I admire more—and that is doing right.”

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

G. B.

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\* Dr. Field, Bishop of Newfoundland.

## MR. ELLIOTT IN REPLY TO MR. ARNOLD.

SIR,—The passage from Eusebius' *Chronicon* on the famine in Greece under the Emperor Claudius, to which I alluded in my last Letter, is as follows: *Λίμνη κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γεγονότος μεγάλου, ὃ τὸ στυγνὸς ἐξ δίδραχμων ἐπράθη*. Thus, as the Attic chœnix was the eighth part of a modius, and consequently twelve drachmæ (=twelve denarii), the price of eight chœnices of wheat, *wheat* was then at the rate of two chœnices the three denarii. And, supposing the proportionate price of barley to have been but half that of wheat, which was the proportion after the ending of the famine in Samaria, (2 Kings, vii. 1—16,) and also that in Sicily, as Cicero reports, at the time of Verres' prætorship, then the rate of *barley* must have been four chœnices the three denarii; or if at the higher proportion of two-thirds the price of wheat, a proportion for many years past pretty much established in England, then not more than three chœnices for the three denarii. On the first hypothesis its price in the Claudian famine was between two and three times that specified in the third Apocalyptic seal; on the second hypothesis, it was full three times dearer. I have thought it right on this point to give the original, as furnishing important help towards a satisfactory decision on the question, whether the figuration in the third seal *can* be a figuration of famine.\*

A day or two since I received a copy of Mr. Arnold's letter in your last number, and much regret to see the tone of asperity in which it is written. I am not aware of there being anything in my last letter to give just reason for this. He is mistaken in supposing me to think him "morally bound, not only both to read and reply to my letters, but also to purchase the *Horæ*." I only expressed my opinion that he ought to have the book by him for reference, "so long as the controversy continues that he has stirred up:" expressions implying a merely temporary or occasional tenure of it, such as I supposed he might easily arrange for by borrowing. I should be sorry for Mr. Arnold's incurring the slightest expense on my account, especially in the purchase of a work which he esteems so lightly. As to another observation in my letter which he notices somewhat angrily, I mean that in which I speak of him as writing "as a retained advocate" against the *Horæ*,—why did not Mr. Arnold, when citing these words, add my cautionary clause also; "*I mean this of course in no offensive sense*." Instead of imputing any sinister or interested motive to my opponent for so writing, I expressly and carefully disclaimed any such imputation. An advocate retained in a law-suit makes it his

\* Let me, ere I pass on from this reference to my last letter, notice two or three misprints that I have observed in it, as it appears in the *British Magazine*:

P. 307, line 10, for *prepared*, read *prefaced*.

P. 310, line 9, for *Claudius & Vitellius*, read *Claudius, Luc. Vitellius*.

P. 311, line 15, read *Moodke, Ferozeshah, and Sobraon*.

P. 313, line 26, insert *not* before *being*.

P. 314, line 32, for *must*, read *might*.

P. 315, line 5, for *A. C.* read *U. C.* (i. e. *Urbis Condita*); Ib. line 13, read *Conventus*, and line 15, and note 29, *Romanom*.

object, *as in duty bound*, to damage, so far as he can, the adversary's case, and to keep out of view, as much as possible, such evidence in his favour as he thinks he cannot very successfully attempt to damage. Had Mr. Arnold some important cause in court, and heard an orator of the court so treating his case, would he not at once recognise in the speaker an advocate professionally engaged against him? As to what he adds, "Mr. Elliott is *very fond* of representing himself as an *impartial judge*," I must beg to ask, where have I done this? \* My appeal has, I believe, always been to the intelligent and candid reader. As the party attacked, it has necessarily been my part to defend myself. At the same time, I think Mr. Arnold, himself, will not deny that I have in no instance sought to pass over, without consideration, such arguments or evidence as he may have urged against me; and have thus not acted inconsistently in our controversy with that character which I profess, and wish ever to maintain, of a seeker of truth.

It was with reference to Mr. Arnold's strictures in your February number, on my solution of the 5th Trumpet, that I made the observation just alluded to, about his writing as a retained advocate against the Horæ, not as an investigator of truth. And I must now put the case before the reader, in order that he may be thus better able to judge whether I have made that observation without reason, or not. It is to be understood that the Saracenic solution of this Trumpet is not mine originally; but that of Brightman, and Mede, and Daubeney, and Sir Isaac Newton, and Whiston, and Bishop Newton, together with many other expositors before me. Now, whatever Mr. Arnold may think, it was not, and it is not, my judgment that the concurrent opinion of such persons is to be set aside lightly, with a mere passing word of jest or irony. Accordingly, when arrived at that point in the Apocalyptic prophecy, I felt it right carefully to consider what had been advanced by Mede, Daubeney, and Bishop Newton, in support of their application of it to the Saracens; and being struck with various resemblances, noted by them, between the Mahomedan Saracen invaders of Christendom in the seventh century, and the Apocalyptic symbol of the scorpion-locusts, I proceeded, in order to a correcter judgment on the question, first to inquire whether, in the symbolic imagery of Holy Scripture, there is so generally a local or national appropriateness as that an argument may fairly be grounded on it when found to exist; secondly, whether the resemblances asserted to exist between the Apocalyptic symbol of the fifth Trumpet and the Saracens were overstated or not. The result of my first inquiry appears in the preliminary section on this Trumpet in the Horæ. It is my induction from a multitude of examples there given that the rule is very general in the figurative parts of Scripture. And, as to the second point of inquiry, I found that the resemblances between the Apocalyptic symbol in question and the Saracens were understated by my predecessors, not overstated; and that, in fact, the correspondence was altogether so various and so complete, that all idea of its

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\* I mean, of course, in our controversy.

being mere casual and undesigned coincidence seemed to be in the highest degree improbable. The reader is aware that the symbol is, in its various particulars, partly *bestial*, partly *human*. Of the *former*, we find specified resemblances to the *locust*, the *scorpion*, the *lion*, and the *horse*; to the locust most prominently, and next to the scorpion, as in effect the groundwork of the symbol. Of the *latter* we have specified the *faces as faces of men*, the *hair as hair of women*; with *crowns also like us of gold* on their heads, and *breastplates like iron breastplates*. And it is further stated that it was on some remarkable *opening of the pit of the abyss*, and *out of the smoke thence arising*, as the smoke of a great furnace, that these scorpion-locusts issued forth on their desolating flight. As the force of my argument depends on the fulness and correctness of the parallelism between the prophetic symbol, and that which, in common with so many preceding commentators, I deem to have been the fulfilment of the symbol, let me now beg permission to subjoin the passage from my work in which that parallelism is drawn out. I shall here and there abbreviate, but shall only be able to do so very slightly.

"First, and chiefly, the *locust*, the groundwork of the symbol, is peculiarly Arabic; so the sacred history of ancient times informs us. 'It was the east wind,' it says, 'which brought the locusts' on Egypt: from which the inference arises, that the country they issued from must have been that which, in all its extent, lies east of Egypt, that is, Arabia. Such too, in modern times, is the testimony of Volney, "the most judicious," as Gibbon calls him, "of Syrian travellers." "The inhabitants of Syria," he observes, "have remarked that locusts come constantly from the desert of Arabia." Lebrun, from the convent at Rama, gives the same report. And, indeed, the *locust* simile is one used in another and earlier passage of Holy Scripture, with its usual appropriateness, to designate the numbers and character of an invading *Arab* horde.\* Again, as of the locust, so of the *scorpion*, the native locality was by the Jews considered the Arabian desert. Witness Moses' own words to the Israelites, on emerging from it after forty years' wandering: "That great and terrible wilderness wherein were fiery serpents and *scorpions*." And who knows not, if facts so notorious be worth mentioning, that it is Arabia, still Arabia, that is regarded by naturalists as peculiarly the country of the *horse*; and that its wildernesses are the haunts also of the *lion*? The *zoology* of that hieroglyphic is all *Arabian*.

Next, as to what was *human* in the appearance of the symbolic locusts—viz., their faces as the faces of men, their hair as the hair (the *long* hair) of women, with crowns as of gold on their heads, (or, it might be, gold-adorned turbans,) and breastplates like iron breastplates. The *qualities* and *character* indicated, seem here (as before) sufficiently

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\* I ought to have added, what is in fact added in my new edition, from Mr. Forster's *Mahometanism Unveiled*, vol. i. p. 217, that in *Antar*, "the locust is introduced as the national emblem of the *Ishmaelites*." He states further this remarkable coincidence, that "Mahomedan tradition speaks of *locusts* having dropped into the hands of Mahomet, bearing on their wings this inscription, *We are the army of the great God*."

plain. . . . But for the present, what I would wish chiefly to inquire into is, the *local significancy* of these features in the symbol; and whether any, and what particular *nation*, might seem to be figured by them. For in cases like this, as we have seen,\* the portraiture may be generally supposed to be drawn from life: and, considering all the particulars specified, it must surely be very characteristic and distinctive. Applying this test, then, by what is said of the faces as *faces of men*, (i. e., with beard or moustache,) the Goths and other kindred barbarian tribes are set aside: the faces of these being very singularly noticed by a cotemporary of their earliest incursions, I mean Jerome, as having faces shorn and smooth: faces, says he, in contrast with the bearded Romans, "like women's faces."† Again, while, from the then usual habits of both Greeks and Romans in the empire, that remarkable particular in the symbolic locusts' described appearance of *hair as the hair of women*, (not to add the *turban head-covering* also,) was quite abhorrent,—there were two great neighbouring nations, and I think but two, with whose national costume and habits both these and the other points of description well suited; I mean the Persians and the Arabs. Of the Persians, alike in the earlier times of their history and the later, the appearance is *nearly* thus represented by historians, and also upon ancient coins and bas-reliefs still remaining. And of the *Arabs*, of whom I must speak more fully, as being the people indicated apparently by the points previously considered of the hieroglyphic—of them, descriptions are given *yet more exactly* agreeing with that before us. So Pliny, St. John's cotemporary at the close of the first century, speaks of the Arabs as wearing the turban, having the hair long and uncut, with the moustache on the upper lip, or the beard—that "venerable sign of manhood," as Gibbon, in Arab phraseology, calls it. So Solinus describes them in the third century; so Ammianus Marcellinus in the fourth; so Claudian, Theodore of Mopsuesta, and Jerome in the fifth; of the last of which writers the acquaintance with the people of whom he wrote must have been most familiar, as he passed most of the latter years of his life at Bethlehem, on the borders of the Arab desert. This was about two centuries before the great Saracen irruption. Yet once more, in the age immediately preceding that irruption, and which indeed included Mahomet's childhood, the same personal portraiture is still given of the Arab. In that most characteristic of Arab poems, *Antar*, a poem composed at the time I speak of, we find the moustache and the beard, the long hair flowing on the shoulders, and the turban also, all specified. And let me add, in regard to the *turban-crown*, it happens singularly that Ezekiel (xxiii. 42) describes the *turbans* of the Sabæan or Keturite Arabs‡ under this selfsame figurative appellation, "Sabæans from the wilderness which put beautiful *crowns* upon their heads:" and still as

\* My reference in these words is to the Preliminary section on the Fifth Trumpet, in the *Horæ*, to which allusion has been already made.

† "*Femineas incisas facies præferentes virorum et bene barbatorum fugientia terga confodiunt.*" In Isa. viii. I quote this as it is not in the notes to my first edition.

‡ So Mr. Forster, in his *Geography of Arabia*.



singularly, that this emblematic resemblance of them in the vision to *crowns*, or *diadems*, (they being spoken of as like gold,\*) is one that has been made by the Arabs themselves. Of the four peculiar things that they were wont in a national proverb to specify as bestowed by God upon the Arabs, the first was that their *turbans* should be to them instead of *diadems*.

The testimonies thus quoted refer to *three* out of the four points of personal appearance noticed in the vision. And on the *fourth*, that of the locusts appearing *breastplated with iron*, alike Antar, the Koran, and the history of Mahomet and the early Moslem Saracens, will also satisfy us. In Antar, the steel or iron cuirasses of the Arab warriors are frequently noticed. In the Koran, among God's gifts to the Arabs, their coats of mail for defence are specially particularized. And in Mahomet's history, we read expressly of the cuirasses of himself and his Arab troops. Individual Arabs, no doubt, like the one more early noted by Ammianus Marcellinus, might not seldom astound the foe by their "naked bravery." And hence by some it has been fancied the then general Arab habit. But the Saracen policy was the wearing of defensive armour. The breastplate of iron was a feature of description literally answering, like the three others, to the Arab warriors of the sixth and seventh centuries.

Thus, on the whole, the *country* whence the woe was to originate might seem almost fixed by these concurrent symbols to *Arabia*. And turning from *prophecy* to *history*, if we ask whether there then occurred about the times of Heraclius and the opening of the seventh century any correspondingly destructive irruption of Arabs on Roman Christendom, the agreement of fact with the prediction is so far notorious. A mighty Saracen invasion is the chief topic of the history of that century.

Such is the argument in my Commentary from the several particulars specified of the appearance of the Apocalyptic scorpion-locusts. Then, further, as to what is said of their issuing *out of the smoke of the pit of the abyss*, the pit having been just previously opened; after observing that we can scarce be mistaken in interpreting this smoke as an emanation from the pit of hell—i. e., as some system of *false religion* thence suddenly arising, the effect of which would be almost instantaneously to darken the moral atmosphere, and dim the imperial sun in the firmamental heaven—the Comment thus proceeds:

"Which being the thing predicted, we have again to recur to history, and to inquire,—1st, Whether about the opening of the seventh century there arose any hellish and false religion in Arabia, in its manner of development sudden, and in strength such as almost at once to darken Christendom? 2ndly, whether it was *out of it* that the Arab invaders before mentioned issued forth to be a woe to the Roman world?

\* *στεφανοι ομοιοι χρυσοι*. Mr. Arnold reads, *στεφανοι χρυσοι*, observing that the former reading, as he believes, no longer stands in any critical edition. He will see it in the text of Mr. Tragelle's lately published Critical Edition of the Apocalypse; and apparently on good MSS. authority.

"And to both of these questions who knows not the answers? Who knows not of the sudden rise of Mahometanism in Arabia just at *the very time* we speak of? that most extraordinary invention of fanaticism and fraud; which being, as it was from beginning to end, a lie, in its pretensions superseding the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, in its doctrines inculcating views of the blessed God dark, cruel, and unholy, and in its morals a system of pride, ferocity, superstition, and sensualism,—indicated too well to any one that had eyes to see, that it had indeed its origin from hell, and was an emanation, like the pestilential smoke in the vision, from the pit of the abyss?\*" Again, who knows not the fact that it was *after embracing* Islamism that the Saracen cavalry hordes burst forth in fury on Roman Christendom; and yet more, that they were imbued from *this very source* with the qualities that the symbols in the vision indicated? For there is indeed a perfect fitness in the representation of the symbolic locusts as issuing forth, all formed in character, out of the smoke from the pit of the abyss. It was the religion of Mahomet, in fact, that made the Arabs what they were. It was this that for the first time united them in one, in numbers countless as the locusts; this that gave them the locust-like impulse to speed forth as its propagandists over the world; this which imparted to them, as to lions of the desert, the irresistible destroying fury of fanaticism; this, further, which, in case of their conquering the provinces of Christendom, had already prepared in them a *scorpion-like* venom of contempt and hatred wherewith to torment the subject Christian; this, finally, that made them the *θηλυμτροι* described; that added sensualism to their ferocity; suggesting indulgence of their lusts in life, and bidding them look and fight for a heaven of lust beyond it. So that here, too, there was no one point in which the Saracen character and history did not answer to the prophetic emblems."

Yet once more, with reference to the *commission* said to be given to the Apocalyptic locusts,—the *positive* commission to hurt the men that had not the seal of God on their foreheads, the *negative* not to hurt the green corn crops,† or grass, or trees,—I observe that the answering fact appears in Mahomet's Koran itself: declaring his mission, as he there does, on the one hand, (and the Caliphs', too, after him,) to be against *idolators*, and urging his Saracen followers against the men of Roman Christendom, *as such*; and, on the other hand, charging them against injuring corn or fruit trees: the practice of the victorious Saracen hordes, in consequence, contrasting strikingly on this latter point with that of the Goths or Vandals.‡

Such is the series of parallelisms drawn out in the *Horræ* between the Apocalyptic symbol of the Fifth Trumpet and the Mahomedan

\* So Schlegel in his *Philosophy of History*, ii. 76, 93, calls it "the *infernal spirit* that produced that antichristian combination of spiritual and temporal authority," &c.; and again, "the new *power of hell*."

† *Χορος* is applied to the springing corn-crop, as well as to grass. So Matt. xiii. 26, &c.

‡ Apoc. ix. 5, 10.

Saracens of the seventh century; the authorities for my statements being all given in the notes. And it is of this, and the evidence hence arising, that Mr. Arnold says, in his letter in your February Number: "I must decline discussing that accumulation of evidence which Mr. Elliott thinks that common sense and critical fairness alike require that I should notice; such as the suitableness of the symbol to represent an Arabian; the locust, scorpion, horse, and lion being all zoologically Arabic, &c. It is enough for me to show, if I can show it, that no satisfactory epoch (rather period) of 150 (days=) years can be pointed out, during which these scorpion-locusts aggressively struck, injured, and tormented the men of Roman Christendom." Now, I make my appeal to the intelligent and unprejudiced readers of the British Magazine, whether, if such evidence be professedly set aside, without any weight being attached to, or consideration given it, the critic who sets it aside does not thereby fix the character of his own criticism as that, not of an investigator of truth, but of a determined partisan against the side which adduces it. Either what I assert as to the series of parallelisms is true, or it is not true. If untrue, let its incorrectness be proved. If true, then the parallelisms must either have been intended, or be fortuitous. But how fortuitous? Surely I speak but the plain dictate of common sense when I say that this is in a high degree improbable.

But, let us proceed. There yet remains unconsidered the chronological period of the five months, or 150 days, which was said to be assigned to the scorpion-locusts as the time for their aggressions on, and tormenting of, the men that had not the mark of God on their foreheads; that is, in my view, the men of apostate Roman Christendom. And it is here that Mr. Arnold takes his stand; and considering it, not as one point out of many in the description, and to be judged of conjunctively and in connexion with the rest, but as the one grand testing point, simply and alone, pronounces, on the strength of the unsatisfactoriness he finds in its explanation, at once and unhesitatingly, against the whole solution.

The reader is aware, from my opponent's letter, that I consider the period intended to be the 150 years from A.D. 612, when Mahomet first publicly proclaimed his mission, to A.D. 762, when the Abbassidean Caliphs removed their capital from Damascus to Bagdad. This explanation is borrowed originally from Mr. Daubeny.

With reference to the commencing epoch of 612, I cite, as Mr. Arnold observes, the recorded answer then given by Ali to Mahomet's question, "Who will be my vizier and lieutenant?" viz., "O Prophet, I am the man: whoever rises against thee I will dash out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, rip up his belly: O Prophet, I will be thy vizier." And I also cite Mr. Hallam's observations on it. "These words of Mahomet's early and illustrious disciple are, as it were, a text upon which the commentary expands into the whole Saracenic history." My own added remark in the *Horæ* is, that this announcement of his mission contained in it virtually a declaration of war against such countries as would not receive his religion, especially, therefore, against Roman Christendom; and that in the person of Ali,

whom Mahomet named the *Lion of God*, the locust-form, with its lion's teeth and scorpion-sting, might seem to have been even then already discernible in the smoke from the just-opened pit of the abyss.

Against which argues Mr. Arnold; But the actual aggression against Roman Christendom did not occur till *seventeen years after*. The fact is admitted by me in the main, and is so stated in the *Horæ*: "It was in 629 that the locust armies first issued out of the smoke to make their attack on Syrian Christendom." For I lay but little stress on Mahomet's previous injury of the Christians in Arabia and along the shores of the Red Sea (the latter in part, as I remember, Roman subjects\*) by imposing a tribute on them on account of their religion, and as the law of their toleration; though I think it ought not to be overlooked. The main stress of my argument on this head rests on the hypothesis that, as in the case of a war of long continuance we may speak somewhat loosely and largely of its period of bloodshed and slaughter, as if commencing from the declaration of war, though, in point of fact, some considerable time may have intervened before any such actual slaughter. So in the present case, *supposing all else to suit*, we may not unreasonably explain the predicted period (as I understand the prophecy†) of 150 years of aggression by the Mahomedan Saracens on Roman Christendom to bear date from that announcement of his mission by Mahomet, which involved, as I before said, a declaration of aggressive war on unbelieving nations, and so on Roman Christendom; especially with that comment on the spirit in which it was to be followed up, that was given by Ali and accepted by Mahomet; the same that has been so pointedly noticed by Mr. Hallam.

But Mr. Arnold will have it that *all else does not suit*; for that my *terminating epoch* is unsatisfactory, as well as my commencing epoch. Because, says he, first there were the desolating ravages of Asia Minor and victories over the Greek Emperor by Haroun Al Raschid after this terminating date of A.D. 762; and further, there were the conquests of Sicily and Crete by the Saracens, and the ravages of Calabria and Campania, and assault on Rome itself.

Mr. Arnold groups these several events together in one sentence, in order to make his sketch and argument more effective; overlooking the apparent inconsistency of the sketch so given, not with my Apocalyptic interpretation only, but with the *statement of his own opinion*, given in a sentence just preceding it; "I have no objection to A.D. 762 as a date for all [to use Gibbon's language]; *war was no longer the passion of the Saracens*." For I beg the reader to read Mr. Arnold's historic sketch and argument with a mere alteration in the concluding clause—thus, "We are to concede that, when a swarm of

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\* In Justinian's time the Romans had various settlements along the shore of the Red Sea; one not far from Medina, another our own *Aden*, called then *Portus Romanus*.

† This is, of course, on the *year-day* hypothesis; which Mr. Arnold admits merely *pro argumento*. I am myself well convinced of its truth; and have, according to my own best judgment, given satisfactory reasons for it, not without a pretty full discussion in the *Horæ* of all the arguments urged against it.

95,000 covered the heights of Scutari, informing the Empress Irene, by their baneful presence, of the loss of her troops and provinces,—when Haroun Al Raschid wrote his reply to Nicephorus in characters of blood and fire on the plains of Phrygia,...when Crete was taken by them, and Sicily, too, was conquered,...and the Arabian squadrons attacked and pillaged 150 towns of Calabria and Campania, nay, and presumed to enter the mouth of the Tiber itself,...we are to concede forsooth [here instead of, “that the locust-plague, or intensity of the woe, had ceased long before this,” I make my substitution] that *war was no longer the passion of the Saracens!*” Mr. Arnold, in order to justify his own adoption of Gibbon’s above cited statement, as well as to give the reader a fair view of the real value of his argument against me, ought to have marked the various *dates* of the facts which he has culled from the history of *a century of years* after A.D. 762; and marked also certain characteristic *circumstantials* severally attending them. Allow me briefly to supply these.

First, then, the ravages of Asia Minor, made by Mohadi or by Haroun Al Raschid, some twenty and thirty years after the epoch of 762, are most expressly noted in history as not *aggressive* acts on the part of the Abbassidean Caliphs, but *retributive*. “In the bloody conflict of the Ommiades and Abbassides,” says Gibbon, “the Greeks had stolen the opportunity of avenging their wrongs and enlarging their limits. But a severe retribution was exacted by Mohadi, the third Caliph of the new dynasty;” and the army of 95,000, sent from the Tigris, whom Mr. Arnold speaks of as appearing to the terror of the Empress Irene at Scutari. Peace was bought by the engagement to pay tribute. “As often as they (the Greeks) declined the payment of tribute, they were taught to feel that a month of depredation was more costly than a year of submission. The Emperor Nicephorus, on succeeding to the Imperial throne, “resolved to obliterate the badge of servitude,” said his ambassador to Haroun Al Raschid; “Irene submitted to pay a tribute, the double of which she ought to have exacted from the barbarians; restore, therefore, the fruits of your injustice, or abide the determination of the sword:” and at these words they cast a bundle of swords before the foot of Haroun’s throne. Then followed the Caliph’s answer, “written in characters of blood on the plains of Phrygia.” A “show of repentance” on the part of the Greek Emperor stopped the Caliph. On his retiring back, however, to Bagdad, Nicephorus felt “encouraged to violate the peace.” Then again the Caliph’s army swept Asia Minor, and Nicephorus was finally “compelled to retract his haughty defiance.” The reader will observe that in every case the *αδικια*, or aggression, was now on the part of the Greeks; and so it was afterwards, on the one and only other occasion that is recorded in Gibbon of the Saracens of Bagdad invading Greek Christendom; then, I mean A.D. 838, when Amorion was destroyed by the Caliph Motassem. (Besides that, in every case it was a mere temporary inroad that the Saracen Caliphs made, without the attempt at any occupation, as before, of the Greek territory.) How, then, could these occurrences be properly included among the *αδικια* of the Eastern Saracens, of whom I suppose it said, that the

term for which they were appointed ἀδικεῖν, or *aggressively to injure* and torment the men of apostate Christendom was 150 years?\*

2ndly, The date of the attack on *Crete*, by a band of Spanish Saracens; was A.D. 823; of that on *Sicily*, by a band of African Saracens, 827. So that between these, the first acts of Saracen *aggressive war* on any part of Greek or Roman Christendom, subsequently to my terminating date to the 150 years, and that date itself A.D. 762, there was the interval of above sixty years.

3rdly, In regard to the character of the marauding band that attacked and conquered Crete, let what Mr. Arnold states from Gibbon, of their pillaging *mosques* as well as *churches*,† answer the question, whether they are to be classed in the same category, or as of the same spirit, with the Mahomedan fanatics of the century and a half from Mahomet's first preaching his mission? Says Gibbon respecting it, "The conquest of Crete is *disdained* by their own writers"—passed over in disdainful silence by Saracen historians.

4thly, As to the conquest of *Sicily*, let it be understood that it took the Saracen invaders above fifty years to effect it—viz., from A.D. 827 to 878. Could they be reckoned at this time to have had the lion's teeth, as before; especially, considering the weakness of the Greeks that then occupied the island?

5thly, And so, too, as to Mr. Arnold's last case of the marauding attacks on the *Italian coast*, and on *Rome*, repeated for some two or three years by Saracen bands from Sicily, about A.D. 840; attacks which even the weak Papal government at Rome, assisted by some Greek ships from the towns of Gaeta, Naples, and Amalphi, were able to repulse.

Let me quote on this Mr. Gibbon's observation:—"Had the Mahometans been united, Italy must have fallen an easy and glorious accession to the empire of the Prophet. But the Caliphs of Bagdad had lost their authority in the West, the Aglabites and Fatimites usurped the provinces of Africa, their Emirs of Sicily aspired to independence, and the design of conquest and dominion was degraded to a repetition of predatory inroads."

It is these mere degrading predatory inroads which Mr. Arnold has tried to dress out as if of such importance, that he who would apply the prophecy of the Apocalyptic scorpion-locusts' irresistible aggressions on, and tormenting of, the men that had not the seal of God on their foreheads, to the mighty conquests, in Greek and Roman Christendom, of the Mahomedan Saracen fanatics, from 632 to 762 A.D., must needs include these also; and, in order to include them, overleap the long interval of above sixty years, in which he can find no vic-

\* The very *aggressive power* that was shown in these Saracen expeditions from Bagdad makes the absence of *aggressive acts* on the part of the Bagdad caliphs only the more remarkable: as contrasted, I mean, with the almost continuous aggressions in war against Christendom on the part of preceding caliphs.

† Mr. Arnold has inadvertently made a mistake in speaking of this 'as done in *Crete*. It was done in Alexandria and Egypt by the same marauding band that afterwards sailed away to Crete. In the same spirit they ravaged, as they sailed along the coast of Syria and Asia Minor, alike the settlements of Mahomedans and Christians. The character is marked strongly.

torious aggressive war on the part of the Saracens against Christendom to keep up the continuity! Mr. Arnold must excuse me, if I prefer to take the view of the subject given by Gibbon, Sismondi, Mills, and other well-known writers, and to consider that the fittest terminating epoch presented in history to the aggressive career of Mahomedan fanaticism against Christendom is that from A.D. 755, when the Caliphate was divided, or (to use Sismondi's words) "when the Colossus that had bestridden the whole South was broken," to A.D. 762, when, in consequence of this disruption of the Mahomedan body, the Eastern Caliphs (the more proper antitype of the two to the symbolic scorpion-locusts) removed their royal seat far away to the Tigris; and there named the newly-founded capital, as if in token of the new character assumed by them, by the significant name of *The City of Peace*.

The propriety of my terminating epoch to the 150 years of the prophecy being thus, as I hope, established, the fitness of my commencing date may be again considered with advantage. In order the better to judge respecting it, let one or two other scriptural prophetic periods be compared by the reader, such as are not involved in symbolic prophecy, yet present sometimes somewhat similar difficulties, especially that of the 400 years mentioned to Abraham (Gen. xv. 13), of which I have begged Mr. Arnold to give us his solution, but hitherto begged in vain.\* Above all, let any one who would judge on this point as a *seeker of truth* not insulate the chronological period from all else in the symbol, but consider it *in its connexion with that symbol's many and distinctive particulars*,—particulars altogether so answering to the Mahomedan Arabs that invaded Christendom in the seventh century, as I believe they cannot be shown to have answered to any other nation or events in the world's history. And this just in the due place and order of time, if the exposition of the *seals* given in the Horæ be, as I believe it has been proved to be, true.

I am, Sir, your obedient and obliged servant,

E. B. ELLIOTT.

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\* Even in a mere historical period we find sometimes exceptions to the general fact connected with it that an objector might make much of: e. g. in the forty years of Israel's servitude under the Philistines, Judges xiii. 1; which seems to have included, most probably, Samson's twenty years of judging Israel. See Mr. Clinton's Hebrew Chronology.

I observe the following passage in Mr. Arnold's letter: "Another reason is mentioned by Mr. Elliott (for his commencing date of the 150 years) with the utmost simplicity, as if there were nothing in it whatever to provoke a smile: 'It is an epoch of commencement agreeing well with a notable epoch of termination.' I am well aware how this principle of apt agreement is the principle by which Apocalyptic interpreters are mainly guided in their historical researches, &c." And is this mode of procedure, then, so very simple and foolish? Let me turn to another famous prophetic period; and ask Mr. Arnold on what ground he selects one Persian king's decree for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, rather than another's, as furnishing the commencing date of *Daniel's seventy weeks*, if the principle he thus ridicules be set aside? At the risk of again exciting my critic's smiles, I must crave permission to believe that he is the simpleton, not who takes into consideration the fit terminating epoch to a prophetic period, when the object is to fix on its right commencing date, but he who takes it not.

## NOTICES AND REVIEWS.

*A Synopsis of Criticisms upon those passages of the Old Testament in which Modern Commentators have differed from the Authorized Version ; together with an Explanation of various Difficulties in the Hebrew and English Texts.* By the Rev. Richard A. F. Barrett, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. London: Longman. 8vo. Vol. I., Parts I. and II., pp. 823.

THE title of this work is a tolerably sufficient account of its nature and design. But as it is one which deserves the attention of the student of Holy Scripture, it may be a gratification to our readers to have some further information regarding its plan and arrangement, as the author himself has explained them. "The object of the present work is to lay before the reader the principal alterations which modern critics have proposed in the Authorized Version of the Old Testament, together with the reasons for or against such emendations. The plan usually adopted throughout the work has been to give, in the following order,

"The Hebrew Text;

"The Septuagint Version taken from the Vatican copy, unless otherwise specified;

"The Authorized Version;

"And, lastly, the explanations, both of those commentators who support the present version, and also of those who consider the Hebrew text to be corrupt, or to have been misunderstood by our translators.

"Unless the order of the alterations upon any verse require a different classification, next to the Authorized Version have been given the notes of those commentators who agree with it, the oldest writers being placed first, because later critics may fairly be supposed to have availed themselves of the labours of their predecessors, and their notes to be in some measure critiques upon the preceding ones."

Such a work as this has long been a desideratum. For, besides the fact that there are so many clergymen who have not access to extensive libraries, a judiciously arranged synopsis saves a vast deal of time and labour to those who have. Of course, the object of any book of the sort is not to encourage indolence, or tell people what they are to think; but rather to bring within reach of the majority of students the materials for thought dispersed through a variety of works, some of them costly, and some scarce. With regard to the German Critics, Mr. Barrett has taken care to put his reader on his guard against their faults in the following passages, in which he has expressed his opinion of their merits and defects. "Those who are conversant with the respective merits of commentators will not be surprised at the use herein made of the German Critics. The object of the present work is not to enter into points of doctrine, but simply into critical difficulties; and though their neologian, or rather, infidel, principles are highly dangerous, yet where there is no question con-



cerning a doctrine or the truth of a miracle, the German Critics are most valuable: for learning and abilities few can vie with them, and they often prove safer guides to the plain sense of Scripture than some of our own orthodox divines: for what can be most hazardous for a man, when dealing with the Word of God, than to assert that a passage is unmeaning, interpolated, or corrupted, simply because he cannot understand it? Yet we find good and learned men, such as Bishop Lowth and Bishop Horsley, falling into this error, and unhesitatingly rejecting or altering passages which a German neologist will take in a critical manner, and fairly facing the difficulties, offer a possible, if not an easy solution, without having recourse to the unsafe remedy of correcting the text upon insufficient grounds. But whenever a point of doctrine or the truth of a miracle is involved, the reader cannot be too cautious in following the guidance of German Critics. The fairness and clearness they display upon other occasions seem at once to desert them, and they will twist the text in any way to get rid of a miracle or support their own peculiar views."

Both the points touched on in these judicious observations are of great importance. Whatever support it may have received from some divines of great learning and of unquestionable orthodoxy, no system of criticism is more to be deprecated than that which cuts asunder the difficulties of Scripture by conjectural emendations of the text. In truth, it is a system which has a more direct tendency towards infidelity than is commonly supposed. How is it possible for any one to accustom himself to take such liberties with the sacred writers, and to decide what the text *ought to be*, without diminishing his reverence for the Word of God? Nor can any class of critics be less safe as guides. For the rashness of the disciple is but too likely to outrun the ingenuity of the master. On the other hand, neologianism is an enemy to truth so insidious, so plausible, and so stealthy in its approaches, that it is impossible for the student to be too carefully on his guard when he open the works of those whose writings are in any degree leavened with it. A neologist commentator cannot be an honest one. His system is, in effect, infidelity in a form but little disguised. Mr. Barrett notices the liberties Rosenmüller and others have taken with the account of the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea, in order to divest the story of a miracle. Would it not be more reasonable to deny the truth of the history altogether? It is impossible to separate the Scripture narrative from its miraculous character, or its pretensions to inspiration. And, in fact, the attempt generally ends in rejecting its historical character also, and explaining the whole away as a myth or an allegory. What value the book would be after it had passed through this alembic of criticism is not very apparent. And how a volume, whose true meaning is only to be obtained by such processes, could ever have been designed (as it professes to have been) for the common sense of the plain and unlettered portion of mankind, it is difficult to imagine.

To return to Mr. Barrett's work. There is another topic on which the reader may require to be satisfied, and on which we can fully sympathize with his anxiety to be informed of Mr. Barrett's views.

We refer to his estimate of the value of our Authorized English Version. On this subject we have great pleasure in transcribing what Mr. Barrett has written. "The writer would much regret, if these collations should lead any one to form an unfavourable opinion of the Authorized Version of the Bible. Doubtless it has some faults, and since it was made, much light has been thrown upon the Scripture by the examination of MSS., the comparison of versions, and the labours of scholars; still the reader may rest assured that our present English Bible is one of the best translations that has yet been made of any book, and one over which a special Providence seems to have watched. It was carefully revised by the most learned men of a learned age, at a period when the English language was in its purity. Many of the alterations proposed in this work are upon minor critical points, which do not affect the sense of the text, and are of little consequence to the general reader, though of interest to the scholar; some are of doubtful authority, and may well be deemed inferior to the common reading, but they have been given because critics differ in opinion, and it was desirable to afford students means of judging for themselves. One thing, however, may safely be asserted;—that unless our translators have misunderstood the sense of a passage, few have ever rendered it more elegantly or faithfully; it is from this extreme faithfulness that they have so well preserved the distinctive feature of Hebrew poetry, i. e., the parallelism, without having had that object in view. And we must enter the strongest protest against all who urge as a reason for a new translation of the Bible, that the style of our present translation is antiquated and obscure. They seem to forget the benefit conferred upon the English language by fixing its standard, and preventing it from deteriorating." And then, having noticed some absurd instances of "the miserable way in which modern refinement disfigures what it attempts to improve," Mr. Barrett observes with much judgment, that "it may well be doubted whether the emendations which might safely be adopted into the text or the margin be sufficient to call for a new authorized version, considering the difficulties which now would attend its introduction; for whereas, in former times, the copies of the English Bible were comparatively few, they are now circulated by millions; a new translation would bring these copies into discredit, and unsettle the minds of the unlearned." No doubt there are some to whom all this will seem very foolish. But we have not transcribed this passage for the purpose of convincing such persons, but of satisfying those who may wish to know something of the spirit with which Mr. Barrett has approached his undertaking. The first volume of this work, containing the notes on the Pentateuch, is now published, and judging from the compiler's statement of his views, and from the manner in which the materials are brought together, we have much pleasure in recommending it as a work every way deserving of encouragement.

*Rituale Anglo-Catholicum; or the Testimony of the Catholic Church to the Book of Common Prayer, as exhibited in quotations from Ancient Fathers, Councils, Liturgies, and Rituals; together with Illustrations from Accredited Publications of the Sixteenth Century.* By the Rev. Henry Bailey, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Curate of Hingham, Norfolk. London: Parker. 8vo, pp. 408.

COMPARED with what had been previously written, it is gratifying to think how much has been done within the last twenty years towards the elucidation of the history of the Common Prayer-book. Mr. Bailey has devoted himself to a particular branch of the subject, and has with much care and labour produced a valuable book. The principal objects he had in view in the publication are stated in the conclusion of his preface. "They are—To provide a Companion to *The Liturgy compared with the Bible*, designed after the plan and arrangement of that Work,—to exemplify an important method of studying Catholic antiquity for a practical end,—to show the harmony of the ancient Fathers among themselves, and with our Prayer-book on important points of doctrine and discipline,—to provide, in the Illustrations on the Rubrics, a ready manual of Christian antiquities, on the several subjects of them,—to exhibit a Harmony of Ancient Liturgies,—to supply the plain parish priest with materials of thought for the composition of Liturgical Homilies,—to exhibit the genius of the Reformation of the Church in England,—to promote, by this means, a rational and devotional use of the Prayer-book; and to lead to a due admiration and appreciation of its spirit and constitution,—to endeavour in some degree to fulfil the duty incumbent upon an associated member of the ancient and religious Foundation to which it is the writer's honour to belong."

Objects so excellent cannot but commend Mr. Bailey's work to every one who desires to see learning, and piety, and an intelligent attachment to the Liturgy of our church, flourish amongst the clergy. And we shall be sincerely thankful to find that this volume has met such a reception, as will encourage the author to bring his work to that degree of perfection to which no work of such a description can be brought in a first edition. The illustrations from writers of the sixteenth century are derived from the liturgical works of Luther, Herman of Cologne, the Formularies of Faith, the Primers, the Homilies, and the *Liber Precum Publicarum*.

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*Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ. The Succession of the Prelates and Members of the Cathedral Bodies in Ireland.* By Henry Cotton, D.C.L., Archdeacon of Cashel. Dublin: Hodges and Smith. London: Rivingtons. 8vo, Part IV.

THIS part of the *Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ* contains the account of the dioceses of Limerick, Ardfert, Killaloe, and Kilfenora, and completes the first volume of a work which throws such light on so many points connected with the history of the Church in Ireland, that it is indispensable to every one who desires to understand the subject. It is with great regret, therefore, we have read the concluding sentence of Archdeacon Cotton's preface, in which he intimates that the sale of

the work has been so small, as to discourage him from prosecuting it any further. We hope that he may be induced to view the question in another light. The distresses of the Irish clergy at this calamitous period must prevent any extensive sale of books among them, and may continue to do so for some time. But surely a work so important, and collecting so many biographical notices which are nowhere else to be found, cannot fail of obtaining *in this country* attention and encouragement from all who are desirous of understanding the history of the English Church. It is no doubt a complaint but too well founded, that works of real value, and which have cost their authors almost incredible labour, receive in many instances but little appreciation at the time, and obtain a miserable share of that public encouragement which is lavished on the absurd and trashy productions of those, who, if they had much regard for their reputation, should abstain from exposing themselves by meddling with church history. Such is but too often the case. And the complaint is not a new one. But, whatever appearances there may be to the contrary, there is a growing taste for real history, and the value of a laborious collection of facts, and names, and dates, is beginning to be better understood, and we hope that the encouragement Archdeacon Cotton's work will receive may be such as to prove to him that its utility is appreciated in this country.

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*An Historical Vindication of the Church of England, in point of Schism, as it stands separated from the Roman, and was reformed 1<sup>o</sup> Elizabeth.* Edited for the Syndics of the University Press, Cambridge. London: Parker. 8vo, pp. 244.

SIR ROGER TWYSDEN, the author of this treatise, was one of those who suffered by imprisonment and sequestration from the friends of civil and religious liberty, on account of his loyalty to his unfortunate sovereign, Charles I. He was a man of great learning and industry, and in his retirement he employed himself in drawing up this truly excellent defence of the Church of England against the Roman-catholic charge of schism. His work first appeared in 1657. A second edition was published in 1675, after the author's death. It would appear, however, that he had made considerable preparations for bringing out his work in an enlarged form. Of these preparations, which are found added in his own handwriting in a copy in the British Museum, the present editor has availed himself; the additional facts supplied by the author from history, and such changes in the wording of the text as he contemplated, being now introduced into the work, and all additional matter being indicated by brackets. It is but justice to the editor to say, that his office has been discharged with much care and judgment, and our thanks are due to him for the labour he has bestowed in furnishing us with a valuable and well-timed addition to the standard works on the Romish controversy.

*The full Cathedral Service, as used on the Festivals and Saints' Days of the Church of England, composed by Thomas Tallis, &c.* Newly edited by E. F. Rimbault, LL.D., F.S.A. London: D'Almaine and Co.

*The Order of the Daily Service of the United Church of England and Ireland, as arranged for Choirs, by Thomas Tallis, A.D. 1570.* Edited, with an Historical Introduction, by E. F. Rimbault, LL.D., F.S.A. London: D'Almaine & Co.

THESE beautifully printed volumes are a most valuable accession to the students of cathedral music. Prefixed to each is an introduction, containing an extremely interesting account of Tallis and his works. In the course of this dissertation, the editor has corrected some errors (as we always felt they must be) in the common editions of Tallis's responses. He has also printed the responses after the Creed, in four parts, from a MS. in the handwriting of J. Clifford. And in appendix to "the Full Cathedral Service," he has also printed the Litany in four parts, from the same MS. This Full Service is by far the most correct edition of Tallis's admirable service which has ever appeared.

*The Autobiography of Thomas Platter, a Schoolmaster of the Sixteenth Century. Second Edition, with fac-simile Engravings.* Translated from the German by Mrs. Finn. London: Wertheim. 12mo, pp. 72.

It is always gratifying to see a book that is worth reading arrive at a second edition. We made the acquaintance of Thomas Platter some years ago, and are happy to renew it, and shall be happier still if this little notice should be the means of introducing his quaint and graphic story to some of our youthful readers; and if the elder ones should be tempted to open it, they will be apt to agree with what was said in the notice of it on its first appearance, that "those who take any interest in the history of Thomas Platter's period, will not be satisfied without reading all the little book, and will regret that is so little."

*Letters to M. Gondou, Author of "Mouvement Religieux en Angleterre," "Conversion de Soixante Ministres Anglicans," &c., on the Destructive Character of the Church of Rome, both in Religion and Policy.* By Chr. Wordsworth, D.D., Canon of Westminster. London: Rivingtons. 8vo, pp. 334.

WE have never regarded with much satisfaction, (and we have more than once ventured to express this very plainly,) the multiplication of answers to Mr. Newman's unhappy Essay on Development. Viewing it as we do—and in this several who have undertaken to answer it fully concur with us—as being nothing less than a modification of neologianism—if not worse—and as a most lamentable exhibition of weakness of reasoning powers—we could not look on the number of long and elaborate replies as anything less than a triumph to the Romish and the Romanizing parties, as if the divines of the Church of England felt that our position was endangered by an attack, which we really feel (and we cannot understand how any well-informed churchman can feel otherwise) is at least as mischievous to the Church of Rome as it can be to any other communion—if not more so. With these feelings we were not disposed to look with much pleasure on what appeared at a cursory glance to be nothing

more than another answer to Mr. Newman's essay, however able that answer might be. But Dr. Wordsworth's letters, although he has followed Mr. Newman in a considerable part of his argument, is in reality, as its title imports, an address to Roman Catholics, and it will be found a very suitable book to put into their hands, if they can be induced to read it.

Dr. Wordsworth has collected some particulars with reference to the reception Mr. Newman's essay has received from the Roman Catholics, which are so curious that we are anxious to preserve them here, as facts in the history of the controversy.

"More than a year has now elapsed since the publication of this volume, which the author (as he states in the postscript) 'submits to the judgment of the Church, with whose doctrine on the subjects of which it teaches he wishes all his thoughts to be coincident.' Sufficient time, therefore, has been given to ascertain the opinions of Roman-catholic divines, and of the Church of Rome generally, with respect to it. These opinions may be inferred partly from what she has *not* done, and partly from what she *has* done with respect to it.

"The preface is dated October the 6th, 1845, and on the 8th of the same month the author was received into communion with the Church of Rome. He came, therefore, into that communion with this book in his hands. It was, if I may so speak, his passport; his profession of faith. Now, I would observe, that all who have been abettors of heresy (so-called), and who are afterwards admitted into the Roman communion, are required by the Church of Rome in her Pontifical\* to anathematize all heresy, to swear that they hold the same faith as the Church of Rome, and that they will ever remain in communion with the Supreme Pontiff; and to declare that all who oppose this faith are deserving of eternal execration. You must allow that if the Church of Rome is a pure Church, the author of the 'Essay on Development' had been an abettor of heresy. He had called the Church of Rome 'crafty, obstinate, wilful, malicious, cruel, unnatural, as mad men are; or, rather, she may be said to resemble a demoniac. She is her real self only in name, and till God vouchsafe to restore her, we must treat her as if she were the Evil One who governs her. And in saying this, I must not be supposed to deny that there is any real excellence in Romanism even as it is, or that any real excellent men are its adherents. Satan ever acts on a system.'† The writer of these words could not (I conclude) have been admitted into your communion without satisfactory evidence that he had passed from heresy into orthodoxy, in your sense of the terms.

"Hence I infer, that the reception of the author into the Church of Rome, bearing this volume with him, is tantamount to a declaration of his opinion, and to an acknowledgment on the part of the Church which received him, that this publication is in accordance with, or, at least, not contrary to, the teaching of that Church. Besides this, the Church of Rome possesses what is called a *Congregazione dell' Indice*, a congregation for examining books, and for putting those which are disapproved by it into the Index Expurgatorius; and this congregation has been very active lately, as your Procureur-General and Member of your Chamber of Deputies, M. Dupin, can bear witness, whose Manual has been enrolled‡ among the prohibited books by the Pope: but I do not hear that the 'Essay on Development' has shared the same fate.

"In addition to all this, the work in question has not only been called 'un

\* Pontificale, p. 449, ed. Rom. 1818.

† Newman's Prophetical Office of the Church, p. 103.

‡ With several other books, by a Decree of the Pope, April 7, 1845.

beau fruit' by your leading Ecclesiastical Review,\* but it has received encomiums from Romanist Prelates and Divines in this country. Thus, for instance, a writer in the Dublin Review,† who, we are informed,‡ by a Romanist Clergyman, is a Bishop of the Romish Communion, thus speaks of Mr. Newman and his Essay. 'The reader must peruse this volume as the description of the process of reasoning by which the author's powerful and well-stored mind was brought to a *full accordance with Catholic Truth*.'§ 'Never did convert come to the Church with mind, soul, and heart *more thoroughly* made over to her cause, with more *complete* hearty and filial allegiance, than this work shows him to have done.|| The Catholic system is embraced (in it) with the fervour and simplicity of *one trained from infancy to the Faith*.¶

"Such is the verdict which has been pronounced on this work by one who (it is said) holds an Episcopal office in the Church of Rome—a Church, be it observed, which never ceases to assure us that the most perfect *unity* of judgment and practice exists in her communion; and therefore what is promulgated by *one* Bishop may be received as the opinion of *all*.

"But further still, another Romanist Prelate in this kingdom has paid a no less flattering tribute, of another kind, to this work. Dr. Gillis, the Roman-catholic Bishop of Edinburgh, has delivered a series of Lectures upon it in the Scotch capital.\*\* He has thus received the Essayist into the number of the

\* \* Le Correspondant, 25th Dec. 1845, p. 906.

† Dublin Review, Dec. 1845.

‡ The Rev. John Dalton, in the 'Tablet,' Jan. 24, 1846, p. 54, who says,—'The constant writer in the Dublin Review, on the Religious Movement, is one of our venerated Bishops.' Six of these articles have been reprinted from the Dublin Review, and circulated, with Bishop Wiseman's name as their author, by the 'Catholic Institute of Great Britain.'

§ Dublin Review, Dec. 1845, p. 527.

|| P. 532.

¶ P. 534.

\*\* The following account of these Lectures is given in the English Roman-catholic Journal, the 'Tablet,' No. 300, p. 70 (for Jan. 7, 1846):

"Sir,—As everything connected with our Church in *partibus infidelium* must be interesting to the readers of the "Tablet," I take the liberty of mentioning that a series of eight lectures has lately been delivered to the community of this city by our much-valued *Bishop Coadjutor*, Dr. Gillis. The *subject* of these lectures—which have been attended, not merely by the members of our Holy Faith, but by large numbers of Protestants of all sects and denominations—was *Mr. Newman's recent Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*; and their object was to convey a succinct analysis and exhibition of the process of reasoning contained in *that psychological marvel* to such who, either from circumstances, might be unable to procure access to the volume, or be incapable, without some guidance, of following the line of argument pursued by the distinguished essayist. This Dr. Gillis accomplished with his accustomed eloquence and perspicuity. By taking separately each of Mr. Newman's tests, and illustrating his relative deductions by the parallels adduced by the reasoner, and those abundant evidences afforded by the peculiar features of the Establishment at home, and the cradle-land of the Deformation—Germany; the blasphemies of both, and the infidelity now openly flourishing in the one country, and rapidly becoming developed in the other; Dr. Gillis, as it were, *illuminated that most important essay*, and extended the principles of its learned author to the comprehension of the humblest and least instructed, as well as to the admiration and charm of his more favoured auditors. These lectures, *we know*, have already been productive of much good, and will yet effect more; and we have heard several liberal and learned Protestants express their regret that his Lordship has brought the course to a conclusion. For while Dr. Gillis unflinchingly and boldly denounced and exposed the infamous calumnies heaped upon God's Church, and the lamentable errors and ignorance of her aspersors, he testified the beauty of its holiness by the affectionate charity and kindness with which he solicited mercy and enlightenment from heaven on the individuals themselves. From the obvious benefit resulting from these lectures of his Lordship, I have accordingly deemed it my duty to convey the fact to your columns, respectfully suggesting that

Doctors of the Church of Rome; he has, as it were, placed his 'Essay on Development' by the side of the *Libri Sententiarum* of Peter Lombard, and the *Secunda Secundæ* of Thomas Aquinas.

"Nor is this all. We find from the Ecclesiastical Intelligencer of the Continent, the *Univers*, that the author of the 'Essay on Development' has been honoured with a mark of approval and favour from the Pope himself. The same letters from Rome, which state to the readers of that periodical that the *whole month of March* of last year has been devoted by a religious Society in that city to prayers for the conversion of England, apprises us that 'the Holy Father (Gregory XVI.) has presented a beautiful crucifix to Mr. Newman.' The present Pope, Pius IX., has also given public proofs of the same feelings.

"Such are the tidings we receive from Rome; and from Paris we learn at the time when I am addressing you, that Mr. Newman, on his way to Rome to receive *holy orders*, has been welcomed with marks of tender cordiality by the Archbishop of Paris, and by the Nuncio of the Apostolic See;† no less marked was the welcome he received from the most eminent Bishop of the French Church of the present day, the Bishop of Langres,‡ and an earnest hope is expressed by the leading Romanist Journal of France, that 'after having saluted the tombs of the Apostles, he will return, strong in the graces he will have received, and in the benediction of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, to evangelize his country.' The expressions to which I advert will remain as a record to posterity of your hopes, and as a testimony from you of the honour due in your

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a similar course should be adopted in the various districts of the kingdom wherever "two or three are gathered together," as such expositions are but due to Mr. Newman, and conducive to the honour of that glorious Church, at the foot of whose altars he has laid this "reason for the faith that is in him."—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

A.

"Edinburgh, St. John Chrysostom, 1846."

"\* *Rome*, 18 *Mars*, 1846.—La fête de saint Grégoire a été célébrée le 12 de ce mois en grande solennité dans la belle église du Monte-Celio, au couvent des Camaldules. Un triduo y avait été ordonné pour demander à Dieu la conversion de l'Angleterre. Une foule de catholiques anglais étaient venus s'agenouiller au pied de ces autels, d'où à la voix de saint Grégoire, sont partis les apôtres qui convertirent la Grande-Bretagne. A l'occasion de cette fête touchante, une pieuse association s'est formée dans le but de consacrer tout le mois de mars à des prières pour la conversion de l'Angleterre. Un grand nombre de messes sont dites tous les jours à cette intention au Jésus, et dans toutes les églises et chapelles particulières de Rome.

"Le *Saint Père* (Greg. XVI.) a fait présent d'un beau crucifix à M. Newman."

"† *Univers*, 13 Septembre.—See the following page.

"‡ *Univers*, 20th Sept. 1846. 'On nous écrit de Langres,—

"La présence du R. J. H. Newman dans notre ville n'a pas excité moins d'intérêt qu'à Paris. Sa simplicité et sa modestie ont fait le charme de toutes les personnes qui ont eu l'avantage d'être admises auprès de lui. Notre vénérable évêque l'a accueilli avec l'empressement et la cordialité d'un frère. Quarante à cinquante membres de notre clergé ont eu l'honneur d'être présentés à celui dont la parole éloquentة émuait jadis la jeunesse studieuse de la première université d'Angleterre. Les marques de sympathie dont le savant écrivain a été l'objet lui ont dit le bonheur qu'éprouvent les catholiques de le compter parmi leurs frères. L'anxiété avec laquelle on cherchait à apprendre de ses lèvres les progrès du mouvement religieux de sa patrie trahissait l'intérêt avec lequel la France suit la renaissance de l'Angleterre. Il nous semblait voir dans la personne de M. Newman, allant se jeter aux pieds du vicaire de Jésus-Christ, un avant-coureur dépêché par l'Angleterre pour aller porter à Rome la nouvelle de son retour à la foi de ses pères. Puissent ces douces espérances se réaliser un jour! Quels hommes admirables que ces convertis d'Oxford! Dieu ne s'est pas choisi sans dessein des instruments si propres à accomplir de grandes choses.'"



opinion from the See of Rome to the author of the 'Essay on Development.'<sup>ms</sup>  
—Pp. 9—16.

These facts are very remarkable, and it certainly would seem hardly credible that the authorities of the Romish Church could be so transported by the triumph of proselytism, as to give so public a sanction to such a production, were they not compelled to feel, not only that the argument from antiquity must be abandoned, but that the time has arrived when it is no longer possible to defend their tenets and practices from the charge of novelty. We know how easily they can shift their ground and accommodate their warfare to the changes of circumstances. But they are shrewd men, and it is hard to imagine how they could have brought themselves to commit their church so far, and give up—what once they professed to consider its citadel—as untenable,—unless they were prepared to go much further. It may be no more than the intoxication of a triumph, of which they have been led to over-rate the value; if so, it is a most extraordinary example of what mistakes very clever and far-sighted men may be betrayed into by the spirit of party. If, on the other hand, their welcoming such a book in this way is to be taken, as too many circumstances would lead one to fear, as an indication of an inclination to sympathize with neologianism, and a preparedness for a movement in the direction of infidelity, one cannot regard it without the deepest

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“ \* *Paris, 12 Septembre.*—Le révérend John Henry Newman, premier chef de la célèbre école qui, aujourd'hui, a le docteur Pusey pour maître, vient de passer trois jours à Paris. Il en est parti hier, se rendant à Langres, où il va serrer la main de son ami et disciple, le révérend Dobré Dalgairns, qui, comme lui, après avoir embrassé la foi catholique, se prépare, par le recueillement et l'étude, à l'exercice du saint ministère. Dans les courts instants que le savant théologien anglais a passés ici, il a visité les principaux monuments religieux de la capitale de la France. Il a été reçu avec les marques d'une tendre cordialité par Mgr. le nonce apostolique et par Mgr. l'archevêque de Paris, qui, l'un et l'autre, ont été heureux de pouvoir lui exprimer de vive voix tout ce que leur cœur avait éprouvé d'aise en apprenant la conversion d'un esprit si éminent. L'ancien curé de Sainte-Marie et de Littlemore s'est agenouillé dans l'église où la piété des fidèles vénère les reliques de saint Vincent de Paul. . . .

“ Ajoutons que ce célèbre enfant de l'Eglise n'a pas voulu quitter Paris sans faire une visite à Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, ce sanctuaire où reposent les trophées de tant de conquêtes modernes du catholicisme, où chaque semaine un prêtre vénérable et vénéré lit au milieu d'une foule pieuse le bulletin des victoires remportées sous les auspices de Marie. Celui dont la conversion avait été dans ces murs sacrés l'objet de vives et persévérantes prières, venait se confondre parmi les fidèles qui avaient adressé leurs supplications au Ciel, et, à son tour, lui aussi priaient pour la conversion des amis dont il s'est séparé et de sa patrie tout entière. Le séjour de M. Newman à Paris a été court, parcequ'il a hâte de se rendre à Rome, où il se propose de passer l'hiver et de recevoir les ordres sacrés. Sa présence dans la capitale du monde chrétien ne saurait être un événement sans importance pour l'Angleterre religieuse. Le travail de régénération qui s'opère ne peut manquer d'en recevoir une impulsion nouvelle. L'intérêt que cette circonstance éveillera en faveur de l'Eglise naissante d'Angleterre déterminera, sans aucun doute, des efforts nouveaux pour satisfaire à ses besoins. L'homme le plus éminent que l'anglicanisme ait eu depuis deux siècles raffermira sa science et sa foi dans la ville sainte, et après avoir baisé le tombeau des apôtres, il partira, fort des grâces qu'il aura reçues et de la bénédiction du vicaire de Jésus-Christ, pour aller évangéliser sa patrie et lui dire ce qu'il aura vu, entendu, et conquis.”

regret. The spirit of charity still clings to the hope of Rome being awakened to her errors, (to call them by too mild a name,) and reforming her doctrine and her worship; but if the highest order of her clergy have more sympathy with neologianism and infidelity than with the Church of England, what is not to be feared, especially at a moment when, at head quarters, there seems such a disposition to concede to the liberal—if not the democratic—party in politics and government.

Dr. Wordsworth's observations on the manner in which Mr. Newman's essay has been received are very just and sensible, and deserve to be transcribed.

"Looking, then, at the reception of the author of the 'Essay on Development' into the Church of Rome with this volume as his confession of Faith,—looking at the tributes of honour which have been paid to him and his work, by Prelates of your Church, and by the Pope; considering also that unity of doctrine and practice is affirmed by your Church to be her special badge and prerogative, we should be guilty of great disrespect to her, if we did not allow that this work is (to adopt the first-mentioned Bishop's words) 'in full accordance with Catholic truth' as received and professed in the communion of Rome. You cannot wish us to imagine that the infallible Head of the Church of Rome can have been deluded; and that he can have extended his favour to the publisher of a Theory inconsistent with Roman orthodoxy. It would be very unjust to your Prelates to suppose that, arrived at their stage of life and dignity, they can have had, as it were, to go a second time to school and learn a new 'Theory of Christian Doctrine' from the lips of a Neophyte freshly won from the ranks of Protestantism. They are too clear-sighted not to perceive how dangerous an alternative it would be for them to concede that this doctrine, so honoured and lauded by them, is new to them, and to their Church: that it is not, in fact, *her* doctrine. They cannot suppose, that Religion, like natural Science, admits of *discoveries*: that it has at one time its Ptolemaic system, at another its Tychonic, at another its Copernican and Newtonian, to explain its phenomena. No: this doctrine, if true now, must have been *always* true, and it must, in their opinion, have *always* been the doctrine of that Church, which they affirm to be the divinely-appointed depositary and guardian of all Sacred Truth,—the Church of Rome.

"Let me refer also to another circumstance, which, let me observe by the way, has given me another reason for writing to you. It appears from a very recent statement, that you are likely to have *two translations* of the 'Essay on Development' in France. From the terms in which one of these translations is announced, it would appear that the author still abides by the opinions and statements of his book; and it would seem also, that the Church of Rome, to say the least, does *not disapprove of them*. Indeed, considering the author's present position in a state of tutelage in the Propaganda,\* we may say that

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\* Extract from the *Univers*, 10th Jan. 1847:—

"Le révérend M. Newman, dans une lettre récemment écrite de Rome à un de ses amis, exprimait le désir que la traduction de son *bel ouvrage* sur *l'Histoire du Développement de la Doctrine Chrétienne* ne parût pas sans avoir été revue par un ami de son choix. Ce désir est bien justifié, car les idées qu'il exprime dans cet ouvrage sont souvent si abstraites, et son style est si parfaitement anglais, qu'une simple connaissance de la langue anglaise ne saurait suffire pour reproduire avec toute la précision désirable ce *beau travail*. Ces désirs de M. Newman ont apporté quelque retard dans l'apparition de cet ouvrage; mais, quelque désirée qu'en soit la traduction, mieux vaut qu'elle paraisse un peu plus tard, que d'être livrée au public dans un état imparfait ou n'offrant pas toutes les garanties désirables.

"Le savant néophyte, en exprimant ce désir, ne s'attendait pas à être victime de

his acts are those of his Roman superiors rather than his own; and his expression of a desire for a French translation is tantamount to an *imprimatur* from them.

"For my own part, I am persuaded that every one, who reflects carefully on the principles of the Church of Rome, illustrated by her practice, will allow that the Romanist Prelates, to whom I have now referred, are correct interpreters of her mind, when they laud and lecture upon the 'Essay on Development.' I do not hesitate to affirm, that the author has no less fairly than freely stated the *true*, the *only* Theory of Christian Doctrine as taught by the Church of Rome. I do not mean to say, that it has always been as clearly *avowed* by her Divines as he has stated it; no, far from it. Some of them, and these very eminent Theologians,—your own Bossuet, for instance, (as I shall hereafter show,)—have struggled vehemently *against* it. They have contended as earnestly for an unvarying and unvariable *Tradition* of Doctrine, as he does for an unlimited and illimitable *Expansion* of it. Some of your Doctors say that 'the Church believes as she has *always* believed,' as vehemently as *others* among you affirm, that 'the Church is always learning new truths,' *γράφειν τ' αὖτις πολλὰ διδάσκουμένη*. It will be found that on this fundamental question, you have, as in many *others* in your Church, Doctors against Doctors, Bishops against Bishops, Councils against Councils, Popes against Popes. But though you have no *unity of teaching* on this subject, yet there is a ruling idea which runs through the *acts* of the Church of Rome: and what Mr. Newman's Essay is in *Theory*, that the Papacy is in *Practice*. From Ecclesiastical History, as he reads it, Mr. Newman *constructs* the Papacy; from itself, as it exists, the Papacy interprets Ecclesiastical History. The one proceeds by synthesis, the other by analysis. The Theory of Development is the result of both processes. It is, and *must* be, the Theory of all consistent Romanists. It follows necessarily from the doctrine of the Papal Infallibility: a living Infallible Power must be *creative*."—pp. 17—21.

There is another passage in these letters which we are disposed to extract, because it serves to illustrate what has already been proved in a very excellent paper in a former number of this Magazine, that Mr. Newman has either far less pretensions to learning than his admirers supposed, or that he is not very careful in his statements and appeals to authorities. Mr. Newman having attempted to evade the force of the argument from the silence of primitive writers, by asserting, "that the law of silence is often simply unaccountable." Dr. Wordsworth has undertaken to examine the instances of *reserve* in other writers, which Mr. Newman has alleged to give probability to his assertions.

"But 'the law of silence (we are told) is often simply unaccountable.' The Pope *might* have existed, and Ignatius say nothing about him; and we are

ce qu'il redoutait davantage. Il apprendra avec douleur qu'une traduction de son ouvrage, pleine d'erreurs grossières, que nous signalerons sans délai, vient de paraître. Nous sommes certains d'être agréables à l'auteur de l'*Histoire du Développement* en signalant cette prétendue traduction de son ouvrage pour ce qu'elle vaut. Il est impossible de pousser plus loin que le traducteur l'ignorance de toutes choses se rattachant à M. Newman et au mouvement religieux de l'Angleterre. Nous justifierons demain cette opinion.

"M. Newman peut se rassurer. Le public français ne le jugera pas sur l'œuvre informe qu'on nous donne sous son nom; il attendra la traduction qui doit paraître avec son approbation,—traduction et approbation que la publication dont nous signalons les défauts rendent plus que jamais indispensables."—Mr. Newman dates his public declaration concerning the supposed miraculous cure of the Abbé Blanpin, 'from the College of the Propaganda, 4 Jan. 1847.'

assured that there are other examples of *reserve* quite as strange as this. Let me then say a few words on the *supposed* parallels between the silence of Ignatius concerning Popes, and that of some other writers concerning celebrated persons and things, known to have existed in their time. This examination will furnish us with a specimen of the character of the statements and reasonings of the 'Essay on Development,' and will, I think, induce you to pause before you place any reliance on them, without careful inquiry. Your faith, I assure you, will be much imposed upon if you receive them implicitly.

"First, then, the author says in the passage above cited, '*Lucian hardly notices Roman authors or affairs.*' This is a very strange assertion. Lucian speaks *very frequently* of Roman\* affairs. Τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὁράτω †— let him survey *Roman affairs*,' is his precept to his Historian, and

Νοστήσεις Ῥώμην καὶ Θύμβριδος ἱερὸν ὕδωρ‡,

says he in a work, which he addresses to Celsus, the famous *Roman* Epicurean; and he entitles one of his dialogues with the name of *Nero*, the *Roman* Emperor.§

"Secondly, '*Maximus Tyrius* (we are told,) *who wrote several of his works at Rome, makes no reference to Roman History.*'

"You would suppose from these words, that in several works which he wrote at Rome he makes no mention of Roman History. But are you aware that the Essayist *never saw* '*several of his works*'? that only *one* of them exists, and that this is composed of Greek dissertations, some at least of which were delivered in *Greece*,|| and that they are *all* on philosophical subjects, such as the genius of Socrates, the summum bonum, the theology of Plato, the philosophy of Homer. What wonder, then, that he should say nothing of *Roman History*? You might as well be surprised that Locke does not quote Moliere, nor say anything of the Merovingian Dynasty in his *Essay on Human Understanding*. Surely the law of Silence is not very unaccountable here.

"Thirdly, '*Paterculus the historian is mentioned by no ancient author except Priscian.*'¶

"This is another mistake. Paterculus is quoted by the Scholiast on Lucan, ix. 178, as Ruhnken has observed;\*\* and they who have leisure for such inquiries, may perhaps find some other notices of him in other authors. I say *perhaps*, for it will not be at all surprising if they do *not*, because Velleius was never very much read; whence we may account for the fact that only one MS. of his history survives.

"Fourthly, '*Seneca, Pliny, and Plutarch are altogether silent about Christianity.*'

"It is very strange that *this* silence should be called '*unaccountable*,' when it had been accounted for by St. Augustine fourteen hundred years ago; 'Seneca (says he) does not mention the Christians, lest he should either praise them against the custom of his country, or blame them (probably) against his own will:†† this reason has been considered quite sufficient by your best writers, for instance, by Tillemont.‡‡

"Fifthly, '*Perhaps Epictetus also, and the Emperor Marcus (Aurelius,) are silent on Christianity.*'

"As for Epictetus, the fact is, *none* of his writings are extant; for the Enchiridion or Manual, which goes by his name, is nothing more than a collec-

\* i. 13. ii. 389. iii. 163. 672, &c., ed. Amst. 1743.

† ii. 61.

‡ ii. 235.

§ iii. 636.

|| Diss. xxxvii. τότε κηρύττομαι ἐν τοῖς Πανήλλοις. 'Heinsio videtur (says Harles, Fabric. v. 518) majorem ætatis suæ partem in locis Asiæ et Græciæ trans-egisse.'

¶ Annales Velleiani, § 30.

\*\* Præf. ad. fin.

†† De Civ. Dei, vii. 11.

‡‡ Histoire des Empereurs, i. 340. ii. 274. ed. 1702.

tion of his sayings strung together by his scholar Arrian, the Bithynian soldier. It is quite true, then, that Epictetus, *as far as we know*, is silent about Christianity, as he is about *everything else*, except so far as Arrian speaks for him in a little volume of about thirty octavo pages: but there is *another* work by Arrian, called *Dissertations*, which some suppose to have been also compiled from Epictetus, and *there* he is *not* silent on Christianity; he mentions the Christians, and calumniate\* them as Galileans.

"Again: Marcus Aurelius is *not* silent about Christianity: it would have been much more for his credit if he had been; for he speaks of the constancy and courage of Christian martyrs as if it were mere obstinacy,† somewhat in the same manner as Pliny the younger treats the matter in his Epistle to the Emperor Trajan.‡

"Sixthly, *'the Jewish Mishna, too, compiled about A.D. 180, is silent about Christianity.'*

"This is another strange observation. The Jewish Mishna, or Second Law, falsely claims, as you know, to be the record of oral communications which God made to Moses on Mount Sinai, and which were transmitted by him to Joshua and the Prophets after him. It would, therefore, have been very unaccountable if it had not been silent about Christianity.

"Seventhly, *'the Jerusalem and Babylonish Talmuds are almost silent about Christianity, though the one was compiled about A.D. 300, and the other A.D. 500.'*

"This is scarcely less surprising than the former remark. The Talmud consists of the Mishna and Gemara, that is, of oral traditions and their interpretation; and the same reason which hinders the Jews from seeing the Messiah of the Christians in their *written* Word, prevents them from giving Him a place in the *un-written*, or in their own interpretations of it. We might as well expect frequent mention of Christianity in the *Mythographi Latini* as in the Jewish Talmud.

"Eighthly, *'Eusebius is very uncertain in his notice of facts, he does not speak of Methodius nor of St. Antony.'*

"No great wonder; as your Church-historian Tillemont§ has shown, for St. Methodius was an enemy of Origen, who was as strenuously defended by Eusebius. As for St. Antony, Eusebius in his *Evangelical Demonstration*,|| speaks in general terms of the first Eremites; and if he does not speak specially of St. Antony, we need not be much surprised, when we remember the parts taken by the Saint and the Historian respectively in the cause of St. Athanasius.

"Ninthly, *'Eusebius does not speak of the martyrdom of St. Perpetua, nor of the miraculous powers of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus.'*

"How does the Essayist know this? We have not all or nearly all the works of Eusebius; particularly 'His Book of Martyrs,' mentioned by St. Jerome,¶ and to which Eusebius himself refers in his 'Ecclesiastical History,'\*\* as supplementary to that work, is now lost; and it is very probable that St. Perpetua was mentioned *there*. As for Gregory Thaumaturgus, Eusebius†† mentions him as the most celebrated of the disciples of Origen at Cæsarea. Ruffinus, the ecclesiastical historian, the translator and defender of Origen, not being satisfied with the silence of Eusebius, inserts in his translation of Eusebius, an account of some of the acts of Thaumaturgus;‡‡ and it may be supposed that the Origenistic controversy, which swayed men in different

\* \* Lib. iv. § 7.

† Lib. xi. § 3. κατὰ ψυχὴν παράταξιν ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοί.

‡ Ep. x. 97.

§ v. 201, ed. 1739.

¶ De Viris Illust. c. 81.

†† vi. 30. ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπισκόπων διαβόητος Γρηγόριος.

‡‡ vii. 25.

directions at that time, was not without its influence, in contrary directions, on the mind of Eusebius and his Translator.

"Tenthly, '*Josephus is silent about Christianity.*'

"Here is another assertion in which the Author presumes on a most wonderful degree of ignorant belief in his readers. Who is there, of moderate historical knowledge, who has not heard of the celebrated passage in the *Antiquities of Josephus*\* concerning Christianity? and though some persons have raised doubts about it, yet what theologian knows not that it is quoted as genuine by Eusebius,† Hegesippus, and Jerome, in their controversial writings with Jews? Who is ignorant that its genuineness has been maintained by the most learned men in your nation and in ours,—by Casaubon, Valesius, Usher, and Pearson,‡ and yet with the most perfect calmness the Author says, '*Josephus is silent about Christianity!*'

"I have thus gone through *ten* assertions, nine of them taken consecutively from a *single half page* of the '*Essay on Development.*' You will pardon, I trust, the trouble I have given you in carrying you through these details; but I was desirous of showing you once for all how little claim the *Essay* has to be regarded as a correct representation of *facts*; and since its main design is to show that Popery is '*historical Christianity,*'§ I thought it a duty to prove that the '*Essay on Development*' is not *Christian History*, and that a writer who sounds the claim of Romanism to be regarded as historical Christianity on such assertions as these, has gone far to prove it to be as fabulous as Greek or Latin Mythology.

"Again, it was my desire to show that the silence of Ignatius concerning the Papacy is indeed unaccountable on any other supposition, except the true, viz., that in *his age it did not exist*; and it is my opinion that the alleged examples in which the author has attempted to find parallels for the silence of Ignatius, only afford additional proof that this silence is inexplicable, if the Papacy is true."—pp. 160—167.

There is nothing more painful in the Roman-catholic controversy than the moral effects which a tendency towards Rome appears almost invariably to produce. Party spirit may explain a vast deal. Men may puzzle, and sophisticate, and entangle, and bewilder themselves; but somehow or another, one of the first symptoms observed, is a trifling with truth, misstating facts, tampering with evidence and authorities, and a disposition to resort to any weapons, even those of infidelity itself, in defence of a church and a system, whose advocates seem to prove nothing so clearly, as that they are afraid to trust their cause to fair argument, reason, truth, history, or Holy Scripture.

#### ON THE WORKING OF THE NEW IRISH RELIEF ACT.

[THE following remarks on this measure, about which so much anxiety must be felt at present, are part of a communication from the Rev. Mr. Crosthwaite, of Durrus.]

The law has now at last taken up the melancholy task of

\* \* xviii. 3.

† Professor Lee has lately given to the world a new citation of it by Eusebius, *Theophania*, p. 329.

‡ † See Archdeacon Churton's *Edition of his Minor Works* i. 319. 332; ii. 25. 33.

§ P. 1—29.

providing for the maintenance of all those poor unfortunate creatures in Ireland whose sufferings have been appealing so urgently to the well-proved benevolence of the English people. And independent of the great value of having the measures of relief more systematized than they hitherto have been, there is another inconceivable advantage gained by this measure, namely, that the English nation will now have the means of coming at a real knowledge of the state of Ireland. Hitherto the condition of Ireland has been a mystery to the great majority of the British people. Numberless little items in the account of periodical failure and perennial wretchedness which have astonished and provoked many, who at first were unable to believe them, and when they did believe, were unable to account for them, will now be made evident to all, and accounted for.

These phenomena will become the subject of investigation and inquiry. When the government, having decided that Ireland must support her own poor, and having carefully constructed this new measure, shall find that the beneficial results they desire and anticipate are not so easily realized, such inquiry will then be made as will bring to light the real circumstances of the case. Many now think that the landlords are all to blame; many others think that the movements of the Roman-catholic priests have had a large share in the account. A few still linger over the fiction of the enormous revenues of the Established Church; but matters cannot go on now much longer without the truth or falsehood of these notions being discovered—failure will bring the truth to light. What! some may say, do you mean to assert, that these new measures will fail, or that the poor Irish will not be fed, when the English government takes them in hand? Do you mean to say, that when once a rate has been struck for giving outdoor relief to all whom the workhouse will not contain, and who have neither employment nor food, that then the *rate* will not give them food? Why should this measure fail? and from what quarter is failure to be anticipated? Is it that the wealthy farmers will refuse to pay the rate, whilst the laws have power to enforce it? Or that the landlords will refuse to dispense the provisions, when paid committees can be appointed to supersede them, and the expense can be charged upon the land? It is not from such circumstances as these that want of success in the present relief measure is apprehended. In districts where wealthy farmers are found there will be the more employment, and the less misery. The workhouse will be less likely to be overstocked, and the poor's-rate for outdoor relief will be more moderate. Nor will the landlords generally refuse to act on the relief committees, except such as can afford to have persons paid to act

in their stead. The places where the present measure is likely to fail are those districts where there is the greatest necessity that it should succeed. In those wild and extensive tracts in Ireland, where the face of the country is now covered, not with those who can pay a rate, but who require a rate to be paid for their support; in these places it is that the new measure will be likely to fail; and, unhappily, we know how very large a proportion of the working of the new relief will be in such districts as these. There is, it is true, a very considerable proportion of the superficial extent of Ireland in which the new measure will succeed, but even in those districts it must press with dreadful severity in order to squeeze out of the property of Ireland the millions' worth of sustenance that have been lost. For we must not lose sight of the fact, that this is really very nearly the true calculation of matters. Millions' worth of food have been lost. They must be supplied from some source. It will not do to say, "The loss was only in one year, and is not to be looked upon as a permanent one." True, the loss is not to be looked upon as a permanent one; that is, we may hope that there will not be so many millions loss of crop and food every year. God forbid there should. But, that this loss was sustained one year, is not more certain than that it must be repaid. A large instalment of it was paid during this eventful winter; part by the bounty of those whose works of noble generosity and benevolence this year have gone before them to that place where we trust their treasure of joy and happiness is laid up for them; part, by human lives, and misery, and wretchedness, and woe, which we would gladly forget. Would that the sad story could be blotted out from the records of time and of eternity, and that none may ever suffer on account of it. But we must not foolishly suppose that the millions which were lost in the failure of the poor man's food are no more to be taken into the account, or that it is only necessary to start more wisely for the future, and forget the past. No such thing. The debt *must* be repaid by gift or loan before matters can ever start fair again in Ireland. A large instalment, few know how large, must be repaid this year, *and it must be repaid in money*; repayment with *life* cannot be allowed again. A very large proportion of the remainder can be repaid only by the future sufferings of those who through this calamity have by a few steps (a great fall to them) lost that grade in society which they never, in all human probability, will recover again.

It may be necessary to explain this matter a little more fully. Thousands of very poor people have this year lost that food by which they were enabled in a miserable independence to support their families at home. Now, if these persons were allowed



to die of hunger, it might be said by such as think the loss of population no disadvantage, that the failure of their sustenance was no longer an injury to the state; that the debt was repaid by these miserable people being swept off the face of the earth. That is a line of reasoning which, happily, is not adopted by many political economists. Let us, however, fix our thoughts upon the survivors. They have lost an enormous amount of food, such as it was; or rather *the nation has lost it in their persons*. And if these people are not to be allowed to starve, this loss must be repaid or repaired this year. There is no alternative. Now the object of the new measure is, that this loss may be repaired by levying a rate. And an admirable plan it is in any locality where the sufferers bear any moderate proportion to the gross population, or the amount of loss any moderate proportion to the property of the district. But, alas, it is greatly to be feared, that although a large superficial extent of the island is so circumstanced, still by far the greater portion of the destitution is accompanied by features of a very different kind. But I have admitted that *there is a large extent of the country in which this measure will succeed*—in which enough can be obtained out of the property of the district to replace the lost food, by enabling those who have land still to grow a sufficiency for next year, and by feeding those who have not land, either by giving them food or work. But though this portion of the country is considerable in superficial extent, it embraces *but a very small portion comparatively* of the misery that is to be relieved. The real evil that is to be contended with exists in districts where, alas, even the poor-rate *already struck* for the support of the workhouse during the past half-year, has not been collected, and where, in many cases, the workhouse must have been closed, had not some of the guardians generously came forward, and, either by their money or their credit, enabled the Board to keep the house open. What will be the condition of such districts as these, when a rate is struck for the maintenance of thousands instead of hundreds? But it is taken for granted, that the farmers and landlords will immediately, in self-defence, employ the population instead of paying a rate for supporting them in idleness. This, however, assumes that the farmers in such districts have capital, whereas they are generally themselves brought so low as to be quite unable to keep even the usual number of persons to till their ground; and it has been a very common thing during the last month to see young girls driving the horses, whilst their fathers held the plough, or even levelling the ridges after the plough, where there were no brothers to perform these operations. But persons will say, if the farmers have not capital,

their landlords have land: this is true, but it is not so evident, when the subject is calmly considered, that the present emergency can be met by the landlords, either selling their properties, or beginning to take the lands into their own hands and to farm them themselves. Let us suppose, for instance, that, in a district with five thousand inhabitants, three thousand have to be supported at the expense of the other two thousand, and this is far, very far, under the amount of pressure which will be felt in the numerous very distressed districts in Ireland; well: in the first aspect of this, does it not seem rather a difficult matter for 400 families to take upon themselves the support of 600 families more? Under the best of circumstances such a burden would be far from light; but, at a time of almost bankruptcy in the affairs of the 400, what is to be thought of their power to support the 600 more? But let us not be contented with the first superficial aspect of the matter,—let us come to the details: of the 400 farmers, suppose 200 to be crushed by the rate, (a case certain to occur if the rate be collected,) then these 200 families must be added to the 600, already paupers, and thus there will be 800 families to be supported by the 200 remaining, who have struggled through, and continued to exist. Some one, perhaps, may say, that at least 50 of these 200 will be landlords, and that they will have the lands on which the 200 families before existed; but let us remember, that these landlords, having lost the rents of those 200 families, will in all probability be almost ruined themselves, even if they should have been all their lives living within their incomes, which does not always happen to be the case. Nor can it be supposed, that the lands thus thrown upon the landlord's hands will pay the rates by their own natural and spontaneous production; the only spontaneous productions, unfortunately, are grass and weeds, all others require ready money to raise them;—well, grass will be of no use unless there is either money to buy cattle to put upon it, or a sufficiently remunerative demand for hay; the first is wanting, and the second does not exist, in one out of ten of the districts we are speaking of. The demand for hay in such districts has hitherto been met at a moderate price. What advantage would arise from increasing the supply one hundredfold? It may be said, the government will lend money to the landlords for draining and other improvements; it is true it will do so, but it is to be remembered that what is to pay the present rates for the poor, and the future loan instalments on draining and other improvements, is *the cultivation of the soil*, and the soil *cannot be cultivated without capital*. There remains but the one other way of supporting the poor in such districts, and that is, to force the landlords to sell their properties

for whatever they may bring, to men with capital sufficient to pay all the increased demands upon them. By certain hard measures this can be done; but it remains to be considered, whether such hard measures will, either in their working or in their consequences, be such as a wise legislature would think it right or profitable to enforce. But, even if this should be the course of events, it is only gradually it could come into effect, and *meanwhile what is to support the poor?* These things being considered, it seems evident that the new Relief measure, for meeting the present distress by a rate for out-door relief, cannot succeed in those districts in which it is most needed, and in which by far the greater portion of its operation must be carried into effect.

It must not be thought from these observations, that the writer believes the new Relief measure to be really a bad one,—no such thing. It would be an admirable measure, if it were accompanied by an introduction of employment and capital which would *ease* the heavy working of the machinery, overloaded, as it must be, under present circumstances. In the districts along the coast where there has lately been such dreadful suffering, there is presented at once to the mind of every one, a source of employment and an investiture of capital, both easy and safe, in the fisheries. It has been a matter of amazement to every one who has visited the scenes of inconceivable misery along the south-western coast, in the neighbourhood of Skull and Bantry, that these districts, instead of being abodes of wretchedness and death, should not present a chain of thriving fishing towns reaching all round that shore from Kinsale to Castletown Berehaven. And it is no wonder that strangers should be thus astonished, when the fact is considered, that French boats come fishing into Bantry Bay, whilst our own fishermen are starving for want of employment. But I have already made this paper too long, and must reserve the consideration of that subject for another opportunity.\*

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\* The Rev. J. C. Crosthwaite, St. Mary-at-Hill, London, begs to acknowledge the following additional donations for the poor of his brother's parish of Durrus:—

	£	s.	d.
From the Archbishop of Armagh, being a remittance to his Grace from the Rev. F. Venton, Rector of Emmanuel Church, Brooklyn, New York . . . . .	15	3	8
Y. Z. . . . .	5	0	0
Also a bale of excellent and useful clothes for children, from W. Lunn, Esq., St. Mary-at-Hill.			

## THE DISSENTERS AND THE MINUTES OF EDUCATION.

WE have not prefixed this heading with any intention of entering on any general examination of a question of which the public must by this time be tolerably weary, but because there is nothing which seems to strike one so forcibly in the matter, as the amazing forgetfulness exhibited by the dissenters of the position they occupy in the educational movement. If one wants arguments to prove the inefficiency and utter powerlessness of the voluntary system to educate the population of this country, it is to the dissenters themselves, to their accredited organs, and the avowals of their own advocates, we go for proofs. It is really wonderful, when one reads the blustering ravings of Mr. Baines and his friends, to think of the continual stream of information the dissenters are pouring forth on the public, all to one and the same effect,—to expose the miserably impoverished state of their chapels, ministers, congregations, missions, schools, and colleges, and to demonstrate that they are actually expiring under the blighting, starving effects of the voluntary principle. Churchmen know very little of the actual state of dissent. But in no one particular is their ignorance greater, than in their estimate of its numbers and the efficiency of its organization. No doubt, it is natural, when persons of name and note amongst the dissenters are coming forward on every occasion, to boast of the wonders which Voluntaryism enables them to perform; and of the still greater wonders it would perform, if it were not for something—the Church, for example,—it is but natural that those who have no opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with facts, and are not acquainted with the statements *on the other side*, which dissenters are evermore making in their own publications, should be disposed to reckon the strength and resources of dissent as much more formidable than they really are. But if the publications put forth by the dissenters themselves were more generally read, churchmen would see how little reason there is for any apprehension of dissent being able, in a fair and direct way of growth and extension, to encroach very materially on the church; and statesmen would see, likewise, how absurd it is to shape those movements which are designed to confer benefits on the whole community, by the clamour and dictation of those who endeavour to force on us a system, which they are obliged to confess is unable to keep up the institutions necessary to the very existence of their own denomination. When one knows that the dissenting chapels and colleges are burdened with debt almost to sinking, that their ministers are impoverished and depressed to a degree disre-

putable to themselves and disgraceful to the body they belong to; that the numbers of all the Denominations are, by their own showing, steadily and constantly decreasing, it would not be unreasonable to expect, under all the circumstances, that, if the dissenters have not yet discovered that they are dwindling away under the effects of an impracticable and mischievous theory, yet, at all events, their tone should be more modest and less dogmatical, and, perhaps, that they would feel thankful to accept of some public aid in the education of their poor, if it were only that they might be able to reserve their strength for the saving of those institutions which are fast perishing for want of money, and along with which, if suffered to fall, the whole dissenting interest must go down and crumble into atoms. But yet they talk as loud and as big as if they were in the most prosperous condition, and as if one did not know that they are every now and then sending forth documents to announce that they are at their wits end, and their concerns in a state of all but insolvency. The following very sensible and well-tempered letter (which derives no small part of its value from its being written by one who is still an advocate for the voluntary principle in religion,) appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* of April 17th. We know nothing of the circumstances which called it forth, but it seems to us to deserve the attention of those who wish to understand the working of the system, and to appreciate the claims the dissenters have to obtain a hearing for their clamours against measures in support of which all other parties in the country are agreed.

#### THE VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE.

*To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.*

"Sir,—The letter of the Rev. R. Morris, which appeared in the *Guardian* of Saturday last, subjects me to the necessity of troubling you with a few observations. That necessity I feel to be a disagreeable one, as it exposes me to the risk of getting into the somewhat false position of appearing as the opponent of a gentleman for whose character and talents I have the highest respect, and with whom, on all the great questions now stirring society, I substantially agree. To a large extent we are identified on the very subject embraced by his letter. We both laud the voluntary principle; we both wish it to make progress; but, if I rightly understand him, we differ as to the amount of success by which its efficiency should be tested. I feel that, whilst so much remains to be done, praise must be administered with caution, and in full view of the work yet untouched. I cannot join its friends in singing its song of triumph at present, as I think ~~that~~ would be to be over-*"hasty,"* and would expose me to the charge of lulling to supineness those whom I am very desirous to stimulate.

"Nothing but the marked and personal manner in which Mr. Morris refers to me, induces me to reply to his letter. Had he confined him-

self to a mere statistical statement of facts and localities, his arguments would have possessed all the force they now possess, whilst there would have been little necessity for me to break silence. But as it is, people will naturally inquire, how I, the witness of such admirable instances of the efficiency of the voluntary principle, should have the effrontery to disparage that principle, as Mr. Morris intimates I have done, and will no doubt wonder at my leaving a place so evidently calculated to render a teacher prosperous and happy. As a mere matter of self-vindication, I am shut up, therefore, to my present course.

"In Mr. Morris's statistics, there occur, I believe, one or two inaccuracies, on which I take the liberty of remarking. He sets down to the credit of the voluntary principle the sum of 2,300*l.* expended in erecting an independent chapel, *forgetting that 1000*l.* of that sum has yet to be raised*; and that an inference the reverse of his own might be founded on this fact. *I shall be glad to hear when that debt ceases to exist.* Again, of the six or seven dissenting ministers "supported" by the voluntary principle, at Burton, there are some whose cases, if published, would, I think, hardly do that principle much service. One dissenting minister, second to none of his brethren there in piety and zeal, *had recently to leave the town, finding that to stay would be little better than to starve.* Now, though an adherent of the voluntary principle, I cannot consent to conceal its defects, as I have a conscientious conviction that to expose them is to do something towards their cure.

"These statistics seem to establish a fact of some importance, at the present moment—namely, that national endowment on the one hand, and vigorous voluntary effort on the other, are perfectly compatible. Of the whole sum raised by the Burton voluntaries, *it appears that more than one-half was raised by the church.*

"Mr. Morris is also somewhat in error in setting down 350 as the number for which the British schools afforded accommodation. I believe that working accommodation for 300 is the very utmost that can be fairly claimed for them.

"But, sir, I conceive that facts of this kind do not furnish the best means of testing voluntary efficiency. It is less important to know that certain buildings have been erected, than to know that the purposes to be answered by their erection are being properly carried out. Unhappily, there is too much reason to believe that there are instances of schools whose erection enlisted enthusiastic support, whose opening was honoured by public gatherings and eloquent speeches, and whose internal history, for the first few months, told a gratifying tale of active sympathy and vigilant superintendence on the part of their committees—that now show (or have shown) *dispirited masters and heavy debts*; *that are seldom visited by their supporters*; that are scarcely ever heard of by the public; and that are *never thought of by their subscribers, without a peevish wish that they would support themselves.* Under such circumstances, it would be singular if the financial difficulties of the managers did not thicken upon them, and if, sick with disappointment, they did not devoutly wish themselves clear of the

affair. Mingled feelings of party pride and attachment to principle, combine for a season to retard the final crisis, but *come it does, when the school is either given up, or the master left to pine upon a paltry pittance, solely raised from the children's pence.*

"After Mr. Morris's representations, Manchester people of course do not expect to hear that *Burton* can supply an example of the above kind; but they shall judge if it be altogether an exception. The early history of the British schools erected there in 1843, fully realized the best features of the sketch just given; yet, before the close of 1845, gentlemen of the committee privately told the teacher that the expenses had exceeded expectation; that the subscriptions had diminished; that there was a heavy and increasing debt; and that, in self-defence, the committee would no doubt be obliged to leave the school to its own resources. It was in vain that the teacher pointed out how the committee, by a bolder and more self-denying policy, might largely retrieve their affairs; and how grievous would be the injustice inflicted on himself by the contemplated step, especially as he had, with the tacit sanction of the committee, rejected, a short time before, the offer of a similar situation, possessing nearly double advantages. It was in vain that he offered, from his limited resources, to give some 5*l*. or 10*l*., on condition that a special appeal should be made to the public, and that each member of the committee should increase his subscription by only one-fourth. It was the settled opinion of the chairman that, *on account of chapel debts and other causes, no plan would extract an additional farthing; and being himself about to quit the town, he advised the teacher, as a friend, to follow his example.*

"The new year opened—the finances were lower than ever; it became imperative to stop the increase of debt, and the committee passed a resolution (the original of which I possess), announcing to the teacher, that, for a fortnight, he would receive at the rate of 50*l*. per annum, and afterwards the children's pence. This, with his occupation of the school-house, was to be his sole remuneration; whilst he was now required, for the first time, *to pay for the cleaning of the schools, or*—such seemed the inference—clean them himself. The plea of the committee for all this was '*stern necessity.*' It was accompanied with expressions of deep regret, and of undiminished respect for the teacher; nor is there any room to question the complete sincerity with which these representations were made. The personal treatment of the teacher by the committee, during the whole time of his connexion with them, was uniformly characterized by the most marked courtesy and respect, exhibiting a refreshing and honourable contrast to a state of things sometimes found connected with this relationship.

"It is due to Mr. Morris to state, that at the time the resolution just spoken of was adopted, he had become a resident in Manchester. Assuredly, he will agree with me, that the history of this resolution is not the history of voluntary efficiency; and will hardly object to it as unfounded, when I say, that to the failure of the voluntary principle in the very locality he has so lauded as the scene of its triumphs, do I owe my residence, at this hour, in Manchester. I feel warranted in asserting, further, that if the future doings of the voluntary principle

(I refer exclusively to its educational aspects) are to be augured from the example selected by Mr. Morris, *teachers certainly will not regard them with much satisfaction*; nor, in the light of such an example, is their desire to know, at this crisis, 'What the voluntaries are prepared to do,' either strange or unreasonable. The case of Burton, I emphatically maintain, does not furnish a satisfactory answer; as, indeed, Mr. Morris himself seems indirectly to admit. Why my expression of feeling on this subject should cause him regret, I do not understand. I pleaded for no government interference; far from justifying the minutes of council, I regard them as containing one feature insuperably objectionable; I merely asked for a step in advance from voluntaries. With me, however, religious voluntarism and educational voluntarism are perfectly distinct. A want of faith in the power of the one by no means implies a want of faith in the power of the other. Mere education, as commonly understood, is destitute of the high and commanding sanctions that invest religion, and the conduct of voluntaries themselves is sufficient to show that the fact is well understood. Education gets even from them only what the claims of religion have failed to exhaust. Burdened as they already are, it is not impossible to give them credit, with all sincerity, for the best intentions, and yet to doubt their ability to execute them. They do what they can; and I easily understand why they hesitate to pledge themselves to more.

"The wants of the age, however, must be met, and promptly. The *hidden* power of education to elevate the masses must be invoked. Delay is fraught with peril. Noble would be the spectacle of a nation rising in its strength, and wielding the energies of an universal and all-conquering voluntarism, in the performance of this godlike work; but because this spectacle cannot be realized, must the work itself be obstructed? I trust not. 'A better day is coming.'—Yours obediently,

"EDMUND SALTER.

"Park-street, 14th April, 1847."

Within the last few weeks has appeared "The Congregational Year Book for 1846, containing the proceedings of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and its confederated societies for that year, together with supplementary information respecting the Churches, Associations, colleges, ministers, and publications, of the congregational body throughout the United Kingdom."

There are a variety of matters in this pamphlet calculated to make the condition of the independent dissenters better understood. For instance, the statement that "it is believed," as the Congregational Union have cautiously expressed themselves, that the communicants in their churches "must far exceed one hundred and twenty thousand;" will be somewhat surprising (though not in the way the dissenters seem to expect) to most churchmen, who, if they were told that the number amounted to two millions, would probably suppose that, from the manner in which dissenters talk of their numbers



and influence, they ought not to be surprised if they should amount to two millions, or even more. However, from the twelve hundred churches, which number their one hundred and twenty thousand members, it was proposed *two years ago*, (the report is dated May, 1846,) to raise a weekly penny contribution by all church members for British missions. From *church members* observe—not even from members of the congregations—but from persons admitted to actual communion, who would be sure to give a penny a week for what are called British missions, *i.e.*, for the propagation of dissent. What may we suppose was the success of this penny collection during two years? “In some churches,” says the Report of the Congregational Union, “this practice has been adopted with a success that would no doubt attend the same proposals in all other cases wherein it was made with the concurrence of the pastors and deacons.” Well, under such auspices, what has been done in the course of two years, by this new exertion of the voluntary principle for the propagation of itself? If every one of the (say) one hundred and twenty thousand church members could have been prevailed on to contribute not one penny a week, but one halfpenny a year, in the two years the British Missions would have received £500. How much did they contribute? The Report must answer the question,—and the reader will observe the air of cheerfulness and complacency, almost amounting to surprise, with which it records the fact:—“To name in this place the churches by which this good work has been begun would be invidious; but though so partially adopted, yet eleven churches have remitted 149*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.* thus obtained.” Yes, absolutely one hundred and forty-nine pounds thirteen shillings and one penny contributed from the one hundred and twenty thousand church members, in the course of two years, in behalf of British Missions—*i.e.*, in behalf of the Irish Evangelical Society, the Home Missionary Society, and the Colonial Missionary Society. And as to the funds of these, the three chief instruments for promoting dissent throughout the British empire, the following are the statements furnished by the report of the Congregational Union:—

1. The Irish Evangelical Society founded in 1814—

“The income of the Society for the past year was 2598*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.*, whilst the expenditure was 2855*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.*”

2. The Home Missionary Society was established in 1819—

“The income of the Society for its general purposes during the past year was 6976*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.*, whilst its expenditure exceeded this amount by nearly 1000*l.*, being 7876*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.*”

3. The Colonial Missionary Society, established in 1836, of whose importance the Report says, “it is scarcely possible to speak in extravagant terms”—

“The income of the Society during the past year was 3290*l.*

10s. 4d., its expenditure 2932l. 14s., the excess of its income over its disbursements being appropriated to the lessening the debt of the previous year, still leaving a balance against the society of 350l. 3s. 8d.\*

So that the three societies to which the dissenters look for the propagation of what they believe to be Christian truth throughout the empire, are all at this moment in a state of languishing decline, inefficiency, and debt.

As for their colleges, the Report says:—"Our colleges are not, upon the whole, *so ill supported* as our British Missions. Their incomes, though several of them are in debt, approach nearer to the equitable standard than the incomes of the three British societies. They are, however, even less generally cared for; and as the bulk of our denomination is still strangely ignorant of their value, and the relation in which they stand to our denominational prosperity, it is even more important to enforce their claims." In what state, then, are these *main-springs of their evangelical and denominational machinery*, as the report naturally considers the colleges?—Homerton, whose annual expenses are but 2073l. 1s. 1d., is in debt to the treasurer to the amount of 194l. 17s. 9d. Western College, Plymouth, whose expenses amount to 799l. 0s. 2d., owes a balance of 440l. 11s. 4d. to the treasurer. Airedale, which cost 1041l. 8s. 1d. last year, owes 537l. 18s. 7d. to the treasurer. Newport Pagnell, which cost 575l. 11s., owes the treasurer 69l. 10s. Highbury, whose expenses were 2325l. 17s. 5d., owes the treasurer 275l. 17s. 5d. Hackney, whose expenses were 875l. 19s. 11d., owes the treasurer 111l. 12s. 6d. The Lancashire Independent College, near Manchester, whose expenses were 2896l. 1s. 9d., owes the treasurer 500l. 8s. 7d. And Spring Hill, near Birmingham, which cost 1688l. 18s. 6d. in the year, owes its treasurer 195l. 11s. 8d. While of the *three* remaining Colleges in England,—or rather *two* (for Cheshunt College is not strictly an Independent College), Coward College publishes no accounts, being a private foundation; and Rotheram, by means of a jubilee collection in 1845, to commemorate its foundation in 1756, "was freed from debt, almost for the first time since that period."

And yet with these and innumerable other proofs pressing upon them of the inefficiency of the Voluntary System, they, or at least the agitating and political party among them—and these are the recognised organs of the Congregational Union—are exasperated to the highest degree because they cannot force upon us the system which is destroying them.

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\* The advertisement of the committee on the cover of the *Christian Witness*, April 1847, that the receipts for the year 1846 were less than those of 1845, by £894 14s. 6d., while to the end of March 1847 they are less than those to the end of March 1846, by £937. A steady decrease of income.

## ADDRESS OF THE IRISH PRELATES.

WE feel much pleasure in printing the following Address from the Irish Prelates, in acknowledgment of the contributions which have been raised in England for the relief of the distressed poor of Ireland :—

“We, the undersigned Irish Prelates, to whom have been entrusted large contributions of money from England, transmitted by various public societies and committees, by the parochial clergy, and by private individuals, for the relief of the destitute poor of Ireland, feel ourselves bound to return our most grateful acknowledgments to the generous donors for the aid which they have afforded to those who have been suffering from famine and disease. These funds we have applied to the relief of the poor of all religious persuasions, and many thousands of persons have thereby been saved from perishing.

“Although in several districts of the country the distress of the poor is still of the most urgent kind, and in some parts is even increased by reason of the removal of a number of labourers from employment on the public works, preparatory to the adoption of the new system of temporary relief provided by the Legislature, we cannot any longer defer giving expression to the gratitude which we feel for the munificent charity and Christian sympathy manifested by the British public towards their afflicted fellow-subjects in Ireland. And while we earnestly pray that England may never experience within her own borders such a calamity as that which Almighty God has seen fit to send upon our portion of the empire, it is our fervent desire that through the Divine mercy this awful visitation may be the means of uniting more closely in the bonds of brotherhood and good-will the inhabitants of both countries, and of inspiring with lasting sentiments of mutual regard for each other, the noble-minded relievers of this distress, and the sufferers who have so largely partaken of their bounty.

(Signed)

“JOHN G. ARMAGH.

“RICHARD DUBLIN.

“EDWARD MEATH.

“ROBERT P. CLOHER.

“JOHN KILMORE, ELPHIN, AND ARDAGH.

“RD. DOWN AND CONNOR, AND DROMORE.

“RICHARD DERRY AND RAPHOE.

“SAMUEL CORK, CLOYNE, AND ROSS.

“LUDLOW KILLALOE, &c.

“THOMAS TUAM, KILLALA, AND ACHONRY.

“ROBERT CASHEL,” &c.

THE  
BRITISH MAGAZINE.

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JUNE 1, 1847.

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ORIGINAL PAPERS.

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THE NORWICH PRAYER-BOOK.

As far as these observations have yet proceeded, it will, I conceive, be evident to the reader, that nothing amounting to a departure from the accustomed mode of performing the service was proposed by Archbishop Laud in these notes for the Scotch Prayer-book. The changes, or the additions, introduced by him into the Rubrics, were not innovations. They were, in reality, as far as we can discover, nothing more than such explanations as were necessary to clear up the meaning of the Rubric, and did no more than express in plain directions those rules which, although omitted in the former Rubrics, were sanctioned by custom, and had always been considered necessary to the proper performance of the English Liturgy. This I think will be found to be the case, with regard to almost all the particulars which have as yet come under our notice. And the fixing of such customs, *as were really customs*, by express and distinct Rubrics was a matter of more importance than may at first sight appear,—and that on several accounts. For, as long as such customs were not determined by a written rule, there was not only the danger of things which ought to be observed becoming gradually obsolete and forgotten, but, besides this, the silence of the Rubric might be construed into a tacit, or at least a negative, approval of practices which had been customary before the Reformation, but are contrary to the spirit of our church as then settled. And such arguments appear to have been drawn from the silence of the Rubrics by some persons in the time of Laud.\* But, besides this, there seems little doubt, that it is to the adoption in 1662, of so many of the sug-

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\* See Mr. Robertson's "How shall we conform to the Liturgy," p. 132. Second edition.

gestions which Archbishop Laud had made (or sanctioned) in preparing the Scotch Liturgy, we owe much of the uniformity now existing in our churches. For, whatever deviations from rule may occasionally be observed amongst us,—and, in some cases, they are unavoidable,—it may well be doubted (if, indeed, there be any doubt in the matter) whether, on the whole, there ever was, at any period since the Reformation, so great a degree of regularity, or so general a conformity to the rules of the Liturgy, on the part of both clergy and laity, in the performance of the divine service, as at the present moment. The generality of persons seem to imagine, that in the time of Archbishop Laud the most precise and exact formality was observed both by clergy and laity in the service of the church. But I apprehend, we can have very little notion of the degree of confusion and indecency to which the Puritans had reduced the service. If a clergyman were now to walk into the reading-pew and read the prayers, without having on his surplice, there are not many congregations, I suspect, who would not feel offended by such a want of respect for his office, or consider his conduct in any other light. And perhaps there are no congregations who would resent such an indecency more promptly and decidedly than those of our city churches. But in the days of Laud, it was a mark of piety to rail at the surplice, as a rag of popery and a very sacrament of abomination, and the bishops had no small trouble to compel the clergy to wear it, and to prevent their reading prayers “in a cloak, or sleevelesse jacquet, or horseman’s coat.” Those were days when it was necessary for the bishops to tell the people that they ought not to wear their hats during the time of service and sermon; when it was necessary to forbid their setting the wine on the Lord’s table for the holy communion in “leather or wicker bottles, or tavern wine pots.” Now-a-days, few people would dream of doing such things, or suffer it to be done if it were attempted. What should we think now of such a question as this in the articles of a bishop’s visitation?—“Doth any parishioner or forreiner come into the church with an hawk on his fist, and an hawking pole in his hand, with spaniels coupled, to the disturbance of the auditory?” &c. The day when such improprieties could be tolerated is gone by, I trust, for ever. But there were times—and those were the days of Laud—when it required the strong arm of authority to put down these and similar indecencies,—and when, in fact, those who seriously and resolutely set themselves to put them down, had reason to be thankful if they did not lose their lives in the attempt. Every one knows what opposition the Puritans then made against the communion table being fenced or enclosed with rails; so that

when the bishops required it to be done,—in order to prevent men and boys from sitting on the table, or throwing their hats upon it, and even to keep the very dogs from defiling and profaning it,—their zeal in behalf of what we should consider no more than common decency, was actually attributed to a deep design to usher in popery. That the bishops had good reason, however, for what they did in endeavouring to put a stop to these indecencies, there can be no doubt. A single instance, on unquestionable authority, will show the state things had arrived at. In the account of the state of his province, laid before Charles I. by Archbishop Laud in 1639, there is the following relation of a circumstance that had lately occurred in a church in the diocese of Ely:—

“There happened also in the town of Tadlow a very ill accident on Christmas Day, 1638, by reason of not having the Communion Table railed in, that it might be kept from Profanation. For in sermon time, a Dog came to the Table, and took the Loaf of Bread prepared for the Holy Sacrament, in his Mouth, and ran away with it. Some of the Parishioners took the same from the Dog, and set it again upon the Table. After Sermon, the Minister could not think fit to consecrate this Bread; and other fit for the Sacrament was not to be had in that town; and the Day so far spent, they could not send for it to another Town: So there was no Communion. And this was presented by four sworn men of the Town aforesaid.”

Such disgraceful occurrences are not likely to happen now. The common sense and good feeling of the people would resent indecencies, which two hundred years ago it was counted a sign of popery, and a proof of popish designs, to attempt to redress. But, I believe, a vast deal of this better and more reasonable spirit may be ascribed to the decision of so many points in 1662, which hitherto had no other rule to determine them than traditionary usage, and which, in an age of contrariety and innovation, probably unparalleled in the history of the Christian church, the voice of authority was insufficient to control. These points, as we have seen, had been settled in the alterations made by Archbishop Laud in the Rubrics prepared for the Scotch Liturgy. So that, to what he then did, or rather proposed, we are in no small degree indebted for the great measure of peaceable and decent uniformity we now enjoy.

My remarks, however, have not as yet entered on the Communion Service. Some of the alterations recommended in that part of the Common Prayer-book, we shall find were not adopted by the heads of the English Church in 1662, and the particular suggestions which they then felt it wiser to decline, are quite as remarkable as those they followed. It is here, however, more than in any other part of these observations, that one has to

regret, that as yet we have not been able to discover where the original draught of Archbishop Laud's alterations is preserved. From what Archbishop Tenison says, it would seem that there were at least three different handwritings to be seen in the alterations; and although we know from Archbishop Laud himself, that the fact of any one of these notes being found in his handwriting is not sufficient to prove, that *he* was the person to recommend the change, yet the circumstance of any of the notes being in the handwriting of another person,—one of the Scotch prelates, for example, as Archbishop Tenison conjectures,—would go far to show, that, considering the care which Laud bestowed on the work, the alteration was not one *he* would have suggested, however he may have been ultimately induced to comply with the wishes of those who did.

It is by no means an unimportant object, in studying the history of the English Church, to obtain just views of Archbishop Laud's real opinions. No man that ever lived, it may not be too much to say, has been more grossly misrepresented. In some cases, no doubt, he was misunderstood. I apprehend that, in those particulars in which *candid* and *sensible* men have misunderstood him, he himself may have been partly the cause of the misconception. To believe him guilty of a design to introduce or advance popery, can only be excused on the plea of ignorance. It would be hard indeed to persuade any impartial person, that the accusation was believed even by Prynne himself, although it was on that he chiefly relied in his efforts to bring him to the scaffold; and although charity would gladly ascribe to prejudice and fanaticism, some of what wears but too much of the appearance of malice and revenge. But, then, it seems unquestionable, that, by an observance of certain forms and gestures, which he himself considered no more than decent and edifying, and, unhappily, at the same time, by a constitutional want of caution, which, as Lord Clarendon has said, made him believe that "innocence of heart and integrity of manners was a guard strong enough to secure any man in his voyage through this world, in what company soever he travelled, and through what ways soever he was to pass," the archbishop did injustice to himself, and brought his principles into suspicion. He is indeed a remarkable proof of what one has so often had occasion to observe, that what commonly brings a man to be suspected of Romish inclinations, is not so much the opinions he is known to hold, as the forms and ceremonies he is seen to practise. And, in the archbishop's case, this is the more remarkable, because there is nothing which seems more capable of proof, than that he was very far from being severe in exacting from others those forms which he observed himself. Any one who will judge, not from the ridiculous and ignorant

books that are put forth from time to time as history, but from an examination of the facts and documents still accessible to us, will see that Laud was a very much more moderate man than several of those with whom his name is associated. There is abundant evidence to show, that what he said, in his answer to some of the charges of his enemies, is a very fair account of the view he took of those forms to which he is thought to have attached most importance, and undoubtedly, did attach some. "If I were *punctual* in these, I did but my duty. But *peremptory* I am sure I was not, as well knowing the difference between things of decency and uniformity, and things of *Necessity to salvation*."

But, however desirable it may be,—and most desirable it undoubtedly is,—to rectify the mistaken notions still prevalent regarding both the character and opinions of this prelate, and the whole history of his times, *to us* it is still more important, to understand, how far those who were concerned in bringing our Prayer-book to its present state, were disposed to follow implicitly the guidance of the suggestions he had left in the notes for the preparation of the Scotch Liturgy. As far as we have yet gone, there are very few of them which they did not attend to, and, in some degree at least, adopt. Of those which they did not adopt, the most remarkable are the two alterations which Laud consented to allow the Scotch bishops to make in the Athanasian Creed—and also the Rubric desiring the priest to turn himself towards the people when reading the Absolution; a rubric which seemed to imply that the minister should turn his face away from the people while reading the Confession which preceded it. This alteration in the Rubric was not adopted by the English Bishops in 1662, a fact which seems worthy of notice, in considering, what is the position in which the minister should place himself when reading the prayers.\*

We may now proceed to the Alterations proposed to be made in the Communion Service. The first alteration is in the Rubrics before the Service. In the English Prayer-book until 1662, the fourth Rubric was in these words:

"The Table at the Communion time hauing a faire white linnen cloth vpon it, *Shall stand in the body of the Church, or in the Chancell, where Morning Prayer & Euening Prayer be appointed to be said.* And the Priest standing at the North side of the Table, shall say the Lord's Prayer, with this Collect following."

The words in italics are struck out, and the Rubric, as I have already stated, is thus altered:

"The holye table at the Communion time hauing a faire white linnen cloth vpon it; with other decent furniture meet for the

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\* See Mr. Robertson's work already referred to, § iv.



high mysteryes thear to be celebrated, shall stand at the uppermost part of the chancel or Church, whear the Presbyter standing at the North side or end theareof shall say the Lord's prayer, with this Collect following for due preparation. Sc."

The reader will observe that, at the end of this alteration Archbishop Tenison put the letters "Sc." to denote the handwriting, which he believed to be that of the Scotch Bishops. It is to be remarked, however, that the proposed alterations in this Rubric (as in the case of some other alterations which were too long to be written on the margin of the book) are written, not on the printed page, but on a leaf of paper inserted into the book opposite the place, with the exception of the concluding words, "for due preparation," which are written in their own place on the printed page. There it is, and after these three words, that the Archbishop has marked the abbreviation "Sc." So that without being able to refer to the original volume from which Archbishop Tenison made this copy, it is not possible to decide, whether all the alterations of this Rubric were proposed by the Scotch bishops, or only the addition at the end of it.

Whether the alteration, however, originated with the Scotch bishops, or with Archbishop Laud, it was not likely to escape the vigilance of Mr. Prynne. His remarks are as follows:

"Sly. In the order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper he prevaricates most of all, to usher in the Masse, Transubstantiation, and reconcile us to the Church of Rome in this maine point of difference, To instance in some particulars of moment. First, in the situation & furniture of the Lord's Table; for which purpose he altered the last clause of the first Rubrick of the Communion in this manner.

*"The old Rubrick.*

"The Table having at the Communion time a faire linnen cloth upon it: shall stand in the body of the Church or in the Chancell, where Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer be appointed to be said. And the Priest standing at the North side of the Table, shall say the Lord's Prayer.

*"The new altered thus.*

"The *Holy* Table having at the Communion time a faire white linnen cloth upon it WITH OTHER DECENT FURNITURE, meet for the *high mysteries there to be celebrated, shall stand AT THE VPPERMOST PART OF THE CHANCEL, or Church: where the Presbyter* standing at the North side OR END thereof, shall say the Lord's Prayer, &c.\*

"By this Alteration, the Bishop made way for the Introduction. First, of the solemne Consecration of the Lord's Table and Altar, after the Popish manner, to make it an HOLY Table, which he holds it could not be without a Speciall Consecration. Secondly, for Cruci-

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\* The italics and capitals are Mr. Prynne's.

fixes, Candlesticks, Tapers, Basons, Consecrated Flagons, Chalices, and all other manner of Altar furniture used in his owne Chappell at *Lambeth*. Thirdly, for Rayling in and impounding the Lord's Table Altar-wise at the East end of the Church; to which all the Communicants must make their approaches to receive the Sacrament kneeling, at the new Rayles. A very advantageous alteration to introduce, Authorize, and enjoyn all these Innovations by colour of it."

One cannot help remarking here, the amazing rashness of Prynne. Considering the controversy which had taken place but a few years before, one might have expected him to have been a little more cautious than to found a charge of Popery on the term *Holy Table*. Is it possible that he could have forgotten his friend Archbishop Williams, and his "Holy Table name and thing"? What more could Prynne have said, if Archbishop Laud had erased the word *Table* altogether, and put *Altar* in its room? The archbishop did *not* do so, however, and the fact deserves to be noticed. Supposing that Archbishop Laud was the originator of this particular alteration in the Rubric, and that (at a time when the table was treated with an indecency which few persons would now tolerate) he considered it desirable to remind people of the purpose for which the table was placed in the church, by calling it the *Holy Table*, he could plead in justification, that it had been called the *Holy Table* in the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth in 1559.\* But with regard to the strange inference, that the archbishop called it an *Holy Table*, in order to make way for the introduction of the Popish manner of consecrating the Lord's Table and Altar, whatever that might be,—if Prynne had had any regard for truth he might have learned, that in consecrating the Communion table, when he had occasion to do so, Laud had followed the form used by Andrews, which is as little like Popery as anything can well be. I give the form as Mr. Harington has printed it in his work on the Consecration of Churches, (p. 155.)

*"Sacram etiam Mensam.*

"Grant that all they that shall at any time partake at this table, the highest blessing of all, Thy holy Communion, may be fulfilled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction, and may to their great and endless comfort obtain remission of their sins, and all other benefits of Thy passion."†

But I am not writing a defence of Archbishop Laud, desirable as it is that his character and conduct should be better under-

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\* Archbishop Laud referred to this Injunction in his defence. *Troubles and Trial*, p. 313.

† The form used by Archbishop Laud at the consecration of Stanmore Church, in Middlesex, is in Oughton's *Ordo*, vol. ii. Mr. Harington has reprinted it, p. 195.

stood. It is more to my present purpose to remark, that this alteration was not adopted at the revision in 1662. Not that I should wish to express any opinion on the fact, that the bishops at that time declined to adopt it, but that their doing so seems so very plain a proof of the wisdom and moderation with which their revision was carried on. They avoided the insertion of words in the rubric which might have kept alive a most vexatious controversy; and the result of their moderation has been, that all which propriety seemed to require has long since become the settled custom of the country. The Table is placed and furnished as the advocates of decency desired, and is likely to remain so. I would remark, however, that from what Bishop Cosin says in his Paper of Particulars (Nicholls, p. 69), it would seem as if it was far more common at that time, for the Communion table to stand as it does now, than might be supposed from the controversy on the subject which was stirred up in some parts of the country. What Cosin says is this:

“In the fourth Rubrick there, which appoints the table to be covered with a linen cloth only, and to *stand* in the Chancel or Body of the Church, where Morning and Evening Prayers are ordered to be said, somewhat is wanting to make it agree with the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, still in force, and *the common Practice in most Churches.*”

The reference Prynne makes to the crucifix, which was then in the archbishop's chapel, appears also among the charges brought forward at his trial. Laud answered it by showing that his accusers admitted he had not put it there, but it had been standing in Archbishop Abbot's time.\*

*Rubric before the Commandments.*—“Then shall the Priest rehearse,” is altered to, “Then shall the Presbyter, turning to the people, rehearse.” Also the latter part of this Rubric, “& the people kneeling, shall after euey Commandement aske God mercy for their transgression of the same, after this sort,”—is struck out, and the Rubric, as we have already seen, is thus altered:—

“The people all the while kneeling and asking God mercy for the transgression of every dewtye thearin, either according to the Letter, or to the mystical importance of the sayd Commandment.”

As the Priest had been standing at the north side of the Table while reading the Collects, it seemed proper to desire him to turn to the people while reading the Commandments, although, I suppose it had always been the custom to do so.†

\* “And for the Crucifix, he confesses it was standing in my predecessor's time, though a little broken: so I did but mend it, I did not set it up (as was urged against me).”—*Troubles and Trial*, cap. xxxii. p. 311.

† See a note of Bishop Andrews's in Nicholls's *Additional Notes*, p. 39.

Mr. Prynne, however, has discovered fresh proofs of Popery in the Rubric, as he says, "thus metamorphized." He prints the old Rubric and the new one in parallel columns, as in the preceding instance. I give the new one, with his capitals and italics, and the commentary he has put upon it.

"Then shall the *Presbyter* TURNING TO THE PEOPLE, rehearse distinctly all the Ten Commandements; *the people* ALL THE WHILE kneeling, and asking God mercy for their transgression of every duty therein; either according to the letter, or to the MYSTICAL IMPORTANCE of the said Commandements,"

"By which Alteration, First, Intimation and way is given that the Minister who officiates at the Communion, is to turne his back to the people, as the Popish priests doe, save onely when he reads the Commandements: as the words, *turning to the people*, imply. Secondly, A mysticall sence of the Commandements introduced, whereby their litterall morality is denied: which may well relate to the Second Commandement, which the Papists hold Ceremoniall, and therefore omit, delete it out of all their Decalogues in their Missalls, Breviaries, Hourses of prayers, Manuels, Catechismes, as made onely for the Jewes not Christians: which in its litterall sence would have quite subverted the Archbishops new crucifixes and images erected in his own Chappels at Lambeth and Croydon, taken out of the very pattern in the Masse booke; [which, however, were neither "new" nor "erected" by him]—or at least to the fourth Commandement, contradicting the Bishops new *Book of Sports and pastimes on the Lords day*; which he thrust out in the kings name; and refuting his opinion that the Sabbath is not morall, and that there is now NO SABBATH AT ALL; as his creature and chiefe favourite Doctor Heylyn hath taught us in his *History of the Sabbath* (he might better have intituled it, *de non ente, of no Sabbath*, if there be none,) published by the Prelates instigation and approbation, and Dr. Pocklington his minion, in his *Sunday no Sabbath*."

As to the Sabbath controversy, we have no need to enter on that subject. Whether Prynne was right in his interpretation of the words "mystical meaning," or not, he was certainly wrong in his statements regarding the Book of Sports. As to what he says about the Second Commandment—I am unwilling to call it malice—but if it deserves a better name, I know not what that is. In his answer to Fisher (Sect. 33, Consid. 7, § xiii.), the archbishop says:—"For adoration of images, the ancient church knew it not. And the modern church of Rome is too like to paganism in the practice of it, and driven to scarce intelligible subtilties in her servants' writings that defend it; and this without any care had of millions of souls, unable to understand her subtilties or shun her practice." And a little further,—having stated the doctrine of the better Romanists,

that there is divinity in the images, "though not as things, yet as representers,"—he says—and it would have been but justice in Prynne to have remembered that he had done so:—"What, I pray, did or could any pagan priest say more than this? for the proposition resolved is this: 'The images of Christ and the Saints, as they represent their exemplars, have deity or divinity in them.' And now I pray A.C. do you be judge, whether this proposition *do not teach idolatry*, and whether the modern church of Rome be not grown too like to paganism in this point."

But with regard to the rubric, that the Presbyter should turn himself towards the people while reading the Commandments, in which Prynne will have it, an "Intimation and way is given, that the Minister who officiates at the Communion, is to turne his back to the people, as the Popish priests doe, save onely when he reads the Commandements,"—as, on the one hand, the alteration of *Priest* into *Presbyter* has not very much the appearance of a wish to favour Popery, so it seems equally plain, that if Laud had wished the priest to stand with his back to the people during the whole office, he would not have desired him to stand at the north side or end. L'Estrange, in his observations on Queen Elizabeth's injunctions with regard to the position of the Communion Table, quotes from "the MS. collections of a learned man" this remark: "As for the priest standing at the north side of the table, this seemeth to avoid the fashion of the priest's standing with his face towards the east, as is the popish practice." It certainly gives no encouragement to any such practice, but the reverse; and is plainly intended to forbid the Priest's standing in the way Prynne would have us believe it is meant to sanction. For in the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. (1549), the Rubric is, "The Priest standing humbly *afore the midst* of the Altar, shall say the Lord's Prayer, with this Collect," which in 1552 is altered to "The Priest standing *at the north side* of the Table, shall say," &c. If Laud had wished the Priest to stand, as Prynne asserts, *afore the midst of the Altar*, he would have restored these words from the Rubric of 1549. The words *or end* were probably added to the words *north side*, to show that the table was to stand as the altars had done, i. e., as the term *altar-wise* was understood—with the ends to the north and south; in fact, precisely as the Communion Tables stand now in our Churches.\*

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\* L'Estrange's remark is worth transcribing. "Altar-wise is an idiom peculiar to us English, not known abroad in foreign parts; and they who can find popery in that position, have better eyes than ordinary. Altars with them do not observe one regular position; some are placed in the middle of the choir; some at the upper part, end-ways north and south; and if eye-witnesses may be trusted, the chief altar in St. Peter's church at Rome stands in the midst of the chancel."—Ch. vi. D.

It only remains to notice, that the alteration in this Rubric, requiring the Priest to turn towards the people while rehearsing the Commandments, was adopted in the English revision of 1662.

*Rubric after the Commandments.*—The alterations in this Rubric were also in effect adopted in 1662. Archbishop Laud's object was, evidently, to make the meaning of the Rubric more distinct and the directions clearer; and therefore, instead of the Rubric, "Then shall follow the Collect of the day *with* one of these two Collects following"—he constructed the Rubric so as to show that the Collect for the King should be read *before* the Collect for the day:—

"Then shall follow one of these two Collects for the King, and the Collect of the day, the presbyter standing up, and saying."

This has been made still clearer in 1662, by the Rubric being broken into two, as we now have it.

The Rubric was not sufficiently intelligible before to prevent disputes. And so Bishop Cosin, in his Paper of Particulars says:—

"XLVI. In the Rubric after the Tenth Commandment it is appointed, that then shall follow the Collect of the Day, with one of the two Collects there specified for the King, the Priest standing up and saying, Almighty, &c. But whether the Collect for the King, or the Collect for the day, shall be first said, is not there determined; which for avoiding dispute, and diversity therein, should be further explained. And the Collect for the day is always most properly used, together with the Epistle and Gospel, whereunto many times it relateth."

*First Collect for the King.*—In the beginning of this Collect, there was, as we have seen, an alteration made: "have mercie vpon the whole congregation and so rule," being changed to—"have mercie vpon thy holye Catholike Church, and in this particular church in which we live so rule." This alteration was no further adopted in 1662, than to change *congregation* into *church*. But it is curious to see what dangerous principles and designs Mr. Prynne's ingenuity discovered in it.

"Thirdly, in the first Collect after the Commandements, *Almighty God, &c. have mercy upon the whol Congregation and so rule, &c.* is changed into: upon *thy Holy Catholike Church, and in the particular church wherein we live; so rule, &c.* which makes way: 1. For the Popes, Prelates, and Clergies usurping and ingrossing of the Title *Church*, unto themselves, as they do; excluding the Laity: which the word *Congregation*; and whole *Congregation* includes; making the people if not the intire, yet at least the principall & greatest part of the Church. 2ly. For a union with Rome, who stile their Church, *the holy Catholik Church*, and all others but particular Churches: And in this sence would not onely approve, but applaud this Alteration, fitted to their purpose." (p. 158.)

Such absurdities expose themselves. One might imagine Prynne had never heard of the *Holy Catholick Church* in the Apostles' Creed.

*Rubric for the Epistle.*—The addition made by Archbishop Laud, "Here endeth the Epistle," was adopted in 1662.

*Rubric for the Gospel.*—And the Epistle ended *he shall say the Gospel beginning thus, the Gospel written in the chapter of.*"

I have already stated that the words marked in italics were struck out, and the Rubric thus altered:

"And the Epistle ended the Gospel shall be read, the presbyter saying, The Holy Gospel is written in . . . Chap. of . . . at . . . verse. And then the people all standing up shall say (Glory be to thee O Lord). At the end of the Gospel the Presbyter shall say (so endeth the holy Gospel). And the people shall answer (Thanks be to thee O Lord)."

The Commissioners of 1662 adopted the alterations in this Rubric, both as to the mode of giving out the Gospel, and the directing that the people should stand while it is read.

Not that the new Rubric made any alteration in the custom of the church. It had been the custom all along for the people to stand at the reading of the Gospel. "Now," says Hooker, "because the Gospels which are weekly read, do all historically declare something which our Lord Jesus Christ himself either spake, did, or suffered in his own person, it hath been the custom of Christian men then especially in token of greater reverence to stand, to utter certain words of acclamation, and at the name of Jesus to bow."\* And so Sparrow says, "While the Gospel is reading, all that are present stand." Mr. Prynne, indeed, would have it believed that the Rubric in the Scotch Liturgy was something imported by Archbishop Laud fresh from the "Roman Masse Book"—as he says, "*directly* taken out of *Missale Romanum ex Decreto Sancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum*; *Paj. 5. Pontif. Maximi jussu Editum, Salmanicæ. 1588.* (which the archbishop hath diligently noted with his own hand, and used the Kalender in it for his *Diary* Memoriall and common-Place Book), *Rubricæ Generales Missales*: and other places of it." However such folly or malevolence may have imposed on ignorant people, it is certain that this rubric of Archbishop Laud's made no change or innovation. It had always been the custom to stand and to "utter certain words of acclamation." But as contentious people took advantage of the silence of the Rubric, wherever its silence gave a colourable pretence for innovation, the archbishop thought it better to supply what had been omitted. Bishop Cosin, in his Paper of Particulars, has also pointed out the necessity of making the Rubric more explicit.

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\* Eccl. Pol. v. § 30.

“XLVII. At the reading of the Gospel there is no *Posture* appointed for the people, which gives many of them an occasion, to refuse the posture of *standing*, as in all places and times it has been accustomed. This, therefore, it were requisite to be here added. Nor is there any other order, after the naming of the Gospel, for the people to say, *Glory be to thee, O Lord, as has been always accustomed*, and was specially ordered in king Edward's time, together with, *Thanks be given to God*, at the end of the Gospel. For uniformity and advancement of our Devotions herein, that Order would be fitly here renewed.”

The Rubric of 1662, however, does not notice the “words of acclamation,” but has left the observance to custom, along with the practice of reading the verses of the Psalms alternately. Whether the custom of saying the words, “Thanks be to thee, O Lord,” after the Gospel, was ever as settled or as general, as that of saying, “Glory be to thee, O Lord,” before it, admits of doubt. Bishop Cosin seems, in the passage I have just quoted, to speak of them in different terms. For I should suppose the words,—“as has always been accustomed, and was specially ordered in king Edward's time,” refer only to the first response, “Glory be to thee, O Lord,” and not to the second:—not only because the first only is ordered in the Prayer-book of 1549,\* but because it alone is set to music in Tallis's Service. And Sparrow also seems to speak of them in a different manner. “When the Gospel is ended, the clergy and the people present say or sing, “Glory be to thee, O Lord;”—whereas, of the other he says, “After the Gospel is ended, *the use was* to praise God, saying, Thanks be to God:” which form, it should likewise be observed, differs from both that in Bishop Cosin's Paper, and that in Archbishop Laud's Rubric: a variation in so short a form, which may seem to increase the probability that it was not a fixed or universal custom to say any words after the Gospel was ended. The note which Nicholls has printed from those he attributes to Bishop Overall's chaplain, takes no notice of any but the response before the Gospel, “which,” the writer says, “was appointed in king Edward's Service-book, *and is still used*, however it came to be left out here;” and he states his belief, “that if it pleased the printer, this might have stood still.” This may be true, for anything I can discover; but the omission was not made by the printers in Queen Elizabeth's time, as the writer of that note imagines, but in the second Prayer-book of king Edward, in 1552, in which the Rubric that stood in the Prayer-book of 1549—“The Clerks and People shall answer, Glory be to thee, O Lord,”—is left out.

*Rubric for the Creed.*—“shall be said *the Creed*.” We have

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\* It was omitted in 1552.



seen, that the words in italics are struck out, and the Rubric altered thus :

“ Shall be said or sung this Creed all still reverently standing up : ”

From which it appears that the directions in our present Rubric for the people to stand, and the permission to sing the Creed, were taken from this same source. But there was no change or innovation introduced by either : but the contrary. The Creed had always been sung in the cathedrals ; but this Rubric gives legal sanction to the custom. Nor was the Rubric directing the people to stand during the Creed, an innovation. “ When we make profession of our Faith, we stand,” is Hooker’s account of the custom of the church at that time, though for want of a Rubric here the Puritans would sit, along with their other innovations. And so Bishop Cosin remarks, in his Paper of Particulars.

“ XLVIII. At the Nicene Creed there is likewise no posture of standing, especially here appointed ; by reason of which omission, *many people refuse to stand*, although at the other Creed of the Apostles, they are appointed to do it, as here likewise they ought to do ; and at Athanasius his Creed besides : for all which, Provision may be made in their several Places.” (p. 69.)

So that, in fact, the Rubric, both as regards the singing of the Creed, (namely, where there is cathedral service,) and the posture of the people, made no innovation, but the reverse ; however it suited Mr. Prynne’s purpose to represent it not only as a novelty, but as part of a plot to usher in Popery.

*Rubric before the Offertory.*—In the Prayer-book of 1549, the Rubric ran thus :—“ Then shall follow for the Offertory one or more of these Sentences.” The word Offertory was left out in the revision of 1552. The Scotch Bishops, we see, proposed to restore it, and in their Rubric we find it—“ Saying for the Offertory one or more of these Sentences,” &c. The English Commissioners in 1662 thought fit also to restore the word, and at the same time directed the Sentences to be read at the Lord’s Table, which was not clearly expressed in the former Rubrics. “ Then shall the Priest return to the Lord’s Table, and begin the Offertory, saying one or more of these Sentences,” &c.

*Rubric after the Sentences.*—The Rubric in the time of Charles I. was as follows :—

“ ¶ Then shall the Churchwardens, or some other by them appointed, gather the devotions of the people, and put the same into the poor mans box, and upon the offering dayes appointed, every man & woman shall pay to the Curate the due and accustomed offerings. After which done the Priest shall say. ¶ Let us pray for the whole state,” &c.

On this Rubric Bishop Cosin observes, in his Paper of Particulars :—

“ L. In the Rubrick following the Sentences of the Offertory, the Churchwardens, or some other by them appointed, are ordered to gather the devotions of the people, and to put the same into the poor man's box ; which being seldom or never observed in most churches, nor agreeing to the divers sentences (before set down) would be otherwise here ordered or explained. And the accustomed offerings to the Curate are here appointed to be paid by every man or woman, after which done the Priest shall say, &c. Which if it should be thus observed, and at this time when they come to receive the Communion, would breed a great disturbance in the Church, and take up more time than can be allowed for that purpose : Wherefore it is needful, that some alterations were made of this Rubrick ; and that the Offerings or Devotions of the People then collected, should be brought to the Priest, & by him presented and laid upon the Altar, or Communion Table, for such uses as be peculiarly named in the Sentences then read by him.”

In a preceding observation, Bishop Cosin also remarked on another particular : “ Somewhat also is wanting for a direction, when and where to set the bread and wine for the Communion upon the Table.”

It will be seen that the Rubric drawn up by Laud (if part of it, at least, was not drawn up by the king himself) is directed to meet these inconveniences, and supply what appeared to have been omitted by an oversight. For, with regard to the direction to place the elements on the table at the end of the Offertory, the rule was so given in the first Prayer-book of Edward VI., in 1549, just as it had been customary before the Reformation. But when the Versicles and Prefaces which then stood between the Offertory and the Prayer for the Church Militant were moved from that place, the Rubric for placing the bread and wine upon the Table was struck out, possibly by an oversight. What was the usual custom from the Reformation till 1662, it seems difficult to ascertain. In 1641, it was complained of as an innovation, the “ offering of bread and wine by the hand of the Churchwardens or others, before the consecration of the elements.” But such complaints often signify rather the wishes of the real innovators themselves, than furnish a proof that the practice they complain of is an innovation. However, in the Rubric which I have already printed, but which it is convenient to transcribe again, the reader, who wishes to understand what Archbishop Laud really desired to sanction, will observe that, however the words of the Scotch Rubric may favour the opinion of those, who think there should be an actual offering of the unconsecrated elements on the Lord's Table, to be consumed there as a sacri-

fice of thanksgiving—there is, on the other hand, no mention whatever, either of a table of prothesis, or of the mixture of water with the wine.\*

The Rubric in Archbishop Tenison's copy of the alterations is as follows:—

“While the presbyter distinctly pronounceth some or all of these sentences for the offertory, the Deacon or if no such be present one of the Churchwardens shall receive the Devotions of the people there present in a Bason provided for that purpose. And when all have offered he shall reverently bring the sayd bason with the oblations therein and deliver it to the Presbyter, who shall humbly present it before the Lord and sett it upon the Holy Table.

“[And after the divine service ended, that which was offered shall be divided in the presence of the presbyter and the Churchwardens, whereof one half shall be to the use of the presbyter to provide him books of holy Divinitye, the other half shall be faithfully kept and employed on some pious or charitable use, for the decent furnishing of their Church or the publick relief of their poor at the discretion of the presbyter and churchwardens.

“And the Priest shall then offer up & place the bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament on the Lord's Table, that it may be ready for that service. And then he shall say. Let us pray for, &c. S.]”

Prynne has the following commentary on this alteration:—

“In which we have the Popish phrase of an *Offertory*, foisted into the place of the *devotion* of the people, [which is simply untrue; for, whether *offertory* be a *popish phrase*, or not, it is certainly not *foisted* into the place of the devotions of the people, or of anything else: but the term offertory is restored from the Prayer-book of 1549,] which must be carried up REVERENTLY (with Congings and Duckings) to the HOLY Table, and there OFFERED up to God as a sacrifice, and *humbly presented before the Lord*: to make men dream of and draw them to a Massing sacrifice. That this Offertory is a part of the Popish Masse, you may see in *Missale Romanum Ritus Celebrandi Missam*, p. 12, 13, and 261; and *Fox Acts & Monuments, Edit. ult., vol. 3, p. 8*, to omit all others. [But the custom of giving alms in the offertory is almost wholly obsolete in the Church of Rome, and was in fact restored by the Reformers as a primitive practice,† which had fallen into disuse.

\* I think it ought also to be noticed, that although Laud professed in general to follow Bishop Andrews in his form of consecrating churches, and really did so, yet in this point there is no proof that he imitated his practice. Andrews observed the Mixture, and it is twice mentioned in his form of Consecration; but, in the form used by Laud at the consecration of Stanmore Church, though closely following that of Andrews, there is no mention of the Mixture being used.

† Mr. Maskell observes, that it was during the offertory “that anciently the people made their offerings. A custom which is even now observed upon certain occasions in some Churches abroad, though fallen into otherwise *total disuse in the Roman Communion*.” And he afterwards says: “Certainly the Church of England, when she restored the excellent practice of the people's offering before the Communion, had the highest authority of antiquity both for that, and for the many verses (though

And if the notion of offering up alms be popish, the popery lies not in the word *Offertory* in the Rubric, but in the prayer itself, where King Edward's *second* Prayer-book has "we humbly beseech thee most mercifully to accept our alms, and to receive these our prayers *which we offer* unto thy divine majesty:" language which has the authority of St. Paul himself.]\* 2ly. An offering up of the *Bread and Wine by the Priest at the Holy Table*: just as the Priests doe in the Masse, and derived from them, as *Missale Romanum, Cæremoniale, Pontificale & Breviarium Romanum* inform us."

Prynne might have found this last Rubric in the Prayer-book of 1549, without going so far as the Missal. But that would not have suited his purpose.

Of these alterations in the Rubric several were adopted in 1662. 1. The collection was desired to be made during the reading of the Sentences, as in the Prayer-book of 1549. 2. The Deacon is named as one of the persons to collect. 3. A decent bason is ordered for making the collection; which, however, as far as custom was concerned, was not an innovation, as alms basins of the reign of Queen Elizabeth are still in existence. Two very handsome ones of that date are amongst the church plate belonging to the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, London. 4. From the latter part of these alterations is also derived the conclusion of our present Rubric—"and reverently bring it to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the holy Table."

In like manner was adopted in 1662 the regulation for the disposal of the offerings collected at the Offertory—so far, namely, that it should be made after the divine service, that both the minister and the churchwardens should be consulted in their disposal, and that they might be applied to pious as well as charitable uses. The Rubric for the placing on the holy Table the bread and wine before the Prayer for the Church Militant, was also adopted at the same time.

It is right, however, to remark that the words *offer up*, which are in this Rubric in the Scotch Prayer-book, were omitted in the Rubric of 1662. The Scotch Rubric being: "And the Presbyter shall then *offer up* and place the bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament upon the Lord's Table, that it may be ready for that service." Whereas the English one is—"And when there is a communion, the Priest shall then place upon the Table

not of Psalms) which she has directed to be said by the Priest."—(Ancient Liturgy, pp. 53, 55, note 67. See also Mr. Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*, chap. iv. § viii.) Yet this was one of the points which the Puritans in 1641, and the presbyterians in 1661, wanted to alter, and to have the collection at the end, "when the people depart"—"at, or a little before the departing of the communicants."—Cardwell's *Conferences*, p. 273, and p. 319.

† Philippians, iv. 18. Hebrews, xiii. 16.

as much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient:" the words *offer up* being omitted. I do not wish to attribute more importance to the fact of this omission than is due to it. But it seems evident to me that, if the English bishops in 1662 had thought it *necessary* (I shall not say *right*) to require a belief of the doctrine of a material sacrifice or offering of the unconsecrated element, as a term and condition either of communion or of ministration, they would not have constructed this Rubric as they did. I do not say they would have inserted some words or forms amounting to a declaration of that belief; but I confess I cannot believe that they would have omitted the words "offer up," which had already been inserted into the Scotch Rubric on an authority which it is obvious they were not indisposed to respect. Taken merely as a proof of their moderation, this deserves to be noticed. Perhaps it is a proof of something more. For if they believed such a material oblation to be *an integral part* of the Lord's Supper, it may be questioned whether they would not have felt it their duty to retain the words they have omitted, or to have substituted some others equally significant.

I think it may be assumed that, whether the Scotch Rubric was originally drawn up, or merely sanctioned by him, Archbishop Laud did really mean to imply in the words *offer up*, an oblation of the unconsecrated elements. I am quite sure that he did ~~not~~ believe the Romish doctrine of a propitiatory sacrifice. His argument in his answer to Fisher (Sect. 35, §. vii. Punct. 3) should for ever free his name from such an imputation.\* But, that he believed it to be "fit and proper" to make an oblation of the elements before consecration, and that the words *offer up* were intended to imply this, seems no less certain. In the charges brought forward against him by the Scotch, (and which Laud ascribes to Henderson,) this is one.

"4. The Book of England abolishes all that may import the oblation of an unbloody sacrifice: but here we have, *besides the preparatory Oblation of the elements*, which is neither to be found in the book of England now, nor in King Edward's Book of old; the Oblation of the Body, and the Blood of Christ, which Bellarmin calls, *Sacrificium Laudis, quia Deus per illud magnopere laudatur*. This also agrees [well] with their late doctrine."†

To this the archbishop answered—

"First, I think no man doubts, but that there is, and ought to be

\* To which I would add his interpretation (in his letter to Bishop Wedderburne, which I have already printed, p. 483,) of the words of Institution *Do this*, on which the advocates of the doctrine of a propitiatory Sacrifice in the Sacrament lay so much stress: "those words, *Do this*, &c., are rather one warrant for the Participation, or Communication, than the Consecration."

† Troubles and Trial, p. 123.

offered up to God at the Consecration and Reception of this Sacrament, *Sacrificium Laudis*, the Sacrifice of Praise: And that this ought to be expressed in the Liturgy, for the Instruction of the people. And these words, *We entirely desire thy Fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this our Sacrifice of Praise, and Thanksgiving, &c.* are both in the Book of England, and in that which was prepared for Scotland. And if Bellarmin do call the Oblation of the Body, and the Blood of Christ a Sacrifice of Praise, sure he doth well in it; (for so it is) *if Bellarmin mean no more*, by the Oblation of the Body, and the Blood of Christ, than a *Commemoration*, and a *Representation* of that great sacrifice offered up by Christ himself: As Bishop Jewel very learnedly and fully acknowledges. But *if Bellarmin go farther than this*; and by the Oblation of the Body and the Blood of Christ, mean, *that the Priest offers up that, which Christ himself did, and not a Commemoration of it only*; he is *erroneous in that, and can never make it good*. But what Bellarmin's opinion and meaning is, when he calls it *Sacrificium Laudis*, a Sacrifice of Praise, I cannot tell; till they be pleased to cite the place, that I may see, and consider of it. In the meantime there is as little said in the Liturgy for Scotland, which may import an oblation of an unbloody Sacrifice, as is in the Book of England. *As for the oblation of the elements; that's fit, and proper: And I am sorry for my part, that it is not in the Book of England.*"\*

This seems to put beyond question the meaning of the Scotch Rubric. And it is no less clear and important a testimony of the archbishop's belief, that the oblation of the Elements was *not* in the English Liturgy before the revision of 1662. In the Scotch Liturgy the deficiency was supplied under his sanction by the words *offer up*, in the Rubric. But these words were *not* adopted by the English prelates in 1662.

And this may throw light on another point, which has given rise to considerable discussion—namely, the meaning of the word *Oblations*, inserted in 1662, into the Prayer for the Church Militant. For, if the prelates in 1662 intended the word *Oblations* to signify the Elements, (or rather to include them,) it seems difficult to understand, why they did not adopt the words *offer up*, which had received a sanction so much respected by them in their work of revision, and which express the meaning supposed by some to be intended by *Oblations*, so much more distinctly. I feel very reluctant to give any opinion on such a question; but it does appear to me, that those who follow Mr. Wheatley in supposing that the word *oblations* was *intended* to denote (or even to *include*) the Elements of bread and wine, have not adduced sufficient proof to establish a point of so much importance. In that part of the service where we know the idea of *offering* was intended to be conveyed, it is clearly expressed, and the alterations in

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\* *Troubles and Trial*, p. 124.

1662 are plainly designed to express it more clearly than it was before. The word Offertory is restored, to denote the Sentences read during the Collection of the Alms: the deacon or churchwarden is directed to “receive the *Alms for the poor and other devotions* [instead of the single word *devotions*, of the former Rubric] of the people, in a decent bason . . . and reverently bring it to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the holy Table.” So that here the idea of an offering (and it is an idea expressly warranted by Holy Scripture) is as clearly conveyed as can be. Now, the words *humbly present*, which are here used to convey the idea of *offering*, are not inserted into the Rubric for the Elements;—the priest being merely desired to place them on the Table: so that while our new Rubric rejects the words which denote *offering* in the Scotch Rubric for the *Elements*, it retains the expressions in the Scotch Rubric for the *collection* which are intended to convey that idea.

But I would observe farther, that in the *Scotch* Rubric the word *oblations* can mean nothing else than the money or gifts collected during the Offertory, and has no reference whatever to the Elements;—the words of the Rubric directing the deacon or churchwarden to “receive the devotions of the people there present, in a bason provided for that purpose. And when all have offered, he shall reverently bring the said bason with the *oblations therein*, and deliver it to the Presbyter, who shall humbly present it before the Lord, and set it upon the Holy Table.” Now, on this it is to be remarked;—1. that the Scotch Rubric uses *oblations* to signify the *devotions offered by the people*: the word *oblations* stands there for what is collected in the bason, and for nothing else. 2. The Scotch Rubric does not mention the word *alms*; it includes alms in the terms *devotions* and *oblations*. 3. The Scotch Prayer-book, in the Prayer for the Church Militant and the marginal Rubric attached to it, does not use the word *oblations*; it merely retains the word *alms* as it then stood alone in the English Liturgy—so that the word *alms*, in the Scotch Liturgy, is the only word in the Prayer for the Church Militant, to represent what, in the Rubric after the Offertory, it calls *devotions* and *oblations*: although in another Rubric it desires a division of the collection in a manner which seemed to require the word *oblations* or *devotions*, as well as the word *alms*. 4. The English Rubric of 1662 cures this last difficulty (or rather oversight) in this way. First; into the Rubric borrowed from the Scotch, it inserts the word *alms*—“Alms for the poor, and other devotions of the people,” instead of, “the devotions of the people,” which alone are named in the Scotch Rubric: and Secondly; having inserted into the Rubric the word *alms*, to correspond with the *alms* named in the existing Liturgy in the Prayer for the Church Militant and

its Rubric, it goes on to insert the word *Oblations* into the Prayer for the Church Militant and its Rubric, to correspond with the word *Devotions* in the new Rubric for the Offertory. So that in our present Liturgy the word *Oblations*, in the Prayer for the Church Militant, represents what are called *devotions of the people* in the Rubric.

The question, however, remains, whether the word *oblations* in our Prayer for the Church Militant was designed to include the Elements or not. I hope I shall not be deemed presumptuous, if after the most careful consideration, I express my conviction that it was not. I suppose it will be admitted that the word *oblations* would not necessarily include the Elements. In the Scotch Liturgy it cannot include them. It means nothing there, but what in the Rubric, where it occurs, are called *devotions*, and in the prayer following are called *alms*. But if it be thought, that, when it was introduced into our Liturgy in 1662, those who introduced it intended it to signify the *Elements*, as well as the *devotions of the people*, then I would beg it to be remembered, that, by using it in that sense, a new and most important feature would have been introduced into our service in a very indirect way. Now, I mean, with reference to the Liturgy then existing; for, at that time, we have the authority of Archbishop Laud himself for saying, that there was no Oblation of the Elements in the English Liturgy. I would submit it to the candid consideration of the reader, whether it is probable that those who revised the Liturgy in 1662, would have made a change of such magnitude in so indirect a manner as this, or have introduced a form so important as the Oblation of the Elements into our Liturgy, merely by including the Elements in the meaning of the word *oblations*, without giving any notice of their intending the term to comprehend anything beyond what it signified in the Scotch Liturgy, from which they borrowed it—namely, the *devotions of the people*—that is, the money or gifts offered by the people during the reading of the Offertory. This would surely have been too serious a change to be made in such a manner. The more it is considered, the more improbable, I am persuaded, it will appear.

Added to this, it may not be unimportant to observe, that the Elements could scarcely be included in those *voluntary* gifts or oblations of the communicants: being provided by a rate, and that levied from the whole parish. And, as Waterland forcibly, but justly observes, “when God did require *material* sacrifices at all, he required *costly* ones, of as many as could afford it. But what do our bread and wine cost a *whole* congregation? What the *communicants*, who perhaps are not one half of the whole? What does the quota of any single communi-



cant amount to? Besides that, in reality, we *give* God nothing: we take all to *ourselves*, though not all of it provided at our own proper cost or charge. Was there ever such a *sacrifice* known or thought on, either among Jews or Gentiles, since the world stood? Or were the *primitive* Christians ever charged with any thing of this kind? \* Indeed, considering that *the whole* of the consecrated Elements are to be consumed by the communicants, and no part of them is reserved for Him to whom the term *oblations* would suppose them to be offered and given, it is difficult to imagine on what grounds they could be called by such a name. And besides this, it can hardly be supposed, that the old Rubric, "If there be no Alms given to the poor," could have been intended to contemplate that the collection should ever be omitted when the Holy Sacrament was administered, or could refer to any occasion except those on which there is no communion. If so, the present Rubric also would seem to me to refer to occasions of the same sort. What, I conceive, the words—"If there be no alms or oblations"—are primarily meant to direct, is (what I suppose was the intention of the old Rubric) that, on these occasions *when the Communion is not administered*, the word *Alms*, or *Oblations*, or both, as the case may be, should be omitted, unless one or both (i. e., either Alms, or Oblations, or both,) should have been offered at the Offertory. If this view be correct, then, *when there is a communion*, the word *Oblations* is not intended to be read, unless there be some other devotions (e. g., church plate, books, or furniture, or money to purchase them, or for any other pious purpose,) offered along with the *Alms* at the Offertory. *Then*, (if my view is not an erroneous one,) the word *oblations* was intended to be read, at the Communion, and *not otherwise*.

I know that Bishop Patrick,† whom Wheatley relies on, says that the word *oblations* in this place "can signify nothing else but (according to the style of the ancient church) this Bread and Wine presented to God." But whether it *may* include this in its meaning in this place or not, I cannot but think it will appear to any one who has taken the trouble to consider the facts of the case, that the *primary* sense it must have is that which answers to the word *devotions* in the preceding Rubric. Sparrow evidently understood the word as it is used in the Scotch Rubric as a general term for what is collected during the Offertory. "The Offertory follows, which are certain sentences out of Holy Scripture, which were sung or said while the people offered. Offerings or oblations are an high part of

\* Christian Sacrifice, Appendix, chap. ii. vol. v. p. 155. Oxf. Ed.

† Christian Sacrifice. Part II. § 8.

God's service and worship, taught by the light of nature and right reason." . . . "Though oblations be acceptable at any time, yet at some times they have been thought more necessary, as, I. When the Church is in want. (Exod. xxxv. 4, &c.) II. When we have received some signal and eminent blessing from God. (Psalm lxxvi,)" &c. III. At our high and solemn festivals, 'three times in the year shall they appear before me, and they shall not appear empty,' especially when we receive the holy communion. Theodoret tells us, 'that it was the ancient custom, before the receiving of the holy sacrament, to come up into the choir and offer at the holy table.' And surely it becomes not us to be empty-handed when God comes to us full-handed, as in that sacrament he does."\* From which it is plain that Sparrow not only understands that oblations *may* signify something besides the Elements, but that *he does not* include the Elements at all in his explanation of its meaning in this place.

I hope the importance of the subject involved in this inquiry may prevent its appearing tedious to my reader. I feel very strongly the necessity of considering, with more attention than several excellent persons have yet given to it, the question, how far we are justified in applying sacrificial language to the Holy Communion. In the Liturgy of our Church, I find, indeed, that sacrificial terms and phraseology are applied to those actions to which they are applied in the New Testament; to those which St. Peter seems to understand by spiritual sacrifices (1 Peter, ii. 5):—namely, to the offering of *contributions for pious and charitable purposes*, (Phil. iv. 18; Heb. xiii. 16;) to the offering of *prayers*, (Rev. viii. 3, 4; comp. Ps. cxli. 2;) to the offering of *praise and thanksgiving*, (Heb. xiii. 15;) and to the offering of *ourselves as a living sacrifice* to God: (Rom. xii. 1; xv. 16;) and for all these the passages which I have referred to give direct sanction of Holy Scripture. But, as I cannot discover any sanction whatever in the New Testament, for the application of sacrificial language to the Holy Communion, or any warrant *there*, for the notion, either of a material offering of the Elements, (whether before or after Consecration,) or of an unbloody sacrifice, or of a propitiatory or expiatory sacrifice—so, as it seems to me, those divines, who, by successive steps, brought our Liturgy to its present state, have jealously avoided any term, phrase, or Rubric, that would give encouragement to these views. Whatever may have been the private opinions held by any of them, this seems to be a true representation of the principle on which their revisions of the Liturgy were conducted. And looking at

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\* Rationale, p. 206. Oxford edition.

present only to the last of these revisions, I cannot avoid thinking, that, when we take into account the encouragement the Scotch Liturgy, from which they borrowed so many suggestions, gave to the adoption of another course, (though without any leaning to Romish doctrine, for that charge was as ignorant as I fear it was malicious,) the fact that the English bishops, in 1662, declined to follow its guidance in *this* particular, is extremely deserving of consideration.

*St. Mary-at-Hill, London,  
May, 1847.*

JOHN C. CROSTHWAITE.

## ESSAYS ON SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

NO. XVIII.

GARDINER AND BONNER, DE VERA OBEDIENTIA. No. II.

THE circumstances stated in the preceding essay are, perhaps, sufficient to throw some degree of suspicion on the work which has been handed down to us as the joint production of those two well-known prelates, Gardiner and Bonner.

Briefly recapitulated, so far as is necessary for the purpose of carrying on our argument, the matter stands thus:—We are told that in the year 1535, Bishop Gardiner published a treatise, “*De vera Obedientia*,” in London. That in 1536 it was reprinted at Hamburgh, with a recommendatory preface by Dr. Bonner, then Archdeacon of Leicester, and afterwards Bishop of London.

This may naturally, for various reasons, appear to reflecting persons a very singular proceeding; but waiving, for the present, all other considerations, let us go to the particular point at which we arrived in the preceding essay, and which was this—namely, that it was, to say the least, very strange that this new edition of the Bishop of Winchester’s book, thus patronised and prefaced by the Archdeacon of Leicester, should have been printed at a place where there had previously been so very little printing of any kind. I stated that no bibliographer whose works I had the opportunity to consult, had mentioned any book whatever as having been printed there before the year 1491; and this, considering how many presses had by that time been set up elsewhere, and how many years they had been in active operation, may be considered as not a little remarkable.

Still more wonderful, however, it must appear to every considerate reader, that if one book was printed there in 1491, so little should have been done for so long a period *after* that time. True it is that things may have been done which were

not recorded, and which are unknown merely because they had no chronieler. Books may have been printed at Hamburg in the beginning of the sixteenth century which were unknown to Panzer, but certainly not enough to affect the argument; and with his *Annals* before me, I ventured to express an opinion that no book was printed there during the forty-five years which succeeded 1491—that is, until this very year 1536, when the joint production of Gardiner and Bonner is said to have been printed. In stating this opinion, however, I felt bound to add, that whoever should look out my authorities might think that they did not fully support my statement, though I had not at that time room to go into details. Indeed those details would not be worth entering into at all, if it were not that beside their reference to the particular case before us, they have a more general, and an important, bearing on the subject with which we are engaged.

As we have seen what Panzer gives as occurring at Hamburg before the year 1500, (which is only the single volume of 1491, said to have been printed by artists otherwise altogether unknown,) let us turn to the second part of his *Annals*,\* and see what he states respecting the period immediately following—that is, up to the year 1536, being the forty-fifth after the flight of the Brocards from Hamburg.

In the first place,—and I grant in contradiction of the opinion which I have stated—he gives under the year 1527 (only the thirty-sixth of the Brocardian Hegira) one single book which he found to have been supposed by some persons to be a production of the Hamburg press. At the same time, neither he, nor anybody else, has ever pretended that it bore upon it any name of place or printer. Indeed, I do not know that it is thought to exhibit anything in type, or workmanship, or any internal evidence whatever, by which the place of its origin might be decided. But there is one circumstance (forming, I think, an obviously insufficient ground for the opinion) which has led some persons to think that this book was secretly and clandestinely printed in the particularly non-printing city of Hamburg. So strange it is that at every step of this inquiry we meet with some petty mystery. The first book which we come to after thirty-six years of total barrenness, is only *supposed* to have been printed there, if indeed the mere supposition is still entertained by anybody. And of all the books in the world, what book does the reader suppose it was that broke the long slumber of the Hamburg press? Not a new edition of the “*Laudes*” in Latin—the Proconsuls and Consuls had

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\* Vol. VII. p. 117.

changed all that,—but Tyndal's New Testament in the English Tongue. All that Panzer has to say of the year is this:—

“MDXXVII.

“1. PENTATEUCHUS et NOVUM TESTAMENTUM *anglice ex versione Gulielmi Tyndal. 1527.*

“*Maitt. II. p. 685.*”

It is hardly worth while to trace the authorities for this, because it is probable that those who suggested, or accepted Hamburg as the place where that work was printed, were not aware of any improbability, and only took it for granted that, as Tyndal was said to have got away from England to Hamburg, and also said to have printed his testament soon after that time, he had, as a matter of course, printed it at that place. To those who were probably not aware of anything to suggest a reason why a book might not as probably be printed there as anywhere else, this was quite natural; but after what we have just seen, and considering how much more easy, and how much less expensive, it would be to send a manuscript to some one of the many places where there certainly were printers and presses at work, than to introduce secretly into a town in which there seems to have been no printing, or, to say the least, none for six-and-thirty years, all the materials and persons requisite for the clandestine printing of a book, which, after all, for anything that appears, might just as well have been printed elsewhere—considering, I say, all this, we may, perhaps, very reasonably doubt whether Tyndal's Testament should stand where Panzer has placed it.\* If, however, this book really was printed at Hamburg in 1527, it must stand by itself, an isolated fact, a sort of little Eddystone in the barren sea of time; for three years elapse before we come to a notice of another *supposed* book. The next article in Panzer is—

“MDXXX.

“2. JOANNES HEPINUS de Romanæ ecclesiæ imposturis. *Epistola data est Hamburgi MDXXX, octavo Cal. Jun. 8.*

“*Maitt. Ind. I. p. 477.*”

Why surely we might as well put down Dr. Brown's Fasciculus, which we have been talking of, as printed at Sundridge,

\* Maittaire, thus quoted as his only authority by Panzer, refers us only to Le Long's *Bibliotheca Sacra*; and Le Long (Vol. II. p. 337) quotes only “*Hollandus in Heroologia Anglicana*,” which I have not at present opportunity to consult. Of course this matter has been more fully investigated since the days of Panzer; and whoever studies the information respecting the history of Tyndal's translation and editions of the New Testament, which has been zealously and ably collected by Mr. Ofor, Mr. Anderson, and Mr. Lea Wilson, will need very little argument to persuade him of the probability that this work of Tyndal's was not printed at Hamburg.

in Kent, because the doctor's *Epistola data est* "Sundrigiæ nonis Octobr. MDCLXXXIX." Dr. Brown was Rector of Sundridge, and Dr. Hück (who chose to call himself Æpinus) was pastor at Hamburg. If either of these divines thought fit to write a letter, it is probable that he would write it at, and date it from, the place where he lived; and it is highly probable, that if anybody saw fit for any reason to forge a letter from either of them, he might be deep enough to think of this. But to put down a book as printed at a place, merely because the prefatory epistle is dated from it, is so monstrous, that it would not be worth while to say another word about the matter, were it not that the mystery of Hamburg hangs over this book also, and involves a point or two which are worth our notice.

(1.) In the first place, did this author ever write any such book? He was a very well known man, and his works seem to have been popular. But I do not find this one mentioned either by his biographer or his bibliographer—that is by Melchior Adam, who wrote his life, or by Simler, who allots him a very respectable space in his edition of Gesner's *Bibliotheca*. Both of them gave lists of his works, but neither of them mentions anything that can be mistaken for this one. (2.) If Æpinus did write such a book, did he print it at Hamburg, for that is our immediate question? It may be said, "Of course he would print it where he lived;" but there is one circumstance which strongly forbids this assumption—namely, that all his other works (as far as I have been able to find) were printed elsewhere. Simler, as I have already said, gives a list of his works, and he distinguishes between those printed at *Basil* and those at *Frankfort*, but says not a word of any one having been printed at Hamburg. Why did the Superintendent of Hamburg send away his books from that place, to be printed elsewhere, long after the year 1530, (Simler gives no work earlier than 1541,) and why did other Hamburg writers do the same?—as it would be easy to show they did, if it were needful to follow up this point with further authorities. (3.) There is something worthy of notice in the title of this supposed Hamburg book, or rather in the description of the author. His name, as I have already stated was Hück, or (as he tells us, some people pronounced it) Hüch, and when, after escaping the danger into which the zeal of his youth had led him, he saw fit to conceal himself, by hellenizing his name into *ἄπεινος*, he knew better than to prefix an aspirate.\* He called himself, and his son

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\* In the prefatory epistle to his "*Commentarius in Psalmum XIX*," printed at *Frankfort*, 1545, addressed to Joachim II., Marquis of Brandenburg, he gives a notice of his early life which, as the book is not common, may be worth extracting:—

"Olim adolescens cum formabam juventutis studia, et gubernabam scholam in

continued the name, *Æpinus*; and, though he is, of course, often named by various writers, I know of only one place beside this where I have seen him designated *Hepinus*. (4.) I may as well plainly express my suspicion that the work is not genuine, and that some of our countrymen had a hand in the matter. That he was known to some among them who would not have hesitated to borrow his name, is beyond doubt, for he was over in this country in the year 1534. Some of his works were subsequently translated into English, and it is in one of those English translations alone that I find him called *Hepinus*. John Day, it seems, printed, without date, "A very fruitful and godly exposition vpon the 15 psalm of David called, Lord who shall dwell in thy tabernacle. Made by John Epinus, preacher to the church of Hamborough, and translated into English by N. L. 8vo."\* And Henry Bynneman printed at London, in

*Marchia, valde fœlicem judicasset me, si in huc luce, nunc demum ibi exorta, mihi tum agere licuisset, vel etiam in gravi difficultate: sed Domino tum aliter fuit visum: dedi tum pro meis viribus operam, ut Evangelium in Marchia innotesceret, sed Satanas cum suis mancipiis, monachis et sacrificiis, tunc et meos, et plerorumque aliorum bonorum conatus, qui tum mecum eandem rem ibidem agebant, impedit, et me falsis criminationibus delatum, apud Tus Cels. patrem, prudentissimum Principem, liberaliumque studiorum amantem, mendaciisque deformatum, detrussit in carcerem, objecti morti, et invisum reddidit Marchiæ præpotentibus, qui tum zelo quodam, Evangelicæ et incorruptæ doctrinæ ignari, defendebant Papisticos errores: tandem etiam ex carcere eductum, compulsi me e patria commigrare, apud externos sedes querare, et apud ignotos in exilio agere, et cum multis ac magnis difficultatibus luctari, ubi ob adversariorum pertinax odium et cupiditatem mihi nocendi, etiam coactus sum mutare gentilitium nomen, et juxta piissimorum, doctissimorum, ac prudentissimorum virorum consilium, pro teutonico gentilitio nomine Hück (quod et Hüch a multis effertur, et scribitur) Græca voce αἰρετός uti, quæ magis congruere videbatur, et quæ tantum uno, aut ad summum immutatis duobus elementis, Germanice gentilitium nomen meum sonat, quod adhuc retineo quod omnibus passim notius sit.*—(Sig. A. iv.)

\* Herbert's Ames, Vol. I. p. 673. This is the only instance in which I have found his name without the diphthong, except in Sleidan's Comm. Lib. XXI. p. 658, and, by the way, in Le Courayers translation (Vol. II. p. 30) he stands in the text as "*Jean Repin*," a blunder which is not corrected in the biographical note professing to give an account of him. As to this book of his, there seems to be some little puzzle about it, as about everything connected with this question. Bauer (Bib. Lib. Rar. Supp. Tom. I. p. 21) thus describes the work of which that mentioned by Herbert is a translation;—"Æpini (Joh.) in Psalmum XV. Commentarius, in quo de iustificatione, de vita christiani hominis, de votis et iuramentis, de consuetudine impiorum vitanda, de contractibus &c. agitur, Recens nunc primum ædurus. Argentor. 1543. Liber perrarus, &c." Now the book from which I have just quoted a part of the dedication, is his commentary on the XIX. Psalm. It bears the date of Frankfort, 1545, (two years, that is, later than this Strasburgh edition of the Commentary on the XV. Psalm,) and yet in that same epistle to the Marquis Joachim, he professes that he is dedicating to his highness the first fruits of his labours in the way of commentary on the Psalms, in terms which make it impossible to believe that he had published a similar commentary on a different psalm two years before. After stating various reasons for publishing, he proceeds: "*Hæc et plura alia, quæ hic prolixius persequi nolo, induxerunt me ut illis morem gererem qui a me contendebant meas annotatiunculas in Psalmos in nostra schola dictatas, edendas esse ut etiam in illorum manus venirent, quibus non fuit data facultas eas coram audire aut calamo excipere, et præcipue*

1570, a book entitled "De arte concionandi formulæ, vt breues, ita doctæ et piæ. Joanne Reuehllino Phorcensi, Anonymo quodam rhapsodo, Philippo Melancthone, D. Ioanne Hepino Autoribus," &c.\*

But enough has been said about this author, and his works ; especially considering that our only question is, whether a certain book on the impostures of the Romish church, circulated under his name, was (whether genuine or spurious) printed at Hamburg. If it really was, the production of it seems to have been an effort which the press of that city did not soon recover. Of six subsequent years, Panzer finds not a word to say. We do not hear of so much as a single book *said*, or (what is, indeed, all that he has yet had to offer us since the year 1491) even *supposed* to have been printed at Hamburg. But after that how does the torrent of typography burst forth. Panzer reports no less than four several and independent works as belonging to that *annus mirabilis* 1536. His statement is as follows :—

"MDXXXVI.

"3. STEPHANI *Wintoniensis Episcopi*, de vera obedientia Oratio. Cum præfatione Edmundi Boneri, Archidiaconi Leycestrensis, Sereniss. Reg. Mai. Angliæ in Dania Legati, capita notabiliora dictæ orationis complectente. In qua etiam ostenditur, causam controversiæ, quæ inter ipsam Regiam Maiestatem et Episcopum Romanum existit longe aliter ac diversius se habere, quam hactenus a vulgo putatum sit. Hamburgi, 1536. 4.

"von der Hardt, l. c. II. p. 194.

commentarium in Psalmum XIX. His monitoribus cum permiserim ut commentariolus in Psalmum xix. Typographo ad imprimendum darentur . . . . . constitui inscribere ac dedicare eum Illustr. tuæ Cels. . . . . Hic commentarius cum omnium primum sit, quem ipse publicaverim, tuæque Celsitudo meæ patriæ Princeps sit . . . . . jure quodam videor me debere T. Cels. has primitias mearum lucubrationum," &c.—Sig. bb. ij. It is possible that there may be some force in the "*ipse publicaverim*," and that he may refer to things with which he had, or had not, some connexion, being published by others with his name; but the whole style of the dedication is not what we should expect from a Superintendent of Hamburg who had fifteen years before printed a book against the church of Rome in his own city; and whether he did that, or whether somebody else did it for him, is our question. The reader is requested to remember this, and not to fall into the idea that I am attempting to deny that a book with that title, or something like it, and bearing the name of Æpinus, or Hepinus, was in circulation. Bæuer, in his work already quoted, places among the works of Æpinus, "*Pinacidion de Ecclesiæ Rom. imposturis, adversus impudentem Canoniceorum Hamburgi autonomiam* 1530. Liber rarissimus. Hennings, p. 17." It is worth while to add, that he mentions in the same list another work which does not seem to have been known to Melchior Adam or Simler—at least it is not in their lists—"Liber de Purgatorio, et multi alii ejusdem auctoris tractatus. Lond. 1549. 4. Liber maxime infrequens. Bibl. Solger, II. p. 169." A copy of this work is also mentioned in the Bibl. Banav. Tom. III. p. ii. p. 1265. It is surely somewhat remarkable that the only edition of this work that is known at all, while none seems to have been known to countrymen of his own who gave lists of his works, should bear the name of London as its birth-place.

\* Herbert's Ames, Vol. II. p. 970.



"4. Psalmus XLVII. de regno Jesu Christi, *doctore Urbano Regio interprete.* Hamburgi, anno 1536. *apud Frana. Rhodum Calendis Septembris 8.*

"*Maist. Ind. I. p. 337. Hirsch. Millen IV. p. 58. Bibl. Schæ. iux.*

"5. Psalmus octuagesimus septimus de gloriosa Christi ecclesia D. Joachim. Moller Senatori Hamb. dicatus, *cum commentario D. Urbani Regii.* Hamburgi in officina Francisci Rhodi 1536 mense Octobri. 8.

"*Hirsch. Millen IV. p. 58. Bibl. Schæ. iux.*

"6. Canticum et Ecclesiastes cum Sect. Bibl. et Psalt. hebr. Occurunt in Parte II. Machazor germ. *Hamburgi 1536. fol.*"

"*Cl. De Rossi apparat. Hebraeo-Bibl. p. 65. n. 120. Masch. Bibl. Sacr. Vol. IV. Suppl. p. 18.*"

But magnificent as this statement appears, half of it is disposed of by observing that the first article is the book of Bishop Gardiner, which is the subject of our inquiry; and the fourth is by Panzer's own direction to be expunged. It seems a pity to rob a place which has so little to spare, of the glory of printing a Hebrew book; but if, while such persons as Wolfius and Masch dispute, such another as De Rossi decides that the book was not printed there, but at Augsburg, what can we do? So there remain only these two commentaries on two Psalms by Urbanus Regius; of which it would be needless to say anything but that the author was a favourite with the English Reformers, and that several of his works (whether any of them were printed at Hamburg or not) were translated into English, and printed in this country.† It will be observed, that these books of Urbanus Regius, like Bishop Gardiner's, are ascribed to the press of Franciscus Rhodus; a printer of whom, as far as I have been able to find, there is no other memorial whatsoever. He

\* In his Supplement, (Vol. IX. p. 473,) Panzer says, in reference to this matter, "Non Hamburgi sed Augustæ Vindellicorum impressum fuisse hunc librum docet Cl. De Rossi, l. c. p. 37, n. 238. *Deleatur ergo hic.*"

† It would be tedious to enter into details, but it may be worth while to give one or two extracts from Herbert's Ames. "The Sermon which Christ made on the way to Emans to those two sorrowfull disciples, set downe in a dialogue by D. Urbane Regius," with "A breife ingresse to the Christian Reader by John Fone," printed by John Day, 1578, *Herb.* p. 664. "A Declaration of the twelve articles of the Christen fayth" . . . "by D. Urbanum Regium, printed by Juges, 1548." *Herb.* 714. "An Instruccoyon of Christen fayth . . . made by Vrbanus Regius . . . dedicated by J. Fox the translator, 'to his reuerende and singular good father Ric Melton,'" printed by Hugh Singleton without date. *Herb.* 744. "The olde Learyng and the new compared together, . . . newly corrected & augmented by Wyllyam Turner. Translated from Urban Regius." Printed by Stoughton, 1548. *Herb.* 750. "A lytle Treatise after the maner of an Epistle wryten by the famousse Clerk Doctor Vrbanus Regius," &c., printed by Walter Lynne, 1548. *Herb.* 753. "Solace of Sion, and Joy of Jerusalem, &c., being an exposition on the 87th psalm (that is, the work mentioned in the text) "by Vrbanus Regius: translated by Rich Robinson." Printed by Richard Jones, 1594. *Herb.* 1049. "A homelle or sermon of the good and euill Angell," &c. by Urbanus Regius, translated by Rich Robinson. Printed by John Charlwood, 1590. *Herb.* 1101.

is, therefore, a very fit successor to John and Thomas Brocard, and, I suspect, one of the same family.

But taking matters as they stand, the history of Hamburg typography up to, and including, the time when Bishop Gardiner's work is said to have been printed there, is this:—The book of *Laudes* in 1491—Tyndale's Testament, supposed, 1527—Hepinus's book, supposed 1530—Gardiner's and two of Urbanus Regius, 1536. This is the history as far, at least, as it was known to Panzer. There might be books printed of which he knew nothing; and, on the other hand, books which he supposed to exist, may have been only imaginary. His list for any given place may, it is granted, be either defective or redundant, but we must take one with another, and certainly Hamburg was not so much out of the ken of the Pastor of Nuremberg as many of the places from which he gives much more numerous lists of books printed in the first thirty-six years of the sixteenth century. It would, of course, be absurd to expect from Hamburg anything like the fecundity of Paris, which furnishes 2839 articles, or of Venice with 1959, or Basil with 1121. Panzer, however, could find at Leipsic, 965; at Lyons, 866; at Cologne, 859; Strasburgh, 808; and (not to speak of places where the numbers are so far beyond all comparison) he found at Cracow 289, and even at Thessalonica, he gleaned more than four times as many as at Hamburg.\*

But after so much talk about Bonner's Preface, I cannot help thinking, some readers may like to see it. It is not long, and perhaps they may gain some farther ground of opinion from internal evidence. The following is the English translation as it stands in the Roan edition†:—

“EDMVND BONER

“Archedeacon of Leicester, the king  
of England his most excellent ma-  
iesties embassadour in Denmarke.

“To the sincere, gentle herted,  
and godly Reader.

“Forasmuch as ther be som (doubtles) euen at this present, as it hath alwaies bene the wont of mens iudgements to be variable and diuerse, which thinke, the controuersy that is betwene the kyng of England and of Fraunce his most roial maiestie and the bishop of Rome, consisteth in this point, Because the Kynges said maiestie hath taken the most excellent and most noble lady Anne to his wife: where as in very dede notwithstanding, the matter is far otherwise, and nothing

\* These numbers are taken cursorily from the first list of places, without reference to supplemental additions, by which they might have been very considerably increased; which is not the case as it regards Hamburg.

† There are several trifling variations between this and the Rome edition of the preface. But I do not know that there are any of importance.

so. Wherefore, to the intent al that truly and heartelye fauour the Gospell of Christ (which that most godly and most vertuous prince, doth with al diligent endeuour, in euery place aduance, to the honour of almightie God, and to the profuyt and commoditie of al christian people) and that are not enemies, but louers of the truth (which euery where iustly claimeth the vpper hand, and to her, althinges, though thei struggle with her neuer so much in the beginning, yet obey and geue place at length as mete it is thei shoulde) mai the more fully vnderstand the chief point of that controuersy, and because thei shal not be ignorant, what the whole voyce and resolute determinacion of the best and greatest learned byshops with all the nobles and commons of England is, not onely in that cause of Matrimony, but also in the defending of the gospels doctrine: This Oration of the bishop of Winchester (a man excellently learned in al kind of learning) entiteled *De vera Obedientia*, that is, concerning true Obedience, whiche he made lately in England, shal go openly abrode. But as touching this bisshoppes worthi praises, ther shalbe nothing spoken of me at this time: Not onely because thei are infinite, but because they ar far better knowne to all Christendome, than becommeth me here to make rehersal. And as for the Oration itself, which as it is most learned, so is it moost elegaunt, to what purpose should I make any wordes of it, seing it praiseth it selfe inough, and sence good Wine nedeth no tauerne bushe to vtter it. But yet in this Oration, whosoeuer thou art most gentle Reader, thou shalt besides other matters, se it notably and learnedly handeled, of what importannce and how inuincible the power and excellencie of goddes truth is: which as it may now and then be pressed of enemies, so it cannot possiblye bee oppressed after such sort, but it commeth again at length behind the scrine, more glorious and more welcome.

"Thou shalt se also touching obedience, that obedience is subiect to truthe, and what is to be iudged true obedience. Besides this of mens tradicions, which for the moost part, are vtterly repungant against the truth of gods law. And therby the waye, he speaketh of the kynges said highnes Mariage, whiche by the ripe iudgement, authoritie and priuiledge of the most and principal Vniuersities of the world, and than with the consent of the hole church of England, he contracted with the most cleare and most noble ladie quene Anne. After that, touching the kinges maiesties title as pertaining to the supreme head of the church of England. Lastlye of al, of the false pretended supremacie of the bish. of Rome, in the Realme of England, most iustly abrogated, and howe all other byshopes being felowe like to him in their funccon, yea and in som pointes aboue him also wythin their owne prouinces, wer before tyme bound to him by their oth.

"But be thou most surely persuaded of this good Reader, that the bishop of Rome (though ther wer no cause els but this mariage) wyll easely content himself: specially, hauinge one morsell or other caste him. But whan he seith so mightie a king, being a right vertuous and a great learned prince, so sincerely and so heartelie to fauour the

gospell of Christ, and perceiueth the yearly rauenuous pray (yea so large a pray, that it came to asmuch almmost as all the kinges reuenewes) snapped out of his handes, and that he could no longer exercise his tyranny in the kinges maiesties realme (alas it hath bene to cruell and bitter al this while) nor make lawes as he hathe done many, to the contumely and reproch of the maiestie of God, which is euident that he hath done in times paste, vnder the title of the catholike church, and the authoritie of the Apostles Peter and Paul (whan notwithstanding he was a verie rauening wolfe, dressed in shepes clothing, calling himself seruant of seruants) to the great damage of the christen commen welth: A manne may say there began the mischeif: thereof rose these discordes, these discordes, (*sic*) these deadly malices, and so great troublous bustlings. For if it were not thus, no man could beleue, that this Jupiter of Olimpus, whiche hath falsely taken vpon him power,\* wherein is more bragge than hurt, wold haue done his best that this good and godly and righte gospelike prince should be falsely betrayed to all the reast of Monarkes and princes.

"Neither let it moue the (gentle reader) that the B. of Winchester, did not afore now, applie to this opinion: for he him selfe in this Oration sheweth the cause, why he did it not. And if he hadde saide neuer a word, yet thou knowest well, what a wittie part it is, for a man to suspend his iudgement, and not be to rashe in geuing of sentence. It is an old saying: Mary Magdalen profited vs lesse in her quick belefe that Christ was risen, then Thomas that was longer in doubt. A man maye rightlie cal him Fabius, that wyth his aduised taking of leasure restored the matter to his ful perfection. Albeit I speake not this, as though Winchester had not boulded out this case secretlie with himself before hand (for he boulded it euen to the branne long ago, out of doubt) but that, running faire and softlie, he would first with his painful studie, plucke the matter oute of the darke, althoughe of it selfe, it was clearelie sound inough, but by reason of sondrie opinions, it was lapped vp and made darke: and then did he debate it wittily to and fro, and so at last (after long and great deliberation had in the matter) because ther is no better counsailour, then leasure and tyme, he wold resolutelie with his learned and consummate iudgement confirme it.† Thou shouldest (gentle Reader) esteme his censure and auctoritie to bee of the more waightie credence, in asmuch as the matter was not rashlie, and at al aduentures, but wyth iudgement (as thou seest) and with wisdom examined and discussed.

\* In the original, "hunc Jovem Olympium, qui potestatem plane 'Ανυπεύθυνον sibi falso arrogauit." I have said that Bonner's preface is wanting in the Lambeth copy of the Hamburgh book; and, in order to do as I would be done by, I should add that I have no copy of that preface except what is in Dr. Brown's Fasciculus, and a very beautiful and elaborate MS. copy kindly furnished to me by Mr. Laing. I here follow the latter, which is, I have no doubt, the most correct throughout, though I have not collated it with Dr. Brown's reprint. Certainly it is so in this place, where it reads "ptātē plane ἀνυπεύθυνον," which stands in the Fasciculus "pietatem plane 'Ανυπεύθυνον."

† "quoniam Σύμβουλος οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ βελτίων χρόνῳ, docto et consummato iudicio suo comprobare voluerit."

As for this is no newe example, to be against the b. of Rome: seeinge that not onelie this man, but many men many times, yea and right great learned men afore now, haue done the same euen in writings: wherin thei both painted him out in his colours, and made his sleighes, falsehead, fraudes, and disceatfull wiles, openlie knowen to the world. Therefore if thou at any time heretofore haue doubted either of true obedience, or of the kinges maiesties marriage, or title, either els of the b. of Romes false pretenced supremaci, as if thou haddest a good smelling nose, and a sound iudgement, I think thou diddest not: yet hauing red ouer this Oration (which if thou fauour the truth, and hate the tirannie of the bishop of Rome and his deuclish fraudulent falshod, shall doutles wonderfullie content the) throw downe thine error, and acknowledge the truth now frely offered the at length: considering with thy selfe, that it is better late to do so, then neuer to repent. Fare thou hartelie wel, most gentle reader, and not onelie loue this most valeaunt king of Englande and of Fraunce, who vndoubtedlie was by the prouidence of god born to defend the gospell: but also honour him and with all thy heart serue him moost obediently. As for this Winchestre who was longe ago withoute doubt reputed among the greatest learned men, geue him thy good word with honourable commendations."

On this preface I will here observe only two things. First, that beside the fulsome flattery of Gardiner, and the gross abuse of the pope (both of which, perhaps, assume rather an exaggerated appearance in this coarse translation,) the whole style of the composition is more rhetorical, not to say pedantic, than might have been expected from Bonner. How much Greek the Archdeacon of Leicester carried in his head, or in his portman-teau, when he went on his embassy to Denmark, I cannot tell; but one has not been used to consider him a person from whom one might expect stray sprinkles of it in Latin composition. It is odd, that the very same thing is done by Æpinus at least half-a-dozen times, upon very slight provocation, in his prefatory address to the Marquis Joachim, which I have quoted. Æpinus was at Hamburgh in 1536, and a good while before and after. Is it possible that Bonner may have taken lessons in composition from him? or anything else?

Secondly, it is singular that this preface seems to have been—I was going to say so little known, but that would not express my meaning, for, doubtless, it was well known by those for whom these clandestine books were printed, and among whom they circulated, and I will rather say—so much unknown, or unknown to those who do in fact seem to have known nothing about it. For instance, its existence is not mentioned in the reprint of the Oration by Goldastus, or in the long prefatory matter by which that Oration is introduced, and which is signed by Capito, Hedio, Bucer, and all the other ecclesiastics of Stras-

burgh. Had they never heard of it? Did Goldastus know, and omit, a document so much to his purpose? Again, I think that the preface is never once incidentally hinted at in the depositions in the business of Gardiner's deprivation, though the work is repeatedly mentioned. There is, I admit, no great weight in this, as the matter there respected strictly only what Gardiner had done; though it would not have been strange if some incidental allusion had been made to the preface. It is of much more importance to observe, (and as far as I can see it is true,) that while Gardiner got into the Prohibitory Index for his part, and his Oration was condemned, Bonner and his Preface escaped all notice; a circumstance which, if the work was avowed, and believed by well-informed persons to be genuine, seems to me utterly unaccountable. Add to this, that although, as I have already said, this preface, genuine or not, was undoubtedly well known among the party for whom books of this kind were secretly printed, yet I recollect only one instance of its being thrown in Bishop Bonner's face by any person under examination. Gardiner got many "nips," both "privy" and apert, for his share in the book; but I do not recollect any other instance of an attack on Bonner than that which was made by William Tyms, curate of Hockley, at his examination on the 28th March, 1556, and it is particularly worthy of attention. How far the reporter was competent to do justice to what he heard, and how much there was which he did not hear, we have no means of knowing, for Fox only tells us, "thus much William Aylsbury, witness hereof, being present thereat, so far as he heard, hath faithfully recorded and reported. What more was spoken and there said, (for they made not yet an end a good while after,) because he departed then out of the house, he doth not know, nor did hear." He professed, however, to have heard the following discourse, which, after what we have already seen, may, I think, lead some readers to a suspicion that Bonner either did not write the preface in question, or else that he was a greater fool than he is generally supposed to have been. He was not in this case (as he was in many others) engaged with merely illiterate persons who might be imposed on, for another of the prisoners was Robert Drakes, "parson of Thundersley, in Essex." If twenty years before, Bonner had written that violent invective in Latin, and if, only two or three years before, two editions of it in English had been circulated, and Bonner not only knew himself that he had done so, but that the fact was notorious, one can hardly imagine it possible that he should have replied to the general charge of Tyms as he did. Bonner had asked him whether he would submit himself to the Catholic church as an obedient child:—

"Then Tyms answered and said, 'My Lord I doubt not but I am of the catholic church, whatsoever you judge of me. But as for your church, you have before this day renounced it, and by corporal oath promised never to consent to the same. Contrary to the which you have received into this realm the Pope's authority, and therefore you are falsely perjured and forsworn, all the sort of you. Besides this, you have both spoken and written very earnestly against that usurped power, and now you do burn men that will not acknowledge the Pope to be supreme head.'\*

"'HAVE I?' quoth the Bishop; 'WHEN HAVE I WRITTEN ANYTHING AGAINST THE CHURCH OF ROME?'

"'My Lord,' quoth Tyms, 'the Bishop of Winchester wrote a very learned oration, entitled, *De vera Obedientia*, which containeth worthy matter against the Romish authority. Unto the which book you made a preface, inveighing against the bishop of Rome, reproving his tyranny and falsehood, calling his power false and pretended. The book is extant, and you cannot deny it.'"

One can easily imagine that the bishop, if he had written the Preface, (and still more, if he had not,) might feel "somewhat abashed" at such a reply. At least, he might exhibit such an appearance to a spectator who, perhaps, was fully convinced of the genuineness of the Preface, and the perjured baseness of the bishop. But the candid explanation which Bonner entered into with his prisoners at a "public examination," the modest way in which he proposed himself to them as a model of conscientious prudence—in short, the whole thing, if we can only be sure that there was no irony in it, no sense of the humour of his writing a preface to the "great learned man's" book, none of the broad, and even coarse, humour in which he sometimes indulged at the expense of prisoners who vexed him, and to the amusement of those about him—if one can be quite sure that he said all that is reported, and seriously meant all that he said, the passage is very remarkable indeed. It sets the stubborn old bishop, who had stuck in gaol all the days of King Edward,

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\* It is right to state that, according to William Alsbery's own account, it does not appear that Tyms was examined about the pope's supremacy, because such misrepresentations should be pointed out even when they are only incidentally reprinted in passages quoted for quite different purposes. Nobody who has studied the examinations of the martyrs, indeed, would expect to find Bonner taking up that subject, and driving that point in the first instance. On the contrary, Fox introduces this examination by telling us, that on the five prisoners (of whom Tyms and Drakes were two) being brought before Bonner, "the said bishop *after his accustomed manner* proceeding against them, inquired of them their faith" [not as to the pope's supremacy, but] "upon the sacrament of the altar. To whom," he adds, "they answered that *the body of Christ* was not in the sacrament of the altar *really and corporally* after the words of consecration spoken by the priest." This, I say, is Fox's account of it, but in the course of a page or two, he gives us, "The Articles for the which William Tyms, of Hockley, in Essex, was condemned in the Consistory in Paul's, the 28 day of March; with his Answers and Confession upon the same," and then he gives us, as Tyms's own words: "Item, I confessed that in the sacrament of the altar, the Christ is not present either *spiritually or corporally*."

in quite a new light. What a nice peculiarity of conscience there must have been to prevent his doing for the son half what he had done so freely for the father. But Fox goes on :—

“ Then was the Bishop somewhat abashed, and looking upon such as were present, spake very gently, saying, ‘ Lo ! here is a goodly matter indeed. My Lord of Winchester being a great learned man, did write a book against the Supremacy of the Pope’s Holiness, and I also did write a preface before the same book, tending to the same effect. And thus did we because of the perilous world that then was : for then was it made treason by the laws of this realm to maintain the pope’s authority, and great danger it was to be suspected a favourer of the see of Rome ; and therefore fear compelled us to bear with the time, for otherwise there had been no way but one. You know when any uttered his conscience in maintaining the pope’s authority, he suffered death for it.’ And then turning his tale unto Tymes, he said, ‘ But since that time, even since the coming in of the Queens Majesty, when we might be bold to speak our conscience, we have acknowledged our faults, and my Lord of Winchester himself shamed not to recant the same at Paul’s Cross. And also thou thyself seest that I stand not in it, but willingly have submitted myself. Do thou also as we have done.’

“ ‘ My Lord,’ quoth Tymes, ‘ that which you have written against the supremacy of the pope, may be well approved by the Scriptures. But that which you now do, is against the word of God, as I can well prove.’

“ Then another (I suppose it was Dr. Cooke) said, ‘ Tymes, I pray thee let me talk with thee a little,’ &c.”—*Fox*. VIII. 110.

I do not pretend to say that others may not have made reference to this work, when under examination by Bonner ; and I shall be glad if any one who is acquainted with any instance of the kind will point it out. Of Bishop Gardiner’s conduct with respect to his part of the work, I hope to speak in another Essay. In the meantime, I am, &c., S. R. MAITLAND.

## ANTIQUITIES, ETC.

### ARCHBISHOP WARHAM’S VISITATION IN THE YEAR 1511.

(Continued from page 551.)

#### ECCLESIA DE IWADE.

977. *Compertum est*. That M. Vane withdraweth a legacy to the church of Iwade of x. marks at the bequest of my Lady Clerk of Wroteham.

[The churchwardens stated that Henry Vane was resident out of the diocese, and the Commissary remitted the matter to the Archbishop.]



978. *Item.* One Nicholas Clifford withholdeth a tenement of xliiii.s. by year from the said church that his grandfather bequeathed and will not restore it.

[He appeared and stated that he had no tenement but what he held by descent. The Commissary admonished him to exhibit the will of John Clifford on the Friday next after the Feast of St. John Port Latin, and enjoined the churchwardens to attend at the same time to prove their case. On which day the said Nicholas appeared and exhibited the will of the said John Clifford; and forasmuch as the churchwardens proved nothing, the Commissary dismissed him.]

979. *Item.* That the parish church hath no porch.

[The Commissary enjoined the Churchwardens to build one before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.]

980. *Item.* That the steeple is in great decay.

[The Churchwardens were enjoined to repair before the next Easter, under pain of excommunication.]

#### CAPELLA DE WARDON *vel* WARDEN.

981. *Compertum est.* That there is no priest to sing divine service among [*sic*] nor to minister the sacraments.

The Churchwardens appeared, and stated that the cure was then well served.

#### ECCLESIA DE EASTCHURCHE *vel* ESTCHURCHE.

982. *Compertum est.* That the parishioners delivered a cow to John Bompett for the use of the church, the which he saith William Ruffyns dogge killed, and so between them the church hath lost the cow.

[He appeared, and confessed that he had had the cow, and professed his readiness to make satisfaction. The Commissary enjoined him to do so before the next Easter, under pain of excommunication.]

983. *Item.* That our churchyard is not hallowed.

[The Commissary enjoined the said Churchwardens to repair the fence of the churchyard before St. John the Baptist's day, under pain of excommunication.\*]

984. *Item.* The Churchwardens will not give the accounts of the church goods.

[The said Churchwardens were enjoined to render an account of the goods of the church before the Friday next after St. John Port Latin day, and to exhibit it on that day; and they did so.]

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\* So it stands; it would seem incorrectly.

985. *Item.* That the Churchwardens of Eastohurohe sued one William Kingisdowne for certain duties due to the said church, and it was decreed by the official that the lands of the said Kingisdowne should be at the parish use till he had paid them; and then Thomas Benett, one of the churchwardens, received the said duty of the lands, and now the parish doth sue the same William again, against all conscience and right.

[William Kingesdown appeared, and as he confessed that he had received xlv. s. viii. d. for his lands, which sum the Churchwardens should receive, the Commissary enjoined him to pay them the said sum before Pentecost, under pain of excommunication; or else to appear on the Mouday next after Corpus Christi day, to show cause why he should not be compelled to do it.]

#### ECCLESIA DE UPOCHURCH.

986. *Compertum est.* That the Vicarage was burned vi. years past, and is not made up again.

[The Vicar appeared, and the Commissary enjoined him to make preparations for building before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of sequestration, and to appear before that time to receive further instructions from the Commissary. On the 30th July he appeared accordingly, and stated that he had made provision, and the Commissary enjoined him to build the house in a proper manner within one year from that time, under the penalty aforesaid; unless he should obtain more time from the Lord Archbishop.]

987. *Item.* That the Prior of Rochester withholdeth from our church vi. lb. of wax by year, of the which he would pay iii. lb., but they will not receive it.

[The Commissary admonished the Churchwardens, to prosecute the matter before the Lord Archbishop; because the Prior of Rochester was not within the diocese.]

988. *Item.* That M. William Ager withholdeth yearly x. s., and so by the space of vi. years.

[William Awcher appeared, and prayed a copy of the article; and undertook either to answer it or to settle with the Churchwardens before the Tuesday after the Sunday *in albis*. On which day John Tewse, one of the Churchwardens, appeared, and said that the parish had remitted the arrears, and consented that the said William should pay them for only one, he undertaking to pay regularly in future.]

989. *Item.* That M. George Selenger and M. Barthū [*sic*] Selengers deputy withholdeth ix. bushels of barley that his

father paid before him, and hath withheld it these vi. years and more.

[As both George and Bartholomew Seintleger resided out of the parish, the Commissary remitted the matter to the Lord Archbishop.]

#### ECCLESIA DE STOKEBURY.

990. *Compertum est.* That the executors of Thomas Bromfeld withdraweth x. marks from the church, that the said Thomas bequeathed to buy an Antiphonar.

[The executors of Thomas Bromfeld appeared, and confessed, and said they were ready to deliver the x. marks. They were enjoined to do so before St. John the Baptist's day, under pain of excommunication; or sooner if the Churchwardens should require it.]

991. *Item.* The heirs of Stephen Bull withdraweth by year from the church 1½*d.*, the which their predecessors paid afore them, the which hath been unpaid ix. years.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and stated that the heirs of Stephen Bulle had agreed with the parishioners for the arrears, and also for the payment in future.]

#### ECCLESIA DE REYNHAM *vel* RAYNEHAM.

992. *Compertum est.* That the clerk was hired to serve the parish of Rayneham for ii. marks a year, and he hath been ii. years amongst them, and cannot get but xxxii*s.*

[The Churchwardens appeared, and stated that the clerk (aquebailus) did not serve them properly. Nevertheless that they were willing to pay him what was due on account of his salary when he should come for it. They added that he lived out of the diocese.]

993. *Item.* That the executors of Thomas Heth withholdeth v. marks bequeathed by the said Thomas to the said church.

[The Churchwardens stated that the parish were prosecuting the executors of Thomas Hethe in the chancery, before the Lord Chancellor, for the said legacy.]

994. *Item.* That William Jonnet withholdeth iii. quarters wheat.

[William Jenet appeared, and confessed that the wheat was in his possession. He was enjoined to pay it over before St. John the Baptist's day, under pain of excommunication.]

995. *Item.* That John Lane withholdeth ii. bushels barley.

[The Churchwardens stated that John Layne resided out of the diocese, and the Commissary enjoined the Churchwardens to prosecute the matter on behalf of the church, before the Lord Archbishop.]

ECCLESIA DE MIDDLETON *vel* MYDDELTON.

996. *Compertum est.* That the Vicar keepeth no residence.

[The parish priest appeared as proctor for the Vicar, who, he stated, was licensed, and resident on another benefice which he had.]

997. *Item.* That the Churchyard is not cleanly kept.

[The Commissary enjoined the said parish priest that whereas the churchyard was defiled by horses and cows feeding there by his orders, he should remedy that evil, under pain of sequestration.]

998. *Item.* That Julian Gery wife of one John Stormys withdraweth from the said church a tenement of *vi.s.* the which her husband bequeathed.

[Juliana Bury appeared, and stated that she was ready to deliver up to the Churchwardens the tenement bequeathed by her husband. The Commissary enjoined her to settle this matter with the parishioners before Easter, under pain of excommunication.]

999. *Item.* That John Bull willed in his Testament that a priest should sing in the parish church for all christen souls *iiii.* years, the which Stephen Bull will not perform.

[John Bulle son of Stephen Bull appeared for his father who was ill, and the Commissary postponed his attendance until the Tuesday after the Sunday *in albis*. On which day the said Stephen did not appear, and the Commissary suspended him from entrance into the church. On the Tuesday after St. Mark the Evangelist's day he appeared and prayed absolution and restitution. The Commissary having absolved him, he stated that the matter was pending before the Lord Archbishop in the Chancery.]

1000. *Item.* That one Samson Sayer willed in his Testament that certain lands should remain in the hands of one John a Bery, one of his executors, that a priest should sing by the space of *lx.* years for his soul, that is to say, at Middleton *xxx.* years, and at Newengton *xxx.* years, but Thomas Sayer cousin to the said Sampson hath sold it, and so hath deprived the church, the which lands were worth *xx.* marks.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and stated that Thomas Sayer was living in MaHyng out of the diocese; and so the Commissary remitted the matter to the Archbishop.]

1001. *Item.* That one John Joye sayeth, and affirmeth boldly to the Vicar, that he is as well occupied when he is about his tubs, as the Vicar when he is at Mass.

[John Joy appeared and denied having used these words.]

The Commissary enjoined him to clear himself *quarta manu* on the Tuesday next after the Sunday *in albis*. When he produced John Bull, William Barons, and William Tunbridge, whom the Commissary admitted as compurgators with the said John Joy, and he, being thus lawfully cleared, was dismissed.]

1002. *Item*. That William Valeys saith that a priest should say Mass in a crewse or than he spend an  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to buy a chalice.

[William Valeys appeared and denied the article. The Commissary for certain causes dismissed him on his own oath.]

1003. *Item*. That certain butchers keep open their shops on Sundays and other holydays and selleth flesh, whose names are William Tunbrige, John Corser, William Barons.

[They appeared and stated that they had not done so since the Archbishop's visitation. The Commissary enjoined them not to do it in future under pain of excommunication, unless there were some reasonable cause.]

1004. *Item*. The parishioners doth not repair the body of the church nor will not where there is a great fault in one of the gutters between two ylis.

[The Churchwardens were enjoined to repair before the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, under pain of excommunication.]

1005. *Item*. There is a simple Rood that lacketh Mary and John.

[The Churchwardens were enjoined either to provide a new rood, or see to the repair of that which they already had, before the Feast of Pentecost, under pain of excommunication.]

1006. *Item*. One Roos Slatter widow hath an erroneous opinion, saying that whensoever she shall curse by these words, 'I curse thee by Saint Germaines curse,' they shall never prosper in bodily health, nor in goods.

[Rose Slatter appeared and the Commissary exhibited to her this article, which she denied, and affirmed that the presentment was malicious, for that she had never said those words or any like them. The Commissary admonished her not to use such words in future, and so dismissed her.]

1007. *Item*. One Nicholas Clifford gentleman withdraweth from the church petir penys.

[The Churchwardens stated that Nich. Clyfford had settled the matter with the parish.]

#### ECCLESIA DE BOBBYNG.

1008. *Compertum est*. That there lack ii. alters cloths.

[The Churchwardens appeared and the Commissary enjoined them to provide two linen cloths for the altars before the Feast of Pentecost, under pain of excommunication.]

1009. *Item.* That the chancel is uncovered.

[The Churchwardens stated that it had been duly repaired.]

1010. *Item.* That the prioress of Sheppey withdraweth xxii. *lb.* of wax, the which of old time was used to be paid.

[The Prioress of Mynster in Sheppy appeared by Master William Mody her proctor, and said that she believed she was not bound to pay xxii. *lb.* of wax to the church but that if her liability could be proved she would pay. The Churchwardens produced witnesses whose depositions having been read and understood, the Commissary enjoined the said Prioress to pay the said xxii. *lb.* of wax, or else to appear before the Lord Archbishop, and show cause why she should not be compelled to do it.]

1011. *Item.* That John Notton, Thomas Cow, and Thomas Grene, will not pay to the clerks wages as other do.

[The Churchwardens stated that John Norton, Thomas Cove, and Thomas Grene had paid.]

1012. *Item.* That the Curate there is not sufficient to keep a cure.

[It appeared that the Curate had died.]

#### ECCLESIA DE NEWENTON.

1013. *Compertum est.* That the chancel is not repaired.

[Master William Adamson, the Vicar, appeared, and said that the Abbot of Lesnes was bound to repair the chancel; and forasmuch as the Abbot was resident out of the diocese, the Commissary remitted him to the Archbishop.]

1014. *Item.* The parsonage is sore decayed and near fallen down.

[In like manner remitted.]

1015. *Item.* The vicarage is sore decayed.

[The Vicar stated that he had duly repaired it.]

1016. *Item.* The Vicar is not resident.

[The Vicar stated that he was resident sometimes in his other living of Rayneham, and sometimes in this.]

1017. *Item.* That the Warden of All Soulyn College in Oxford withholdeth yearly 9½*d.*

[Remitted to the Archbishop.]

1018. *Item.* That Elizabeth Claydon made a contract with one John Tresshier, and sithens hath made another with Humfray Oynoyne, and is married we wot not where.

[She appeared, and denied any contract with John Thressher; but acknowledged that with Humphrey Onyon, and stated that they were married at St. Katherine's near the Tower of London. The Commissary dismissed her usq. als.]

**Decanatus de Sutton.**

SEXTA die mensis Octobris A. D. 1511. In Ecclesia Collegiata de Maidestone Magr. Cutbertus Tunstall, utriusque juris doctor, vice et auctoritate Reverendissimi in Christo patris Dni Willielmi Archiep. Cant. &c. visitavit clerum et populum decanatus de Sutton, sermone prius facto per Mag. Clementem Browne sacre theologie doctore, assumpto pro themate "Fraternitatis amoris estote."

[Monitio generalis, ut supra mutatis mutandis.]

*Sequuntur detecta et comperta in dicto  
Decanatu de Sutton.*

**ECCLESIA DE BOUGHTON vel BOCTON MONCHERE.**

1019. *Compertum est.* That the churchyard walls are not sufficiently repaired.

[The Churchwardens appeared and the Commissary enjoined them to repair the walls sufficiently before St. John the Baptist's day, under pain of excommunication.]

**ECCLESIA DE VLCOMBE.**

1020. *Compertum est.* That the chancel of our Lady is not paved, and the ground lieth very noisome for people to look upon.

[The Churchwardens appeared and the Commissary enjoined them to repair it before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.]

1021. *Item.* That in the body of the church it raineth in for fault of shingling.

[The Churchwardens were enjoined to repair, before St. John the Baptist's day, under pain of excommunication.]

1022. *Item.* The belfry lieth unpaved and needeth reparation.

[The Churchwardens were ordered, to pave before the Feast of Pentecost, under pain of excommunication.]

1023. *Item.* That William Ade doth withhold certain bequests of one Thomas Horne to the value of xiii.s. iiii.d. as it appeareth by his will.

[William Ade appeared, and the Commissary enjoined him to pay the money before St. John the Baptist's day, under pain of excommunication.]

**ECCLESIA DE STAPLEHERST.**

1024. *Compertum est.* That the parson lately dead bequeathed to the mending of the Revestery which hath stonde uncovered these xii. years iii.l. vi.s. viii.d., the which is used

to another church. Richard Mount de Wy, Sir Simon Goffrith, parson of Netylsted in the diocese of Rochester, and Sir Robert Gosborn of Canterbury, executors.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and stated that they had received from one Richard Hopper, in the name of the executors of Richard Wright, the late rector, the sum of xxx.s. in part payment of the sum left for roofing the vestry, and further, that they had expended the same for a different purpose, and not that for which it was left. The Commissary enjoined them to refund the xxx.s., so that it might be applied to the purpose for which it was bequeathed, before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication. Afterwards Robert Gosborn, Richarde Mounte de Wye, executors of the said M. Richard Wright appeared, and stated that whenever the work for which it was left was begun, the Churchwardens should have the remainder of the legacy.]

1025. *Item.* The image of Allhallows in the chancel stands sore decayed in default of the parson.

[Master John Goodhewe, rector of the parish, appeared, and said that he was not bound to repair, but the parishioners. The Commissary enjoined the Churchwardens either to do the repairs before Pentecost, or before that time to appear before the Lord Archbishop to prove the Rector's liability, under pain of excommunication.]

1026. *Item.* There lack rochets and surplices.

[The Churchwardens were enjoined to provide them before St. John the Baptist's day, under pain of excommunication.]

1027. *Item.* There are divers men that will not pay their Peter-pennies to the church.

[The Churchwardens stated that all the defaulters had paid.]

1028. *Item.* That Thomas Robert drew his knife in the churchyard and would have stricken a man there.

[Thomas Roberts appeared, and the Commissary enjoined him not to draw a sword in the churchyard to strike anybody in future, under pain of excommunication.]

#### ECCLESIA DE CHART *vel* CHARTE.

1029. *Compertum est.* That the chancel is in decay for lack of desks, and paving of the said choir in default of my Lord the Prior of Leds.

[The Prior appeared, and the Commissary enjoined him to do the required repairs before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of sequestration.]

1080. *Item.* That one Johane had bequeathed a cow to the church to the finding of a lamp, and the overplus to rest to



the use of the church. The lamp is found yearly for *x.d.*; the residue Thomas Mascall, that keepeth the aforesaid cow, withdraweth to his own use, the which hath rested in his hands *xviii.* year or more.

[He appeared, and acknowledged that he had the cow, and said that he paid the profit of it yearly to the maintenance of the lamp. The Commissary enjoined him to deliver the cow to the Churchwardens before St. George's day, under pain of excommunication.]

1031. *Item.* He withholdeth *vi.s. vi.d.* the which he received of hokeday money, and for waste of torches.

[He acknowledged that he had *vi.s. viii.d.* collected in the parish, and also a further sum of *xxvi.s. viii.d.*; and he stated that with that money he had bought twenty sheep for the benefit of the church, which were then at farm with Ralph Blachenden.]

1032. *Item.* That John Lysted, Gilys Frankleyn, John Stace, and Stephen Merden, withdraw a tenement and a piece of land that should have been sold by them to find partly a priest that should have *v. marks* by year, and partly to the church, the which is not performed.

[John Lested appeared, and stated that the lands of Giles Kendall were sold by him for *x. marks*, of which he paid *xxxiii.s. iiii.d.* for a chaplain for one quarter, and he paid the Churchwardens *xxviii.s. ii.d.* and he spent in defending a suit about the said lands in the secular court, *lxxix.s. viii.d.*, because one John Kendall had entered on them. Nevertheless, he said he would maintain a chaplain for another quarter, and begin the service from Michaelmas next.]

1033. *Item.* John Halsnoth willed in his last will and testament that two pieces of land called Baker Croft and Harner, lying in the parish of Langle, should be sold to the use of the said church.

[John Stace appeared, and denied that he withheld any lands that were John Halsnoth's; but that if it could be proved he would restore them. The Commissary enjoined the Churchwardens to prove the withdrawal of the lands before St. John the Baptist's day, under pain of final dismissal.]

1034. *Item.* There was one Richard Potter made and declared his last will, and willed certain lands to be sold to the use of the church of Chart by Robert Lested, William Usbarne, and Rauff Den, and either of them to have for their labour *vi.s. viii.d.* The said feoffers died before the said land was put to sale, and then John Lested came to it by descent after the death of his father, and he keepeth the whole *xx.s.*; whereas we think *xiii.s. iiii.d.* should come to the

use of the said church, forasmuch as the other feoffer was departed.

[John Lested stated that he owed nothing to the church or to any one else on account of the lands of Richard Potter, which he occupied for four years before they were sold; but that if anything can be proved, he will pay. The Commissary enjoined the Churchwardens to prove before St. John the Baptists day, under the penalty aforesaid.]

1035. *Item.* That the said parishioners should have at Easter of the Prior of Leds every year iiii. bushels of wheat, whereas they have now but two bushels.

[The Prior acknowledged that he payed two bushels, and denied that he was bound to pay the other two. The Commissary enjoined the Churchwardens to prove before St. John the Baptist's day, under the penalty aforesaid.]

1036. *Item.* That Alexander Culpepper withholdeth from the said church by year ii.d. of rent called Rowmescott, and he hath withholden it by the space of xx. years and more.

[Alexander Culpeper appeared, and denied that he was bound to pay the ii.d. The Commissary enjoined the Churchwardens to prove before St. John the Baptist's day. On which day Alexander Culpeper appeared, and as the Churchwardens proved nothing, the Commissary dismissed him.]

1037. *Item.* John Lested the elder occupied two pieces of land by the space of iii. years, of the value of x.s. vi.d. by yere, the which is due to the church; but the said John will pay but vi.s. x.d.

[The Churchwardens stated that he had compounded with them for xiii.s. iiii.d., and had undertaken to pay it before St. John the Baptist's day, under pain of excommunication.]

#### ECCLESIA DE EAST SUTTON.

1038. *Compertum est.* Omnia bene.

[Of course no *acta.*]

#### ECCLESIA DE SUTTON VALENCE vel VALAUNCE.

1039. *Compertum est.* That the chancel need [*sic*] of reparation in shingling, pargetyng and whityng in the fault of the Prior of Leds.

[The Prior of Leds, proprietary of the church, appeared, and the Commissary enjoined him to do the necessary repairs before St. John the Baptist's day, under pain of sequestration.]

1040. *Item.* That Stephen Pendo and John Cotyn withhold their Rome pennies.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and stated that Stephen Pende and John Colyn had paid.]

1041. *Item.* That the heirs of William Taylor withhold  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  yearly.

[The Churchwardens stated that he had settled with them.]

1042. *Item.* That James Moris liveth in adultery with Alice Moris his kinswoman; howbeit he hath been commanded, both by my Lord's Grace, and the Official, that he should not come no more in her company.

[James Morys appeared, and denied the article. The Commissary enjoined him to clear himself *serta manu* on the Tuesday next after the Sunday *in albis*. Afterwards he appeared and confessed his guilt, and submitted himself to correction. Whereupon the Commissary enjoined him to go before the processions to be made in the church of Sutton, on the three following Sundays, barefoot and bareheaded, wearing only a shirt, and holding in his hand a taper value *ii.d.*, and that on the third Sunday, after the gospel should have been read at high mass, at the time when Christians offer, he should humbly and devoutly offer the said taper into the hands of the officiating minister; under pain of excommunication.]

1043. *Item.* That William Turbut withholdeth *iii.s. iiiii.d.* belonging to the Cross of Pathden.

[William Turbutt appeared, and confessed that he had in his hands that sum, due for the reparation of the Cross of Patheden. The Commissary enjoined him to pay it to Thomas Baker and John Billes so that it might be expended for that purpose, before St John the Baptist's day, under pain of excommunication.]

1044. *Item.* That Jamys Quarry, alias Paler, keepeth not his parish church as he should do on holydays.

[He appeared, and the Commissary enjoined him to keep his church on Sundays and holydays, under pain of excommunication.]

1045. *Item.* That Robert Heppay and John Russell withdraw the clerk's wages, and will not pay it as other neighbours do.

[They appeared, and owned that they were in arrear, but stated that they meant to account with the clerk before Easter. The Commissary enjoined them to do so; and also to pay the clerk what was due before Ascension day, under pain of excommunication.]

ECCLESIA DE BOXLEY.

1046. *Compertum est.* That the parishioners of Boxley come not to their parish church to divine service, but go to the Abbey and other places.

[The Vicar appeared, and stated that they came regularly to church, and had done so since the visitation.]

1047. *Item.* That M. Neyler withdraweth viii.d. by year for a piece of land called Doderswell, and ii.d. of another piece of land called Woodmanny's lease.

[As M. Neyler resided out of the diocese, the Commissary remitted the matter to the Lord Archbishop.]

1048. *Item.* That Kattryn Freer is a common brawler, and a chider, and a slanderer of her neighbours, and lately in violence strake her own mother.

[Katharine Frere appeared, and denied the article; and, for certain causes, the Commissary dismissed her, with an injunction to behave herself properly for the future among her fellow parishioners, under pain of excommunication.]

ECCLESIA DE BARGHSTED *vel* BERGHSTEDE.

1049. *Compertum est.* That the gutters of the lead are broken, and need reparation, and the wall of the church also.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and the Commissary enjoined them to repair before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.]

1050. *Item.* That the executors of William Long withdraw ii.s. viii.d. of debt.

[They appeared, and undertook to pay before Easter, under pain of excommunication.]

1051. *Item.* Of the bequest of the said William they owe iii.s. iii.d.

[They undertook to pay it before St. John the Baptist's day, under the same penalty.]

1052. *Item.* Certain lands are withholden from the Brotherhood of our Lady, as appeareth by evidences thereupon made.

[The Commissary enjoined the Churchwardens to prosecute the withholders at the common law, and so dismissed the matter.]

1053. *Item.* By the will of John Catlatts xii.s.

[The Churchwardens stated that John Catlott had paid them.]

ECCLESIA DE TORNEHAM *vel* THORNHAM.

1054. *Compertum est.* That Nicholas Colt withholdeth viii.d. by year from the light of the Sepulchre, and hath done these xxx.\* years and more.

[Nicholas Colte appeared, and submitted himself to the direction of the Commissary, who enjoined him to pay the arrears of xx years before Michaelmas, unless the Churchwardens should grant him longer time, and then to pay the viii.d. yearly, under pain of excommunication.]

1055. *Item.* That Henry Cristian withholdeth a cow, price viii.s., ii. semys of malt, price iii.s.

[The Churchwardens appeared, and stated that he had paid them.]

1056. *Item.* The walls of the Churchyard are not repaired.

[The Churchwardens were enjoined to repair before the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, under pain of excommunication.]

## ECCLESIA DE MARDEN.

1057. *Compertum est.* That hogs go to the pasture in the churchyard, and make a foul aray.

[The Churchwardens appeared and were enjoined to repair the churchyard fence before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.]

1058. *Item.* A cow is due to the church xii. years past, the which Pixbich bequeathed, the which his wife will not pay.

[Margery, widow of John Baxbiche, appeared, and confessed that she had the cow. The Commissary enjoined her to deliver the said cow to the Churchwardens, and pay them all arrears due in respect of it before St. George's day, under pain of excommunication.]

## ECCLESIA DE BROMFELD.

1059. *Compertum est.* Omnia bene.

[Of course no *acta*.]

## ECCLESIA DE LEDS.

1060. *Compertum est.* Omnia bene.

[Of course no *acta*.]

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\* So it stands in the *Comperta*; but the little *ti* which there follows the "xxx" looks as if there was an "x" too much, and the reading in the *acta* was the true one.

## ECCLESIA DE BREDHERST.

1061. *Compertum est.* That the Curate is sick, and the church-yard is not closed.

[No notice is taken of the former part of the *compert*; but with regard to the latter, the Churchwardens appeared and were enjoined to repair before the Feast of the Assumption, under pain of excommunication.]

ECCLESIA DE HOWKYNG *vel* HOKYNG.

1062. *Compertum est.* That their curate, the parson of Hollingborne, serveth them not in due hour, and as he should do.

[Some of the parishioners appeared, and stated that the cure was served properly and at due times.]

ECCLESIA DE HOLYNGBURNE *vel* HOLINGBORN.

1063. *Compertum est.* That the parson keepeth no residence.

[The Rector is licensed.]

1064. *Item.* That it was accustomed in old time that the Prior of Leds should find bread and wine to the said church, the [*sic*] he doeth not.

[The Prior appeared, and stated that he was not so bound; but that if it could be proved, he would do it. The Commissary enjoined the Churchwardens to prove, on the Tuesday next after the Sunday *in albis*. On which day one of the Churchwardens appeared, and the Commissary, for certain causes, postponed the proof until the Tuesday after Corpus Christi day. At which time the Churchwardens did not appear, and so the matter was dismissed.]

## ECCLESIA DE FRENSTED.

1065. *Compertum est.* Omnia bene.

[Of course no *acta*.]

## ECCLESIA DE WORMESAY.

1066. *Compertum est.* That all is well there.

[Of course no *acta*.]

## ECCLESIA DE GOODHERST.

1067. *Compertum est.* That these are the goods in the hands of John Harsmon that are to pledge for xv.l. First, three chaleys and senser of silver and gilt; item, a bason of silver parcel gilt; item, a crismatory of silver parcel gilt;

item, ii. cruets of silver parcel gilt; item, an oche of silver and gilt; item, a pixe of silver parcel gilt.

[John Horsmonden appeared, and acknowledged that all the things specified in the article were in his hands, and stated that he was ready to deliver them to the Churchwardens if they wished to redeem them. The Commissary enjoined the Churchwardens to redeem the things pledged to John Horsemouden for xv*l*. before Michaelmas, under pain of excommunication.]

*(To be continued.)*

## CORRESPONDENCE.

The Editor begs to remind his readers that he is not responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

### MR. GALLOWAY'S "GATE OF PROPHECY."

SIR,—It is a curious circumstance, that about the same time, four expositions of the Apocalypse have appeared in the English language, all differing widely from each other, and giving interpretations to the prophecy, which are wholly irreconcilable with each other.

In America appeared in 1845 the Commentary of Moses Stuart, Theological Professor at Andover, Massachusetts, wherein the Apocalypse is interpreted on the principles of the German neological theology; its inspiration of course set aside altogether, and its fulfilment represented as having already taken place in the primitive persecutions of Christianity, the destruction of Jerusalem, &c.

In England appeared, about the same time, the Commentary of Mr. Elliott, in which he adopts the historical and controversial interpretation, and applies the prophecy to the gradual establishment of Christianity, the corruptions of Romanism, and the future overthrow of the papal power.

In England, also, at the close of 1846, appeared the Commentary of Mr. Galloway, advocating, likewise, the historical interpretation, but refuting many of Mr. Elliott's applications of history, and proposing a different, although in principle a similar, interpretation of his own.

In Ireland, also in 1846, appeared my own attempt at the illustration of this prophecy, in which all the historical interpretations are rejected; and the prophecy regarded as a prediction of the coming of an individual Antichrist, whose kingdom will be overturned by the immediate and personal Advent of our Lord himself.

What must an indifferent observer conclude from these facts? Doubtless he may infer, in the first place, that the interpretation of the Apocalypse is a question in which Christians of different schools are now beginning to feel a renewed interest; but must he not also conclude, from the widely differing solutions which are proposed for

the problem, that the true principles of interpretation are as yet but imperfectly understood? and will he not with reason apprehend that some wide-spread and deep-seated prejudice must still exist in the public mind, which conceals from us the true intent and import of the prophecy?

Of Mr. Stuart's elaborate Commentary it is unnecessary to say much. In its exegetical and critical remarks, it is full of valuable matter, well worth the attention of the advanced student: but its theology is heretical, akin to infidelity, and cannot be regarded otherwise than with abhorrence by a Catholic Christian.

Mr. Elliott's work is well known, having already reached a third edition. It is stained with what seems the curse of the school to which that gentleman belongs—imperfect learning, and misapplied or garbled authorities. But its defects have been displayed in your pages by an abler hand than mine, and your readers have already learned from Mr. Arnold how to estimate the labours of Mr. Elliott.

I purpose, however, to make a few remarks, with your permission, on some passages in the Commentary of Mr. Galloway; and I shall confine myself in the present communication to his interpretation of the first six Seals.

Mr. Galloway supposes the prophecy of the Seals to be divisible into two parts, of which the first, including the first four Seals, relates to the secular state of the Roman empire, and the second, including the Fifth and Sixth Seals, to the affairs of religion.

I. The First Seal, according to this gentleman, denotes "the empire under civil forms and the colour of liberty, in the enjoyment of external peace and prosperity;"\* for "the first rider governs under civil forms [for his crown is a *laurel* crown†] and with the colour of liberty" [viz., white] "by the eclat of distant conquests and the defence of the frontiers,"‡ indicated by the bow, which is a weapon for fighting those who are *distant*. The horse in each vision "signifying the empire, and the rider the imperial government."§

The First Seal, therefore, denotes the state of the Roman empire from the nomination of Nerva, A.D. 96, to the year 192, when a new era commenced.||

II. The Second Seal denotes this new era—a period of civil wars indicated by the *sword* and by the *red* horse of the second rider, which began A.D. 192, and terminated with the reign of Gallienus and the thirty tyrants in 268.

III. The Third is "the restoration of discipline and the reign of equity," [indicated by the balances in the hand of the third rider,] "while the empire continues depressed and in poverty," [as is evident from the *black* colour of the horse,] "though now, beyond what could have been hoped, relieved by a just and vigorous administration from the previous state of famine and sword."¶

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\* Vol. i. p. 239.

† Mr. Galloway proves this assumption thus: 1. The crown given to the first rider is not said to be of gold: 2. It is not called a diadem. Therefore it is a laurel crown. P. 235.

‡ P. 234.

§ P. 232.

|| P. 239.

¶ P. 239, 240.



The notion of "just and vigorous administration of justice" is derived by Mr. Galloway from the proclamation, "a measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny, &c." For a choenix of wheat, he says, is a man's daily allowance, and should not be taken so narrowly as to mean daily bread only, but must be supposed to include also clothing and other necessities.\* A penny is a day's wages. Therefore the meaning is, that during this period a man shall have all necessary food and clothing for his daily wages; which can only be secured under a just and vigorous administration: Q.E.D.

This state of things "corresponds to the period distinguished by the reigns of Claudius, Aurelian, Tacitus, Probus, Carus, and perhaps the first six years of Diocletian."†

IV. The Fourth Seal denotes the empire "under the system of *quadrupartition* introduced by Diocletian," [for the fourth rider was given power over the *fourth* part of the earth,] "with its fatal and ruinous consequences, tending to the utter dissolution of the state, and conducted with an enormous expense of human blood,"‡ persecution of Christians, &c. In this case the colour of the horse (χλωρός) denotes the livid paleness of a dead body,§ and so indicates the destructive consequences of the quadrupartite division.

V. The Fifth Seal represents "a new era of Christianity" under Constantine, "when public and open honours were given to the martyrs," [as indicated by the white robes given to every one of them;] when the church was as it were "waiting in present expectation of retribution on paganism, which had been deferred, and was still to be some time deferred, though visible honours were now bestowed on Christians, and a season of rest, prior to the renewal of persecutions."||

VI. The Sixth Seal is "the establishment of Christianity as the exclusive religion of the state, together with the abolition and suppression of paganism by Theodosius."¶ Then "paganism was rolled away as a scroll, and the gods of the old heathen heavens, with their worship and their priesthood, thrown down like fallen stars, and obscured like darkened luminaries; while Christ . . . assumed the sole reins of state, and awarded retribution to his enemies, who now no longer maintained an equal sway, but fled before him to the holes and dens of the earth."\*\*

Such is our author's view of the design and import of this great prophecy: and he proceeds then, through a space of more than 100 pages, to fill up this outline by extracts from Gibbon, (what would writers on prophecy have done but for Gibbon?) and a few other subordinate authorities.

Through this detail it is not my intention at present to follow him. It must suffice to make some remarks on the scheme of interpretation he has proposed, which proceeds on the hypothesis that the Apocalypse is an historical prophecy, intended to predict the history of the

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\* P. 236.

§ P. 233.

† P. 240.

|| P. 230.

¶ P. 240.

‡ P. 240.

\*\* P. 231.

empire and of the church from the time of the apostles to the end of the world.

A reader of the Apocalypse, who lived in the age of the apostles, and who was so far enlightened as to the real meaning of symbols and prophetic language, as to be able to discover the true sense of the prophecy, would have understood from it, (according to Mr. Galloway,) that for 96 years after A.D. 92, the Roman empire was to enjoy a state of peace "under civil forms, and the colour of liberty:" that for 76 years afterwards there was to be a period of civil wars: that there was then to ensue a restoration of discipline, with deep depression of the empire, and poverty: that a quadrupartite division of the empire was to follow, which would be productive of the most disastrous and destructive consequences: and that then Christianity was to become the religion of the empire: first, imperfectly, paganism being still partially tolerated; and then, perfectly, paganism being wholly rooted out.

In point of fact, however, we do not find that any of those who lived in the apostolic age, ever did derive this information from this prophecy; or that if they did, or could have done so, such information would have been of any practical use to them. To what purpose, then, was the prophecy given? Not to communicate to the church before the event the facts we have just stated—for no person at that time ever dreamt of such an interpretation of these visions: not to communicate these facts to us now, for we learn them much more distinctly from the pages of Gibbon, to say nothing of the original authorities from whom Gibbon derived his history.

And further, let it be remembered that this prophecy as it stands in the Apocalypse, has been prefaced by a vision, in which it appears that no man, *οὐδεὶς*, no created being, whether man or angel, none but the Lion of the tribe of Judah Himself, was able to open the book, or so much as to look thereon.

Is it possible to suppose that a prophecy so introduced to our notice—that the Seals which no created being could open—should, after all, contain nothing more than a mere detail of secular history—a few facts which even the infidel Gibbon, without any belief in prophecy, was able to discover for himself out of the remains of ancient historians;—facts which are not, after all, of a very mysterious or uncommon character—and which might without any difficulty have been revealed, as many similar events have been revealed, to any of the prophets?

And yet, the book containing the revelation of these events was a book which no created being was worthy to open, and the apostle *wept much*, because no man was able to open and to read the book, neither to look thereon.

Why did the apostle weep?

Suppose that the information which Mr. Galloway tells us was revealed in the first Six Seals, had never been revealed, before it had actually taken place, would the church have been in any degree worse off than it was? Would there have been any cause to make an apostle weep?

Again. Why should it require the Son of God Himself, the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, to step forward in the sight of assembled men and angels, merely to tell us that after a period of peace there was to be civil war, then peace and order again, and that then the Roman empire was to adopt Christianity?

I do not say, that it was in any way unworthy of divine grace to give us this information by prophecy, if the Almighty had been pleased to reveal such things to us—God forbid. What I say is this—that there is nothing in the revelation of these facts to account for the remarkable introduction, in which the apostle weeps because no man was found worthy to open the book, and in which it is finally proved to the assembled universe, that no created being was able to break the Seals. It does certainly seem surprising that, after such a preface, the events made known should be of so ordinary a character. *Τί τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ τὰ πάντα ἐλαττοῦσθαι;*

These remarks, however, I must admit, apply to almost every historical interpretation of this prophecy, as well as to Mr. Galloway's. They only show that he has fallen into the same error as his predecessors.

Let us next examine the peculiar features of his new interpretation.

I confess I can never fathom the mysteries of the symbolical interpreters. It seems to me that on similar principles the prophecy might be adapted to the history of India or America, as well as to that of the Roman empire. Black, white, red, and green, are made to signify anything that the alchemist who has to deal with them desires: and I know not how we are to decide, or draw the line. To one that seeks only for truth, it does appear the most perplexing thing in the world to be told by one commentator that a symbol means peace, and by another that the same symbol means war. To be told by one that white is a symbol of rest and peace; by another, that it is a symbol of victorious warfare. By one, that the horsemen mean the empire; by another, that they represent the church. How is one to decide? for it cannot be denied that these symbols may denote one of these things as well as the other. White *may* mean victory, or it *may* mean peace; a horseman may symbolize the empire, or he may symbolize the church.

"The bow" in the hands of the first horseman denotes, according to Mr. Galloway, that the enemies of the empire are *distant*. According to Wetstein, it signifies that the rider is a Parthian; according to Herder, that he is an Arabian; according to the majority of commentators, it is a mere emblem of victory. Is there not just as much reason for one of these opinions as the other? or rather, does not the bow, in fact, according to the way we view it, denote any one of these things as much as another? I really cannot see any objection to any of them, except that Mr. Galloway's interpretation seems somewhat more *far-fetched*; and I am sure one could invent several others quite as good.

Of Mr. Galloway's interpretation of the Second Seal, I shall only remark that there is nothing in the prophecy to limit its interpretation

to *civil* war. A sword and the colour *red* seem to be as good symbols of war in general as of *civil* war. It is true Gibbon begins his fifth chapter with the words, *THE POWER OF THE SWORD*, which Mr. Galloway prints in capitals.\* One would almost imagine that this class of commentators imagined Gibbon to have been inspired. But surely, even if the Apocalypse were an historical prophecy, it is not to secondary compilers of history, like Gibbon, we ought to look for its fulfilment, but to the original historians. According to the words of the prophecy, the rider of the red horse is to have power to take peace from *the earth*; and what are we to understand by a *civil* war as extensive as the earth itself?

Our author's interpretation of the Third Seal is still more arbitrary and extravagant. *Χοινίξ σίτρου ὀνυχίου*, "a measure of wheat for a penny," that is to say (says Mr. Galloway), a man will be able to procure for his daily wages, all that is necessary in the way of food and raiment, for the words *Χοινίξ σίτρου* "must not be so narrowly interpreted as to take daily bread exclusive of clothing and other necessities."† And all this is built on the fact, that a chœnix of wheat was the allowance per day for a soldier in Xerxes's army, and that in the times of St. John, and the other sacred writers, a penny was a day's wages. Would not the obvious inference be, that if a man must spend the whole of his day's wages to procure the minimum of sustenance that will keep him in health, the times must be times of famine indeed?

The other clause, "See thou hurt not the oil and the wine," is embarrassing to all this class of commentators, most of whom pass it over in silence, as a hopeless case. But Mr. Galloway gives us two interpretations of it, one literal, the other figurative. The literal is this—Aurelian (according to Gibbon) required his soldiers to live in their quarters "without damaging the cornfields, without stealing even a sheep, a fowl, or a bunch of grapes, without exacting from their landlords either salt, or oil, or wood."‡ The figurative or mystical meaning is, "See thou hurt not the church of God. When Aurelian was on the point of violating this part of the secret design of Providence, he was suddenly prevented by the permission given to the sword of the assassin."§

But although Mr. Galloway thus labours to get rid of the obvious meaning of the prophecy, it is curious and instructive to observe, that before concluding his account of its historical fulfilment, he hints that the ruin of agriculture under the Second Seal must have produced a high price of provisions;|| thus tacitly admitting that some intimation of scarcity is given in the prophecy.

The main thing predicted in the Fourth Seal, according to our author, is the *quadrupartition* of the empire under Diocletian, and its disastrous

\* This is a good example of the way in which commentators who fancy they will find in Gibbon the exposition of the Apocalypse, catch at, and parade every thing that looks like a coincidence. Gibbon's remark was no more than this: "The power of the sword is more sensibly felt in an extensive monarchy, than in a small community."

† P. 236.

‡ P. 274.

§ P. 278.

|| P. 281, 282.

consequences. But the text tells us that power was given to kill with the sword, famine, and beasts, "in the fourth part of the earth." This is surely something more than an unsuccessful policy resulting from a quadrupartition of the empire; and the evil consequences of this policy were felt, not in the fourth part over which Diocletian presided only, but equally in the whole of the empire, a fact wholly irreconcilable with the prophecy as Mr. Galloway would explain it.

Of his interpretation of the Fifth Seal, I shall say nothing, as I have already, I fear, exceeded the limits allowable in a communication of this nature. But I cannot conclude without protesting against Mr. Galloway's interpretation of the Sixth Seal. It does, I confess, seem to me a wonderful thing that so many commentators, whom one cannot imagine to be under the influence of any irreverence or contempt for the words of inspiration, should be found capable of interpreting the awful prophecy of the Sixth Seal of such events as the civil recognition of Christianity, the destruction of Jerusalem, the Lutheran Reformation, &c.

"THE GREAT DAY OF HIS WRATH IS COME, AND WHO SHALL BE ABLE TO STAND."

If these words do not predict the great Day of Judgment and final retribution, is it possible for human words to predict or describe it? If these words do not predict the Day of Judgment, is it possible to maintain that a day of judgment is an article of faith, or revealed at all? In truth, Sir, it seems to me that any exposition of the Apocalypse, which requires us to explain these awful words otherwise than of the Day of Judgment, must necessarily be false. I can conceive no evidence in favour of any exposition of a prophecy, which could outweigh my conviction that "the great day of the wrath of the Lamb" must mean the Day of Judgment.

I remain, Sir, your faithful servant,

Trinity College, Dublin, May 6, 1847.

JAMES H. TODD.

#### NULLIUS ON REV. IX. 7.

SIR,—I imagine that Mr. Arnold is inaccurate (as Mr. Elliott remarks) in saying that "the reading *ομοιοι χρυσοι* (Rev. ix. 7) no longer stands in any critical text." It is rejected by Griesbach and Scholz, but adopted, besides Tregelles, by, at least, Tischendorf and Hahn. I wish, however, to draw attention to the fact, that the difference of reading makes no earthly difference, in relation at least, to the general force and signification of the symbol. In either case, the locusts "have on their heads as it were crowns," and these, either absolutely or in appearance, golden ones. In either case, they "have upon their heads" the badge of victory; and this, also, a victory which is spiritual—the only question possible being, whether this victory is real or apparent only, whether actual or only in profession. By *ομοιοι χρυσοι*, Mr. Elliott understands that the crowns (turbans, as he, in violation of every principle of interpretation, makes them out to be) were of a yellow colour; and thus like gold, in a loose, fanciful,

rhetorical sense of the expression, inasmuch as gold is of a bright yellow colour. But I think that it must be evident that this is a sense of the expression quite inadmissible, under the circumstances of the case. Had, indeed, the language been rhetorical—had the object been to convey a peculiarly vivid impression of the brilliancy of the yellow—had this been the idea with which it was the object of the sacred writer to impress the imaginations of his readers, as, for instance, is the case in the first chapter, verse 14, where he speaks of the Saviour's feet as *ομοιοι χαλκολιβανη, ως εν καμινη πεπνυρωμενοι*—in this case, a resemblance to gold as general as that which is furnished by a similarity of colour would have satisfied the language. But how is this the case in a passage which is not rhetorical, but one of plain description—a passage in which the object is not to impress, but to inform; and inform, upon a point so simple, so entirely within the compass of our conceptions and our language, one so little needing the intervention of metaphor to illustrate and render it intelligible, as that the crowns were of a yellow colour? Is it credible that, had this been all, the sacred writer would have said they were “like gold.” Is it credible that he would have called the crowns “like gold,” when all he meant by the expression was, that they were yellow in their colour? Accordingly in every similar instance throughout the book, the word *ομοιος* (like) is the expression, not for any merely rhetorical and fanciful, but, on the contrary, for a strict, proper, formal, resemblance. Thus, for instance, chap. i. ver. 13, “One like unto the Son of Man;” chap. iv. ver. 7, “The first living creature like a lion, the second living creature like a calf. . . . the fourth living creature like a flying eagle;” chap. ix. ver. 10, “They have tails like unto scorpions.” In all these, and in similar instances, the meaning is, that the things *are* in effect that which they are declared as being “like.” I apprehend, then, in the present instance, that, supposing even the reading *ομοιοι χρυσοι* (like gold) to possess authority, the idea conveyed is still substantially the same as if the reading, on the contrary, was *χρυσοι* (golden). All the latitude of meaning that I could concede, at the utmost, would be, that the crowns had a golden appearance, while the sacred writer did not mean to vouch for the positive solidity and genuineness of the metal,—that the profession was Christian, while he did not mean to warrant the sincerity or personal godliness of the persons making it. I doubt, however, whether even as much as this could, legitimately, be conceded; and, in general, it seems to me that the idea suggested equally by the expressions *ως στεφανοι χρυσοι* and *ως στεφανοι ομοιοι χρυσοι*—by one as much as the other—is that of a community distinguished by the badge of “heavenly honour, and spiritual victory,” a community associated, in some form, in a distinction peculiar (chap. xiv. ver. 14) to the Saviour and (chap. iv. ver. 4) his saints. To get rid of this idea would, of course, be very agreeable to Mr. Elliott, but if *στεφανοι χρυσοι* (crowns of gold) is the true reading, the thing is then an evident impossibility, and it seems to me, at least, that the difficulty is not sensibly diminished if the reading adopted, on the contrary, is that of *στεφανοι ομοιοι χρυσοι* (crowns like gold).

NULLIUS.

## MR. ARNOLD IN REPLY TO MR. ELLIOTT.

## LETTER VII.

THE PAULICIANS—*continued.*

SIR,—I am sorry to observe that Mr. Elliott complains, and I fear I must add with some reason, of “the tone of asperity” which has appeared in one or two of my late letters. I beg to apologize to him for it, and to assure him that I will endeavour to guard against it for the future.

I have now received his third edition, and find that the same extraordinary mistake that I exposed in my last letter remains uncorrected. The opinions of the Catholic writer, Petrus Siculus, are still mistaken for the opinions of a Paulician,\* and made to serve the purpose of *establishing the purity* of the Paulician doctrine as contrasted with that of the “established but now apostate (!) church.” The same conjectural emendation of *manibus* for *genibus* is given: and all the other misrepresentations &c. that I pointed out in the first edition remain in the third.

One little variation is remarkable. The fatal narrative of the Paulician woman and Sergius, (the passage in which Mr. Elliott so unfortunately failed to distinguish the *dramatis personæ*, and thus became the unconscious panegyrist of Catholic orthodoxy,) contains a *little more* of the original; and the author must have looked at the original and detected the curtailment of the “literal translation” of it which he had copied from Mr. Faber: for we now read, not that it is “too characteristic to allow of omission or abridgement,” but “too characteristic to allow of omission; indeed, hardly of abridgement.” It is plain that this alteration, though it makes the passage oddly incorrect—as implying that *abridgement* is possible without *omission*—was made for the purpose of informing the reader that the extract *has* suffered some little *abridgement*. How then did Mr. Elliott fail to discover its *great amount*?

I will now examine Mr. Elliott’s arguments in favour of Paulician orthodoxy.

“Respecting the *eucharist*, it is scarce possible not to see, from Petrus’s wording of the charge, that what the Paulicians objected to and denied was the doctrine of *transubstantiation*; a doctrine already received in the Eastern or Greek church (!) as well as the Roman, though not authoritatively enjoined for some time after.”—Vol. ii. Ed. I., p. 625: Ed. III., p. 309.

The assertion here is, not only that a man’s not seeing *transubstantiation* to be the point objected to by the Paulicians is but a bare possibility; but that what reduces the possibility to such narrow dimensions is “the wording of the charge.”—It is necessary, therefore, to quote the very words in which the charge is preferred:—

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\* Vol. ii., App. ii. p. 462.

Τρίτον τὸ τὴν θείαν καὶ φρικτὴν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν μετὰληψιν ἀποτρέψαι· οὐ μόνον δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλους περὶ τοῦτο πείθειν οἰεσθαι, λέγοντες, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος, ὃν ὁ Κύριος ἰδίῳ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖπνον, ἀλλὰ συμβολικῶς τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ αὐτοῖς ἰδίδου, ὡς ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον.— (p. 13.)

The third [test is], that they refuse the divine and awful participation of the holy mysteries of the body and blood of our Lord and God; and not only so, but that they think to convince others also on this point, saying that *it was not bread and wine* that the Lord gave to His disciples at the supper; but that He gave them symbolically His words as bread and wine.

Does the reader agree with Mr. Elliott that it is all but self-evident, from "the very wording of the charge," that what the Paulicians "objected to and denied" was *transubstantiation*? According to the wording of the charge, the Paulicians held that our Lord gave the disciples, at His last supper, *no material bread, no material wine*, but only the *symbolical bread and wine* of His doctrine. Had "the wording of the charge" accused them of holding that our Lord did not give the disciples *His body and His blood*, then, indeed, one might have conjectured that they supposed Him to have given them the elements of bread and wine, but maintained that these elements were not so *transubstantiated* as to become the literal body and blood of Christ; but the present charge is, that they believed our Lord to have used *no visible sign* at all; to have distributed *no elements*; but *only His words*.

I cannot but think that every unprejudiced reader will be of opinion that the "wording of the charge" is quite inconsistent with the notion that the doctrine of *transubstantiation* was that which the Paulicians "objected to and denied."

It is, however, but fair to say that the Latin translation which Mr. Elliott prints (296), renders μετὰληψις by "*conversio*." There can, however, be no doubt that the real meaning of the word in our passage is *participatio*. For, in the first place, μετὰληψις does not mean *change* generally; it implies an *agent altering what he had before done*; "*μετάβολη* et μετὰληψις—quorum primum mutationem et vicissitudinem nobis vel insciis vel certe non operantibus accidentem designat: posterius *mutationem quam nostrā sponte facimus et suscipimus*." (Stallbaum ad Plat. Phædr., p. 58.) Its literal meaning of a "*taking-back*" is itself sufficient to convince any one that it cannot express the *conversion* of the elements into the body and blood of Christ. It is obviously used in its other sense of "*taking a share of*," "*participating in*;" and it is, as one should expect beforehand, the word that is *used* to express this notion in the Greek Liturgies; e. g., in the Liturgy of St. Basil; ἵνα ἀγνίσκῃς ἡμᾶς πάντας τοὺς προσκίπτοντάς σοι, καὶ ἰνώσκῃς σαντῷ διὰ τῆς μετὰληψεως τῶν θείων σου μυστηρίων.\* And so μεταλαμβάνειν (= "*to communicate*," to "*take*" the sacrament) is used by Petrus Siculus himself: διὰ τί οὐ μεταλαμβάνεις τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ;

\* P. 77 of the *Liturgie Orientales*, vol. i.



Let us see whether Mr. Elliott is more successful in establishing the orthodoxy of the Paulicians on the subject of Baptism:—

"As regards *baptism*," he says, "it is evident that the Paulikians objected and protested against the received doctrine of its efficacy by itself, and *ex opere operato* to the spiritual purification, quickening, and salvation of those to whom it was administered. 'They do not believe,' says Photius, 'in the efficacy of these things,' (i. e., of the *wooden cross and of baptism*, for he unites the two together,) 'to the *justification or cleansing* of the soul.' The same is in the inference from the Paulikian woman's reprobation of those who were accustomed 'with certain *charms* to cast out demons, &c.': a description that is but the counterpart of that which I gave long since of the baptismal exorcising process introduced into the church before the middle of the fourth century, and which we see there still continued." The statements which follow refer to the Western Church, with which, at present, at least, I have nothing to do. What I have quoted is *all* that relates to the Eastern Paulicians: and since I proved, in my last letter, by a translation of the whole passage, that what Mr. Elliott attributes to the Paulikian woman *belongs of right to Petrus Sioulus*, and that he is reprobating no baptismal process, but nominal Christians who professed to cast out devils by magic arts; the testimony which he puts in her mouth must, every word of it, be struck out. There remains, then, for the *single proof* by which it is made *evident*, that the Paulicians only objected to the *ex opere operato* view of baptism, the statement of Photius: "They do not believe in the efficacy of these things, (i. e., of the *wooden cross and of baptism*, for he unites the two together,) 'to the *justification or cleansing* of the soul.'" The note on the passage is, "'Horum vim ad animæ purgationem venire non putant,' Photius ubi supra, B.P.M. 205."

One is at once a little surprised at finding *purgatio animæ* translated "*justification or cleansing* of the soul." It is difficult to conjecture any reason for this: but the effect of it obviously is to represent the unpopular doctrine of *baptismal justification* as the doctrine opposed by the Paulicians.

But the reader's surprise will be increased, if he really traces back his steps to *ubi supra*. For there—supposing the Tabular view at p. 296 to be meant—we find no coupling together of the *wooden cross and baptism* whatever:\* but read in the *fourth* charge, "*vim (crucis) ad animæ purgationem pervenire non putant;*" and in the *seventh* charge, "*vii. Baptismum aspernantur; quod tamen se fingunt suscipere. Nam Evangelii verba baptismum existimant; quoniam Dominus inquit, Ego sum aqua viva.*"

"Elsewhere he says: 'Liberos suos ab ecclesiæ presbyteris salutari baptismo volunt aliquando lustrari. Existimant enim baptismum corpori prodess; hujus tamen vim ad animæ purgationem pervenire non putant.'"

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\* Since I wrote the remarks in the text, I find from a quotation in Dr. Gieseler's essay, that Photius has, in one passage, coupled the cross and baptism together. They held *λυτρελεῖν τῷ σώματι τὸν τε σταυρὸν καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα*, i. e., they held the *superstitious* doctrine, that the *cross* and *baptism* were valuable as *charms* to defend the *body* from harm.

Whether these words are a correct representation of Photius's statements I cannot say, as I unfortunately do not possess his works: but they are the *only authorities* to which Mr. Elliott refers: and yet they give no countenance to the *coupling together* of the *wooden cross* and baptism; but do contain a most important clause, which Mr. Elliott entirely omits.

(Photius, as quoted by Mr. Elliott.)

"For they think that baptism is profitable to the body, but do not believe that its efficacy extends to the cleansing of the soul."

(Photius, as translated by Mr. Elliott.)

"They do not believe in the efficacy of these things (i. e., of the *wooden cross and of baptism*)—to the *justification or cleansing* of the soul."—Vol. ii. p. 625, ed. 1; p. 309, ed. 3.

I will just remind the reader of what I shall have to dwell upon at greater length in a future letter, that the Photius whose testimony is here given, was the Patriarch of Constantinople, one whose industry and learning, as Mr. Dowling observes, it would be idle to panegyrize.

The misrepresentation of his words is inexcusable: but its correction surely leaves it something less than "evident," that the Paulicians opposed nothing but the efficacy of baptism *ex opere operato*. They looked upon baptism as a thing which was *profitable to the body*, but did not extend to the *cleansing of the soul*; did not, that is, *wash away sins*.

We will now consider the arguments by which Mr. Elliott attempts to defend them from the charge of rejecting the Old Testament.

The first two arguments employed by him are (1) that no such charge was made against Gegnæsius, in his examination before the Patriarch of Constantinople; (2) nor is any such alluded to in the Formula of Abjuration, by which those who renounced Paulicianism were received into the established church. These merely negative arguments cannot, surely, have any considerable weight against positive testimony. Possibly the Patriarch had not received a full account of the Paulician tenets; at all events, the questions are given by Petrus, not so much for their own sake, as for the sake of the *answers*, his object being to show how Gegnæsius concealed his *real opposition* to the doctrine of the Church, by assenting to its articles, perverted by a different meaning—"a non-natural sense"—affixed to them by the Paulicians. With respect to the *Formula of Abjuration*, one should certainly have expected to find an abjuration of that rejection of the Old Testament with which they are so strongly charged by contemporary authority: but, in the first place, Mr. Elliott's work *does not contain the whole Office*. For instance, I find in Gieseler's Essay, the mention of great abominations, with which the Paulicians were charged in this *Formula Receptionis Manichæorum*, and an anathema against those who, *instead of the Apostle Paul, honoured Paul, the son of Callinice, &c.*; indeed Mr. Dowling's summary of the Anathemas ends with "Here follow the renunciations, the profession of obedience, and the confession of faith, with the rest of the office." In the second place, they were required to anathematize those who said that the Father was not the

Almighty Maker of Heaven and Earth, &c. Now their rejection of the Old Testament rested upon their belief that it was a revelation of the *Demiurgus*, the *Bad Principle*. When, then, they renounced this doctrine of an *Evil Demiurgus*, and declared their belief in the Father as the Creator and Lord of this present *αἰών*, assenting, at the same time, to the teaching of the church, the keeper of Holy Writ, did they not virtually renounce their rejection of the Old Testament, and bind themselves to receive it with reverence, as read in the services of the church?

But however this may be, there is the most positive testimony of contemporaries that the Paulicians rejected the Old Testament; that *they* "did not believe" (as they themselves expressed it) "in the Creator of the world, but in him of whom the Lord spake in the Gospels;" and that they called the Prophets impostors and robbers.

The following is Mr. Elliott's attempt to set this positive testimony aside by internal evidence. In one of Sergius's letters there occur the words: ἡ πρώτη πορνεία, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδάμ περιείμεθα, ἐβεργασία ἐστίν· ἡ δὲ δευτέρα μείζων πορνεία ἐστὶ, περὶ ἧς λέγει, "ὁ πορνεύων εἰς τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ἁμαρτάνει." Ἐπάγους λέγων "ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν σῶμα Χριστοῦ· εἰ τις δὲ ἀφίσταται τῶν παραδόσεων τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τουτίστι τῶν ἱμῶν, ἁμαρτάνει, ὅτι προστρέχει τοῖς ἐπιδασκαλοῦσι καὶ ἀπειθεῖ τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσι λόγοις."—(p. 50.)

"The first fornication, which we are compassed with from Adam, is a benefit; but the second is a greater fornication, about which he [the apostle] says, 'he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body.' You go on to say, 'we are the body of Christ: but if any one departs from the traditions of the body of Christ, that is, from mine, he sins, because he runs into the arms of those who teach another doctrine, and disobeys the sound words.'"

Mr. Elliott applies this passage thus: "Again the coincidence of the view of the fall of Adam, given in Sergius's epistolary fragment, already cited, with the account in the book of Moses, indicates anything but opposition to *that* part of the *divine record*—a part specially excepted against by the Manichees."—(p. 299.)

The short declaration, that "the first fornication, with which we are compassed from Adam, is a benefit," is a view of the fall, that *coincides*, we are here told, *with the account in the book of Moses*. It is implied in this statement, that "the account in the book of Moses" states two facts, (1) *that we are compassed with (or subjected to) fornication, in consequence of the fall*; and, (2) *that our being thus compassed is a benefit*." I am sure Mr. Elliott will feel how carelessly he has spoken, in talking of a *coincidence* of view between the words of Sergius and the Mosaic history of the Fall. But to grant, for the present, that by "*the first fornication*" Sergius meant simply a *defection from God*, does Mr. Elliott really suppose that the mere recognition of a Fall, and of an *historical Adam*, whose fall has entailed certain consequences upon us, is sufficient to prove that the Paulicians received the Old Testament? Suppose them to have believed the *one narrative* of the fall, still it would obviously be a rash conclusion to infer that they believed in the inspiration of the whole Old Testament:—but Mr. Elliott implies that their reception of this "*part of the divine record*" is peculiarly im-

portant, because it is "a part specially excepted against by the Manichees."

Had Mr. Elliott consulted *any* original authority, or *any* tolerably accurate compendium of Church history, he might have found that the mere belief in a *fall of Adam* is not enough to distinguish the Paulicians from the Manichees; nor to prove that they received the whole Old Testament; nor certainly to establish a "*coincidence*" of view between the apophthegm of Sergius and the narrative of Moses, the servant of the Lord.

The following passage from St. Augustine, "*de Moribus Manichæorum*" will, I think, both prove these statements, and throw some light upon the meaning of Sergius's dictum.

St. Augustine, speaking of Manichæans *well known to him*, who had been guilty of fornication, mentions the case of one who, having been turned out of the Manichæan church (*ecclesia*) for this sin, was soundly thrashed by the Manichæan whose sister he had seduced, he imploring mercy all the while on the ground that "*the first hero Adam sinned, and was all the holier after the sin* (Adam primum heroem peccavisse, et post peccatum fuisse sanctiorem). Here the *Manichæus vapulans* believed in a Fall, as fully as Sergius did; and he held with Sergius that the sin by which he fell was a *benefit*. He also held that this was, if not the *same sin* of which Sergius speaks, yet *concupitus* generally, the Manichees denying *marriage* to be of divine institution. The following is St. Augustine's statement (*De Moribus Manichæorum*, 73). "Talis est namque apud vos opinio de *Adam et Evâ*. Longa fabula est, sed ex eâ id tantum attingam, quod in præsentia satis est. Adam dicitur sic a parentibus suis genitum, abortivis illis principiis tenebrarum, ut maximam partem lucis haberet in animâ, et per exiguum gentis adversæ. Qui cum sancte viveret propter exsuperantem copiam boni, commotam tamen in eo fuisse adversam illam partem, ut *ad concubitum declinaretur*: ita eum *lapsum esse atque peccasse, sed vixisse postea sanctiorem*."

It will *hardly* do, I think, with this passage before us, to let the mere recognition of a *Fall* prevail against the positive testimony of Photius, the learned Patriarch of Constantinople, who expressly tells us that he had received the confessions of several penitents; against the testimony of Petrus Siculus, who had lived *nine months* amongst the Paulicians, and was forced by the nature of his mission—its object was to ransom some subjects of the emperor, whom the Paulicians had taken prisoners—to have constant intercourse with their leading men; and against the *implied* testimony of the *Formula Abjuratonis* (which includes the abjuration of an evil Demiurgus)—itself the solemn form of the church for a very important occasion, and full, as Mr. Dowling's extracts show us, of pious feeling, beautifully expressed.

I hope to continue this subject in your next number, and in the mean time remain, Mr. Editor,

Your obedient Servant,

T. K. ARNOLD.

Lyndon, May 20, 1847.

## MR. ELLIOTT IN REPLY TO MR. ARNOLD.

SIR,—In my last Letter I replied to Mr. Arnold's critique on my Saracenic solution of the fifth Trumpet.<sup>1</sup> The reader will, I hope, remember that I there made my appeal, as I did before in the defence of my solution of the Seals, to the agreement existing between the prophetic type and that which I regard as the historic antitype; i. e., between the Apocalyptic scorpion-locusts, and the Saracens and their invasion of Christendom in the seventh and eighth centuries: an agreement so detailed and remarkable as, I have stated my belief, cannot be shown to have existed between the Apocalyptic symbol and any other nation or historic æra in our world's chronicles. Does common sense dictate the ascription of such agreement, I asked, to chance or to design? As to Mr. Arnold's attempt at disproving the fitness of my terminating epoch to the 150 years prophetically assigned, as I conceive, to these Saracens' course of aggressive and envenomed war on Christendom, I cannot but think it a subject of regret that he should have put together in a manner so calculated to mislead, his list of attacks made at later epochs by the eastern Saracens, or the Saracen Moors, on certain parts of Christendom; without any specification of date, or particularization of circumstance, such as was essential, in order to a correct opinion respecting them; and more especially that he should have almost implied my departure from Gibbon's judgment, in not including them in the period of the intensity of the Saracenic aggressive woe; when in fact, as the citations given in my last Letter prove, that historian's judgment about them has been pronounced in terms perfectly accordant with my own.<sup>2</sup> For, let it not be forgotten, with reference to his notice of the attacks made on Crete, Sicily, and Southern Italy, after an interval of sixty years of quiescence, by the Western Moorish Saracens, that Gibbon both contrasts in strong language the pettiness of those "predatory inroads" with the earlier Saracens' mighty "designs of conquest and dominion;" and, as the cause and first epoch of the descent from one to the other refers to that very division of the Eastern and Western Caliphate, A.D. 755, which I also insist on as constituting the commencement of the termination of the 150 years:<sup>3</sup> also, with reference to his notice of the

<sup>1</sup> In the letter referred to, at pp. 563 and 568, for *Daubeny* read *Daubuz*; and at the bottom of p. 569, for *for all* read *from which*.

<sup>2</sup> See the close of Mr. Arnold's summary, *British Magazine*, p. 188; ".....when, I say, the very historian on whom Mr. Elliott draws so largely describes these events in these words, we are to concede that the locust-plague had ceased long before this! The intensity of the woe, forsooth, not the whole woe itself, was symbolized," &c. And compare with it my citations from Gibbon, *British Magazine*, p. 571, especially that respecting the predatory attacks on Southern Italy. What would Mr. Arnold have said, if, in the wish to represent an opponent as at variance with Gibbon, I had selected a clause or two from that historian's report, that might by themselves give that impression; and had stopped short of a passage almost immediately following, in which his judgment on the whole transaction was pronounced, and pronounced in my opponent's favour? But I am quite willing to believe that the omission resulted from an oversight.

<sup>3</sup> One can scarcely take up an historian of any note, who, in alluding to this

passing invasions and desolations of Asia Minor at the close of the eighth century, by the Eastern and more proper Saracens, that he marks each one of them as mere acts of retaliation and retribution, for aggressions and insults on the part of the Greek emperors; and thus, as no contradiction to the statement made elsewhere by him, that after the removal of their capital in 762, from Damascus to Bagdad, by the Euphrates, "war was no longer the passion of the Saracens;" which event (the immediate consequence of the former) my solution regards as fixing the *completed* termination of the 150 years of the intensity of the Saracenic woe.

I now proceed to my opponent's critique on my *Turkish* application of the Sixth Trumpet, and propose to notice the four several subjects of his animadversions in order—viz., *the four angels bound (δεδεμενως) by the River Euphrates*;—the colour of the horsemen's *θωρακες*, in the symbol;—the *fire, smoke, and sulphur*, emitted from the horses' mouths;—and the *horse-tails* that appeared in the vision *like serpents, having heads*.

1, *the Angels δεδεμενως*.—And here I beg Mr. Arnold's pardon very sincerely for not having quoted fully and correctly the opinion expressed by him in his pamphlet as to the proper grammatical sense of that perfect present, and as to what he is pleased to call my "great mistake" about it in the note in the *Horæ*.<sup>4</sup> The point is, however, one not worth the dwelling on any further; since there exists, I believe, no difference of any importance between us as to the right sense of the word. In my reply to his pamphlet I stated my opinion to the effect, that the full meaning of such a perfect present includes an implied reference to past time as well present; *δεδεμενως* signifying those that *having been bound*, i. e., at some previous time, *are still bound*: whereas, *δεομενως* would signify *being bound*, perhaps in the act of being bound, without any necessary reference by implication to past time, as well as present. To which view of the *δεδεμενως* Mr. Arnold makes no objection. And this is all that I wish to affirm, or need to have allowed me, in my view of the Trumpet.

As to the identity or non-identity of the four angels here spoken of, with the four that were figured in Apoc. vii., just before the judgments of the Trumpets, as charged with tempests of desolation against the Apocalyptic or (in my view) the Roman earth, Mr. Arnold surely does not mean to say, what yet his words seem to imply, that Hein-

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event and epoch, does not allude to them in a similar point of view. For example, in reading Michelet's *Histoire de France* just now, I found him thus speaking of them, in his sketch of the state of things in Western Christendom, at the time of the first rise of the Carlovingian dynasty: "Toutes les nations environnantes s'étaient affaiblies.....Les Sarrasins, l'année même ou Pepin se fit roi, perdirent l'unité de leur empire: l'Espagne s'isola de l'Afrique, et se trouva elle même affaiblie par le schisme qui divisait le califat. Ce dernier événement rassurait l'Aquitaine du côté des Pyrénées."—L. ii. c. 2.

<sup>4</sup> My note consisted of but one brief line: "*Δεδεμενως*, that have been bound; not *δεομενως*, that are bound." The incorrectness, which was the mere result of haste and inadvertence, has passed, I see, through an oversight, into my second and third editions. Mr. Arnold will observe, that if I have not quite correctly reported his criticism, he has not quite correctly reported my note—that is, its subject. I did not "tell" my readers "that *δεδεμενως* does not mean who are bound."

richs' only assigned reason for their non-identity is sufficient to establish it—viz., the difference of place ascribed to the one and the other quaternion.<sup>5</sup> Were Virgil's four deities of the winds that are described at one time as confined in Æolus' cave different from the four described elsewhere as blowing each from his quarter on the troubled ocean?—A figure this not very dissimilar from what we find used in the poetic language of Holy Scripture.<sup>6</sup> Mr. Arnold, himself, adds another reason, founded on the circumstance of the four angels of the Sixth Trumpet being said to be bound and loosed: a figure only applicable, he conceives, to *evil* angels; and consequently not applicable to the four angels of Apoc. vii., whom he presumes I will admit to have been *good* angels. But, indeed, I can see no reason, on either supposition as to the nature of the four angels of Apoc. vii., for admitting the validity of his argument. That a divine temporary restraint was imposed on these four selfsame angels of Apoc. vii., is, on the very first mention of them, expressly stated;<sup>7</sup> and if a restraint temporary and short, why might not one be imposed of longer duration? In which case, even supposing them to be good angels, wherefore not designate that restraint under the figurative phrase of being bound, when the figure and phrase is applied at times to the constraint put upon God's servants among men, by his spirit and his law?<sup>8</sup> Moreover, what the necessity of regarding these angels as *good* angels? The task primarily assigned them of desolating the earth with tempests (such tempests and desolations as we find symbolized almost immediately afterwards in the First Trumpet) was very much the same as that assigned to the inflictors of some of the judgments on Job; and again, on ancient Egypt before Israel's Exodus: which latter, as well as former, (if we understand the passage literally) the sacred writer ascribes to the acting of *evil* angels.<sup>9</sup> Let me add, that in my view of the identity of the four angels of the Sixth Trumpet with the four angels charged with the tempests in Apoc. vii., I was but following, though at the time quite unconsciously, the earliest patristic expositors of the Apocalypse. It is the view given by Victorinus, the venerable bishop and martyr under Diocletian; and, after him, by both Primasius and Ambrosius Aubertus:<sup>10</sup> the ancient gloss on Apoc. ix. 14, of *τεσσαρες ανεμοι*, instead of *τεσσαρες αγγελοι*, mentioned by Griesbach, as extant

<sup>5</sup> "I reminded him of Heinrichs' caution against confounding the two quaternions of angels, quoting both the caution and the reasons on which the propriety of it is founded: 'Sunt illæ (qu. illi?) naturæ bonæ, hæ (qu. hi?) malignæ; illis que locus prorsus diversus à nostro assignatur.'"—British Magazine, p. 422.

<sup>6</sup> Compare Prov. xxx. 4. and Ps. cxxxv. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Apoc. vii. 2, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Compare Acts, xx. 22: "Behold I go bound (*δεδεμνος*) in (or by) the Spirit unto Jerusalem;" and Rom. vii. 2: "The wife is bound (*δεδρα*) by the law to her husband so long as he liveth;" also 1 Cor. vii. 27, 39, to the same effect. The first passage is, however, by many construed as meaning, constrained in his own spirit.

<sup>9</sup> See Job, i., and Ps. lxxviii. 49: "He cast upon them the fierceness of his anger, &c., by sending *evil* angels (Sept. *αγγελος πονηρος*) among them." Which adjective, however, some learned expositors prefer to understand, of the evil caused by them, rather than of their own evil nature.

<sup>10</sup> I have noticed this in the first and third sections of my Sketch of the History of Apocalyptic Interpretation.

in a certain codex of the middle age, being the memorial probably of this ancient impression on the minds of some of the early fathers. As to the particular *place* of restraint ascribed to the four angels of the Sixth Trumpet, Mr. Arnold is aware that I cite in the *Horæ* the case of the plague inflicted on Israel by angelic agency, after David's numbering of the people,<sup>11</sup> in proof that where the plague is stayed there in Scriptural phrase the angelic agency inflicting it may be said to be stayed : inferring, consequently, that if the four angels of Apoc. vii. were the agencies employed generally in the judgments of the Trumpets, then the place figured at the Sixth Trumpet-blast as that where the angels had been last stopped and remained bound, ought to be the place where the preceding, or Fifth Trumpet-plague, might have been stayed and bound. That which is the very case, in my view of the prophecy. And certainly the coincidence on this point, between the Apocalyptic expression and historic fact, and the circumstance that, whereas the former says, "Loose the four angels that are bound by the great River Euphrates," the latter states that it was at Bagdad by the Euphrates that the Saracenic woe was stayed and bound,—and yet further, that it was from this same Bagdad by the Euphrates that the new Turkish woe was, as it were, commissioned and let loose on Christendom,—I say this double coincidence does seem to me to be very remarkable ; and in itself no trifling evidence in favour of the correctness, both of Victorinus' view of the identity of the two quarters of angels that have been spoken of, and of Mede's and my own view as to the Saracenic woe being that which they were destined to inflict under the Fifth Trumpet, and the Turkish under the Sixth.

2. The second subject of Mr. Arnold's criticism is my explanation of the *θωρακας* of the horsemen in the vision, and the colours of red, yellow, and blue, ascribed to them ; which I expound, after Daubeny and others, of those selfsame colours that have always, even down to modern times, been so striking and so picturesque, in the Turkish array. And I must confess it much surprises me that my critic should have objected to this, as if aliene from the genius and habits of "inspired Hebrew poetry ;" indeed so aliene as absolutely to give him pain, and make him break into tones of lament and sadness at the thing being even mooted for discussion :<sup>12</sup> when he had seen in the *Horæ* a direct reference both to Ezekiel's description of Aholah's Assyrian lovers, "horsemen riding up on horses *clothed with blue*, captains and rulers,"<sup>13</sup> in illustration of its being the habit of inspired Hebrew poetry to sketch such things in its living pictures ; and moreover, to the later Apocalyptic sketch of the woman impersonating Rome, who was depicted, whether after the imperial or the papal living type, as clothed with purple and scarlet.<sup>14</sup> "But who," adds Mr. Arnold, "would call a breastplate with a scarlet mantle thrown over it, a *scarlet breastplate* ? And who, he might as fitly have asked, would

<sup>11</sup> 2 Sam. xxiv. 15, 16, &c. ; 1 Chron. xxi. 15, 16, &c.

<sup>12</sup> "It is indeed sad work to discuss this *Turks' dresses* question, in reference to inspired Hebrew poetry.....This *literal* fulfilment.....is set down, alas! in our national family Bible."—British Magazine, p. 423.

<sup>13</sup> Ezek. xxiii. 6.

<sup>14</sup> Apoc. xvii. 4.



call tyrants with purple thrown over them purple tyrants? Which latter question would, however, have been stopped ere uttered, by his recollections of classic poetry.<sup>15</sup> But indeed it seems to me very possible that these selfsame covering mantles of the Turkish horsemen may have been themselves the *θωρακες* meant in the Apocalyptic vision; for in St. John's own time we find the word thus used by the best writers, for the vestments covering the thorax.<sup>16</sup> Such are the objections by which Mr. Arnold considers himself to have "exposed in all its inconsistency and absurdity," the solution of the above-mentioned particular in the vision given, after many other expositors, by myself, and, as he adds, "by our national family Bible;" meaning, I presume, that published by the Christian Knowledge Society. Has he succeeded, let me ask, in proving it to be *in any measure*, either inconsistent or absurd?

Next comes up for his criticism and his objections, my explanation of the *fire, smoke, and sulphur*, that seemed to issue from the horses' mouths in the vision; which I expound, after Mede and other interpreters, to be symbolic of the artillery to which, as a principal instrumentality, both modern and earlier historians refer the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, and consequent destruction of the Greek empire. "And the heads of horses were as the heads of lions, and out of their mouths issued fire, and smoke, and sulphur. By these three was the third part of the men killed; by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the sulphur, which issued out of their mouths." On this, observes Mr. Arnold, "We have here *three* destructive agencies, emphatically distinguished as separate agencies. It is first stated generally that the third of men was destroyed by these three; and then, to prevent, as it were, a mistake, the three are again separately enumerated, each with its own article, *by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone*." Mr. Arnold is anxious, as we have seen, that the Apocalyptic language should be regarded and explained as "inspired Hebrew poetry." And I therefore cannot act more in accordance with his wishes and his judgment than by referring, on the point here mooted by him, to the use of similar constructions of language in the writings of the Old Testament. Take, then, the example in Levit. xiv. 52. I read there: "And he shall cleanse the house with the blood of the bird, and with the running water, and with the living bird, and with the cedar wood, and with hyssop, and with the scarlet."<sup>17</sup> According to the rule laid down by my critic against me, all these ought to be separate and distinct agencies of purification. But what, in fact, was the case? That the blood of the bird killed was to be received in, and mixed with, the running water, and then the cedar wood, hyssop, and scarlet, together dipped in it, and the mingled blood and water sprinkled by them on the house; all uniting together to

<sup>15</sup> "Purpurei metuant tyranni."—Horace.

<sup>16</sup> So, for example, Juvenal, in his Sat. v. 143, "Viridem thoracem jubetis Adferri." Also Suetonius, in Aug. 82: "Hieme quaternis cum pingui togâ tunicis, et subucula, et thorace laneo;" of Augustus' winter clothing. In my pamphlet of reply, I mentioned, the *λινεὺς θωρακὶς* in Herodotus.

<sup>17</sup> The article will be found in the Hebrew as in the English.

constitute one single act of purification. Take another example from Gen. xix. 24; which I adduce, though otherwise less appropriate than the former one, because two of the selfsame instrumentalities of destruction are specified, as in the case under discussion. "Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and on Gomorrah brimstone (or sulphur) and fire from the Lord out of heaven; and he overthrew those cities, &c." Was the fire here spoken of one agency of destruction, the sulphur another; the first altogether separate and distinct from the second? By no means. "Quum duo nomina substantiva, vel synonyma vel diversæ significationis, conjungantur, eorum alterum vicem adjectivi cum emphasi sustinet: ut hic, '*Et pluit sulphur et ignem*;' id est, *ignem sulphureum*." So Robertson, in his *Clavis Pentateuchi*, ad loc.; and I observe that Rosenmüller compares Gen. iii. 16, "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception;" in the sense of thy sorrow *in*, or *as connected with*, thy conception. Mr. Arnold advances yet another argument against my solution—viz., that it is "the *balls of lead* propelled by means of an explosive power, of which brimstone is indeed one ingredient," that are the real instruments of destruction in the modern artillery; while "the *fire and smoke*, by which the explosion is accompanied, are both *perfectly innocuous*." But are they indeed, if considered *causally*, innocuous? It is curious to contrast Chalcondylas' notice of the invention of gunpowder and cannon, and of the Othman Turks' use of them against his country and people, with this statement of Mr. Arnold's: "Omnis potentia in *ignem*, ut causam, referenda est."<sup>18</sup> And on the question, whether an intermediate causal agency may not properly have the final effect predicted of it, let us refer again to examples in the Hebrew Scriptures for information. We there read David's prayer, Ps. li.: "Purge me with *hyssop*, and I shall be clean." Was, then, the hyssop by itself in any wise of purifying efficacy? Its only efficacy consisted in applying the blood of purification. Again, to cite another example, we read in Daniel, ix. 27, of the *abomination making desolate*; and by our Lord's own comment on the phrase,<sup>19</sup> we are led to explain it of the idol-standards that accompanied the Roman army which besieged and destroyed Jerusalem. Were these standards, then, the actual instruments of Jerusalem's destruction? They were but, we know, that destroying army's *innocuous*, though significant and necessary accompaniment.<sup>20</sup> As to the propriety of the Apocalyptic symbol, in depicting the fire, smoke, and sulphur, as issuing from the horses' mouths, if intended to figure, so as I construe it, the fire, smoke, and sulphur *literally* combined in the discharges from the Turkish artillery against Greek Christendom, it may, perhaps, be well to suggest in illustration that well-known and awful passage in Isaiah, xxx. 27, 33, where, with reference to the fire and sulphur *literally* destined to be employed in the final judgment on this our earth, (for, I suppose, it will be allowed

<sup>18</sup> I borrow from the Latin translation, which, in the edition I have seen, is published separately.

<sup>19</sup> Compare Matt. xxiv. 15, and Luke, xxi. 20.

<sup>20</sup> I need hardly suggest the frequency of a similar mode of parlance in classic authors, both ancient and modern.

that there is this reference,) they are depicted by an anthropopathic figure, as proceeding from the Almighty's mouth, and kindled by his breath.<sup>21</sup>

I have now gone through Mr. Arnold's objections on this head; objections, on the strength of which he is pleased to designate this particular, also, of my solution, as "not only very unsatisfactory, but *absolutely absurd*:" and my appeal is, as before, to the intelligent and candid reader, whether Mr. Arnold has been successful in proving its absurdity *at all*. I must not pass on without adding, that he has here further favoured us with a detached fragment and specimen of his own counter view of the Apocalyptic symbol; a favour the more to be prized as it is so rare. "The smoke," he remarks, "as itself one of the *τρεις πληγαι*, must be a thick *pestilential vapour* emitted by the avenging monsters." But *must*, as I have had occasion to observe before more than once in this controversy, is a word often used somewhat rashly and inconsiderately by Mr. Arnold. Will he have the goodness to mention where in sacred Scripture the word *καπνος*, or its Hebrew equivalent, is used *per se* to signify a destructive pestilential vapour. Even the example from Ovid, (and how, with his sensitiveness about treating the Apocalypse otherwise than as inspired Hebrew poetry, could he resort to such an illustration?) even this example of the brazen-footed bulls of Colchos seems ill to support him; as it was not from anything pestilential in the bulls' breath, but from the heat of the fiery blast, that the surrounding herbage is fabled to have been dried up and withered.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, by the exegetic law that he has laid down for himself and others, he is bound to explain the sulphur, as well as the smoke and fire, as separately and by itself a distinct agency of destruction. But how such an acting of the pure sulphur, whether explained literally or figuratively? I cannot but think that, if he will be so good as to favour us with his explanation of this particular of the symbol, and also of the "avenging monsters" themselves, of whose description it constitutes a part, Mr. Arnold will find that he has involved himself in difficulties, of which the solution will not be easy.<sup>23</sup>

4. We now come to the *horse-tails*. "For the horses' power is in their mouth and in their tails:<sup>24</sup> for their tales were like unto serpents, having heads; and with these *αδικεσσι*, they do injury or injustice."

<sup>21</sup> "Behold, the name of the Lord cometh from far, burning with his anger: his lips are full of indignation, and his tongue as a devouring fire.....For Tophet is ordained of old; yea, for the king it is prepared; the pile thereof is fire and much wood; the breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it." I presume Mr. Arnold will not differ from me in supposing an ultimate reference to the great conflagration and judgment. Compare, too, Pa. xviii. 9: "There went out a smoke in his presence, and a consuming fire out of his mouth."

<sup>22</sup> "Tactæque vaporibus herbæ Arent."

<sup>23</sup> Mr. Arnold says, that "my solution contains no explanation of the agreement between the *fire*, *smoke*, and *brimstone*, and the *θωρακας πυρινος βακινθιος* (= *nigricantes* or *ferrugineos*), *θειωδεις*." He has overlooked my remark in the *Horn* (vol. i. p. 476, 2nd Ed.) that these adjectives significative of colour seem to have been chosen with reference to the *πυρ*, *καπνος* and *θειον*, so prominent in the symbol, as symbols were frequently borrowed from anything remarkable in the living type.

<sup>24</sup> So the MSS. of best authority.

On the "have," and the "associated with," I do not wish to enter further; save and except to protest against Mr. Arnold's assertion, as quite unwarranted, that I "must know that the question, whether we *are*, or *are not*, *associated with* the things we *have*, was never mooted, and is entirely irrelevant." I neither did know it, nor know it now. It seemed to me, and still seems, to have been very much the hinge on which his irony about that part of my interpretation turned.<sup>25</sup> And, as unthinking readers are often caught by burlesque and irony, I thought it both fair and right to shape my reply in a form of burlesque in return. But let that pass. As an almost universal rule, the less of burlesque that is introduced into controversy about sacred subjects the better. And, as I remain fully persuaded of the propriety and truth of my solution of this part of the Apocalyptic symbol, let me endeavour to propose and support it in a manner which I almost hope will convince Mr. Arnold himself, that it is not so liable as he has supposed to objection.

The horses, then, in the symbol, *had* tails; and these horse-tails, ending, as they did, in serpent-like heads, (for such seems evidently to have been the nature of the heads,) presented to the view a serpent-like appearance. Agreed thus far, we are also agreed, it would appear, in the opinion that there must have been some pointed intent and meaning in so singular a part of the symbol. But, if so, what the meaning and the force, according to Mr. Arnold? His reference to the real or fabulous *Amphisbæna* (itself singularly inappropriate, as it seems to me, even for that purpose)<sup>26</sup> was only suggested, he himself now tells us, "as an illustration of a head placed at the end of the tail." But he further suggests, after Heinrichs and Ewald, that these serpent-like heads at the end of the tail emitted fire, smoke, and brimstone, as well as the lion-like heads in front; in order thus both to add to the terribleness of the symbol, and to shew in what manner the serpent-like tails took their part (as he asserts it is directly stated that they did) in the destruction of the third part of men. On which let me observe that his assertion on this point seems to be grounded on a mis-reading of the sacred record. For, instead of "the death of the third part of men by the fire, smoke, and brimstone, being connected with the statement about the tails being like serpents by the conjunction *for*," so, as Mr. Arnold asserts, there is an intervening clause, headed by the same conjunction, between the one clause and the other.<sup>27</sup> Moreover there seems in that same record an express distinction between the effect of the lion-like heads as *killing*, and the

<sup>25</sup> See the quotation from his pamphlet given by Mr. Arnold, *British Magazine*, p. 424.

<sup>26</sup> Because it is no other part whatsoever of the symbol but the horse-tails that is noted as presenting a snake-like appearance; and, consequently, all that was snake-like was, as a snake, *with but one head*. It is easy to see how the horse-tails, if at all convolved, as we often see them in real life, in serpentine folds, and with a snake's head at the end, would present the appearance described.

<sup>27</sup> "By these three (or three plagues) was the third part of men killed, by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the sulphur, which issued out of their mouths. *For their power is in their mouth and in their tails*. For their tails were like unto serpents having heads; and with these (*αἰκνῶσι*) they do injury."

serpent-like tails as *doing injury* or *injustice*. As to the idea of the tails emitting fire, brimstone, and smoke, it exists wholly and only in the imagination of the expositors; and, in the absence of any express scriptural declaration on the subject, it appears to me that we are bound to suppose the intended mode of the symbolic serpent-heads, which were appended to the horse-tails doing injury, to have been the same as that in which serpent-heads in real life do injury—namely, by their bite and the venom discharged with it. Thus Mr. Arnold's suggestions seem in no way to help us to any rational explanation of the purport of this very remarkable particular in the Apocalyptic symbol. Nor do I know any view of the symbol which offers it, except that which I advocate; which view, as the reader knows, supposes the horse-tails in the vision to have prefigured the horse-tail standards of the Turkish Pashaws, and so the Pashaws themselves; who, following, in course, after the overthrow of the Greek empire, oppressed, and with venom, like as of poisoned serpents, embittered the lives of the subjected Greek provincials. The only question is, whether this explanation be admissible, as that which is accordant with the analogy of other scriptural symbolic imagery, or not.

The reader will have observed, that all which my solution requires to be allowed me is, that to the body of an animal symbolizing a nation, there may properly be appended the badge of some ruling magistracy of that nation, in sign of the magistrates themselves; and further, that to this badge there may be appended, in addition, some emblem indicative both of the personality attached in the divine idea to the badge spoken of, and also of the character of them to whom it should belong. And to show that I am warranted in requiring this, there is nothing more needed, I believe, than that I refer to two scriptural examples for authority, and in illustration. My *first* example is from Ezekiel, xix. 10, &c. We have there a figure of Judah and its ruling magistrates borrowed from the vegetable world. "Thy mother is like a vine planted by the waters; and she had strong rods, for the sceptres of them that bear rule: but she was plucked up in fury; and her strong rods were broken." Here the vine that had strong rods was a symbol of the Jewish nation; and the strong rods, which were a part of the vine, (as much as the horse-tails of the horses,) designated the sceptres, or magisterial badges, of them that bare rule, and so the rulers themselves. Respecting the character of these rulers, however, and their official rule, no intimation was to be given; and therefore the addition of no further emblem was there required. My *second* example is from Dan. vii. We there read of a little horn rising among other horns from out of the head of the fourth symbolic beast, with eyes as the eyes of a man. Now the beast itself depicted, as we know, the body of the fourth and last great ruling mundane empire; and the horn, from being a common symbol in the sacred writings for ruling power and strength,<sup>28</sup> was taken to signify the king himself to whom that power would attach: while further, to express the character of this king, in other words, of Antichrist, there

<sup>28</sup> See Gesenius on the Hebrew word.

were added eyes, as the eyes of a man, at the extremity of the horn, in signification either of Antichrist's craft, or of his pretensions to a universal episcopate. Surely, with the exception that the emblem in Daniel appeared *in front* of the body of the symbolic animal, in the Apocalyptic passage under discussion *behind*, the parallelism between the two is obvious, and quite sufficient to justify my interpretation as one not unaccordant with the analogy of Scripture.

But this, says my critic, further, "is such a *riddle-making* style of dealing with the prophetic Scriptures as deadens all sense of meanness and incongruity, even in men of cultivated minds." It is not the first or second time that Mr. Arnold has thus pointed his satire against the riddle-making, as he is pleased to call it, or riddle-solving in the *Horæ*. Thus, in the present letter, with reference to the allusion supposed by me, in the prophecy, to the Turkish dress: "This literal (!) fulfilment of what such a fulfilment would turn into an inspired conundrum:" and again, in an earlier letter,<sup>29</sup> with reference to my supposition of an allusion to Nerva's Cretan extraction, in explanation of the bow in the hand of the rider of the white horse: "It is a conundrum unintelligible for any but the genealogist." I have thus been led to reflect what it is precisely that he means by such remarks, and what the view he takes, and would require to be taken, of prophecy and its dark sayings; but I have reflected in vain. Mr. Arnold does not surely mean to deny that it was intended there should be riddles or enigmas in prophecy: (I will not use his word *conundrums*.)<sup>30</sup> enigmas such as the fulfilment alone would or could explain. What, to take a case or two in unsymbolic prophecy, of Elisha's prediction to the nobleman in Samaria, "Thou shalt see the plenty with thine eyes, but shalt not eat thereof"?<sup>31</sup> What of Ezekiel's saying about Zedekiah, "I will bring him to Babylon, yet shall he not see it, though he shall die there"?<sup>32</sup> They were riddles only to be explained in the fulfilment. And so, too, to take a case of prophetic symbol—how was the full propriety of the symbol of a he-goat to designate the Macedonian empire discoverable, until that very symbol had been stamped, and known to be stamped, on Macedonian courage?<sup>33</sup> Nay, if we turn to Mr. Arnold's own view of the present prophecy, what does it present to us, in whole and in part, but an immense enigma, only to be resolved, if he suppose its solution to be ever intended, by some extraordinary facts and phenomena yet future—viz., the enigma of "Avenging monsters," that are to kill men by smoke, in the sense of pestilential vapour, and also by sulphur, and also by fire, each as

<sup>29</sup> See *British Magazine* for March, 1846, p. 332.

<sup>30</sup> "Conundrum. A low jest, a quibble, a mean conceit, a cant word." So Johnson. Let me take this occasion of assuring Mr. Arnold that I am most perfectly innocent of any such intention as he ascribes to me, (*British Magazine*, p. 426,) "of affixing the nickname of a *triumvirate* on him in conjunction with two others," as a word that has "an unpleasant association attached to it." I am not aware that there is any more unpleasant association attached to the word *triumvirate*, than to the word *quatuorvirate*, or *decemvirate*, or any other *virate*; or that there is anything whatsoever of the nature of a *nickname* in the term.

<sup>31</sup> 2 Kings, vii. 2, 17.

<sup>32</sup> Ezek. xii. 17: 2 Kings xxv. 7.

<sup>33</sup> See Dan. viii. 5. I have given an engraving of a coin of this kind in the *Horæ*.

a distinct separate agency; and, in order to this, to make their discharges from the tails as well as from the heads!<sup>24</sup> In truth it seems to me, judging from prophecies which all allow to have been fulfilled, that not only while a prediction remains unfulfilled, but even after its meaning on all main points may have been made clear by the accomplishment, there may still be expected to remain in it certain minor details, that which will continue to present somewhat of difficulty and of enigma to the accurate investigator.

I have now, as I hope and believe, vindicated my solution of the Sixth Trumpet, on every point on which Mr. Arnold has assailed it; having shown that there is nothing unaccordant with the analogy and right view of Scripture prophecy, either in supposing such enigmas as I have supposed in the prediction, or in the principle and mode of my solution of those enigmas; whether that of the Four Angels bound by the Euphrates, or of the colours of the *θωρακες* of the symbolic horsemen thence issuing, or of the fire, smoke, and sulphur emitted from the horses' mouths, or of the horse-tails that had heads like serpents, and did injury. And if on all these points, thus legitimately interpreted, the prophetic symbol has been shown, as I believe it has been in the Horæ, to have had its fulfilment and counterpart in the Turkish armies that destroyed the Greek empire, and, moreover, that the long period from the epoch of the Turkman's first issuing as the Caliph's lieutenant from the Euphrates to that of his taking Constantinople, and therewith destroying the Greek empire, was within a few days the same with that most singularly expressed Apocalyptic period of "an hour, day, month, and year," construed on the year-day principle, at the end of which, as it would seem, the symbolic horsemen of the prophecy were destined to destroy the third part of men.<sup>25</sup>—I say, if on all these very various and most characteristic particulars there has been demonstrated a complete coincidence between the prophecy and the Turkish history, then, in conclusion, I have only to make my appeal to common sense, (just as I have done before in reference to the Seals and the Fifth Trumpet,) whether such coincidence should be ascribed to *chance*, or to *design*.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

E. B. ELLIOTT.

P.S.—I wait Mr. Arnold's promised second letter respecting the Paulikians, before replying to him on that subject.

<sup>24</sup> The reader will remember it is the person who advocates this view of the symbol that speaks of the one I advocate as indicating a *deadness* "to all sense of *meanness and incongruity*." (The italics are Mr. Arnold's.)

<sup>25</sup> Οἱ ἡτοιμασμένοι εἰς τὴν ὥραν καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ μῆνα καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἵνα ἀποκτείνωσι τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων. I take the *εἰς* in the same sense of at the end of as in the two passages that involve chronological periods in Dan. xii.: viz., 1. ὅτι εἰς καιρὸν καὶ καιρὸς καὶ ἡμισυ καιρὸς, ἐν τῷ συντελεσθῆναι διασκορπισμὸν, γινώσκονται πάντα ταῦτα where I give the usual punctuation: 2. μακάριος ὁ ὑπομένων καὶ φθάσας εἰς ἡμέραι χιλίας τριακοσίας πεντηκοντα πεντε. I never can believe the sense of this singular clause to be, so as some expositors explain it, "prepared at any hour, any day, any month, any year, to kill," &c., or "prepared at that very hour and day," &c.

The prophetic period, calculated on the year-day principle, is 396 years, 104 days. The historical period from the Turk first issuing from Bagdad as the Caliph's Lieutenant to the capture of Constantinople, is 396 years, 130 days.

## MR. CLOSE'S SERMONS ON THE SECOND ADVENT.

SIR,—It is very instructive to notice how commonly persons fall into gross errors—perhaps absurdities would not be too strong a term—in the arguments which they use in endeavouring to set aside the literal meaning of Holy Scripture. The use of erroneous arguments in support of a system is not, I admit, sufficient evidence against it; for many a wrong and silly argument is used in defence of truth by an unskilful advocate. But there does seem a sort of fatality attending the allegorical or figurative interpretation of the Bible, which leads all who adopt it, inevitably as it were, into some palpable mistakes; which should serve as beacons to warn others against approaching so dangerous a shore. Mr. Arnold, in the last number of your Magazine, has given some curious illustrations of this from the *Horæ Apocalypticæ*. May I ask for a little room in your pages to point out an instance of it which occurs in a work published by the Rev. F. Close, entitled, “The Catholic Doctrine of the Second Advent.” I have not read all the sermons of which it is composed, but in the second of them there occurs this singular passage, intended as a subsidiary argument to set aside the notion—which Holy Scripture seems to strongly encourage—that the risen saints shall reign with Christ a thousand years on earth:—

“All that we read of this glorious resurrection-body of God’s saints militates against an earthly reign, and the millennial state as held by those whose system I am specially opposing. They believe that the pious dead, universally quickened, will rise and reign with Christ in their bodies on this earth one thousand years. Here indeed it is not foolish to ask—‘With what bodies do they come?’ Are they flesh or spirit? are they those in which they died, or are they glorified bodies? If the latter—as they undoubtedly are—then St. Paul says they are ‘not flesh and blood’—‘now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God.’ (1 Cor. xv. 50.) How then can they live on the earth? They are no longer ‘of the earth, earthy’—they are no longer fitted for earth! And how can Christ in his present glorified body live again on the earth? He lived on the earth forty days after his resurrection, and *before his body was changed*, then he was flesh and blood, and not spirit. ‘Handle me and see,’ said he, ‘for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.’ (Luke, xxiv. 39.) But having now ‘a glorious body,’ will he again take human flesh, again descend and humble himself, abdicate the heavenly throne of universal sway to wear a Jewish crown, and reign on Mount Zion and at Jerusalem? This is indeed ‘to bring Christ down again’—to confound earth and heaven—things terrestrial and things spiritual. No, every description of the resurrection-body of the saints of God points to a state of glorious existence incompatible with this earthly frame of things:—a new world—new heavens and a new earth, adapted to the new state of existence—are in store, incomparably more glorious than this poor world which is doomed to the flames, out of which it is never said in Scripture to be recovered.”  
—pp. 53, 54.



There are here in the short space of a page and a half several plain mistakes—to call them by no stronger a name.

1st. It is asserted that as the saints will rise with spiritual bodies, they will be unfit to reign on earth ; and the argument used to support the assertion is this, that *they who have natural bodies are unfit for the kingdom of heaven, and consequently they whose bodies are spiritual are unfit to reign with Christ on the earth.* But surely this is very false logic ; for our being qualified, or made meet, for a certain condition does not necessarily disqualify us for another, else it might be argued that if we become holy we are unfit to live in this world, because we are, by becoming holy, made meet for the better world to come. But independent of the manifest inconclusiveness of such reasoning, we cannot but feel that it is very rash, when the Scripture expressly says that the saints shall reign on earth after they are risen, to argue from the nature of a spiritual body that this is impossible or unlikely, when we really know but very little what the nature of such a body is.

2nd. The author, however, when he asserted that the saints would be unfit to live on earth after they rose from the dead, recollected that our Lord lived on the earth forty days after his resurrection ; but, in order to get rid of the difficulty which this opposed to his theory, he does not scruple to assert that our Lord's body *was not changed at his resurrection.* But where did Mr. Close learn this doctrine ? Not, surely, from the Scripture ; for the Scripture is totally silent respecting any change having taken place in the body of our Redeemer subsequent to his resurrection ; and though it does not distinctly assert when it took place, yet it appears plainly to imply that it took place *then.* For is not our Lord said to be “ the first fruits of them that slept,” and “ the first begotten of the dead ?” and if so, how can we suppose that a greater glory will attend the resurrection of his people than attended his ? The sacred first fruits are surely not inferior to the subsequent ingatherings—the prototype less glorious than those who are to be made like to Him ; and if they have any hope that they, though sown in weakness, will be raised in power—though sown in dishonour, will be raised in glory—though sown natural bodies, will be raised spiritual bodies ; it is because a like change has passed upon him by his resurrection from the dead, and their hope is to be “ planted together in the likeness of his resurrection.” Mr. Close, however, it should be observed, cites Holy Scripture in support of the opposite opinion. He brings forward the words of the apostle—“ *Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God*”—and places them beside the words of our Lord to his disciples after his resurrection : “ *Handle me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have ;*” in order to show that our Lord was still possessed of that kind of body which was unfit for the kingdom of God, and consequently that it must have been changed at some subsequent period. But surely the apostle's words quoted above do not imply that no form of human flesh is fit for an inheritance of the kingdom of heaven ; but, as Scott very reasonably expounds them, that “ the human body in its present form and gross manner of subsistence, and with its present animal

wants, propensities, and infirmities, cannot inherit the kingdom of God, or partake of its pure and refined pleasures;" and to say that our Lord's body was such after its resurrection is begging the whole question.

3rd. But Mr. Close has fallen into what may be termed a serious anti-protestant error in this argument. The title of his book is "The Catholic Doctrine of the Second Advent," but certainly this particular argument, which he uses in defence of the system, might more properly be called a *Roman-catholic* doctrine; and, however undeniable is his zeal against Popery, he is here taking the side of the Romanists against our great Protestant Reformers. In the controversy which Bishop Gardiner held with Archbishop Cranmer on the subject of transubstantiation, it will be found that Gardiner adopts the very same notion which Mr. Close here does, of our Lord's glorified body not being flesh and blood; in order to avoid the charge of "grossness," which the Reformers brought against the Romanists, in their conceptions of the nature of the Lord's Supper—and Cranmer repudiates the notion as heretical: "If you deny Christ to be so in heaven, I have so plain and manifest Scripture against you, that I will take you for no Christian man, except you revoke that error: for sure I am that Christ's natural body *hath* such a grossness."\* And again, "Yet shall he come with such a body as he hath *since his resurrection*, absolute and perfect in all parts. . . . like as we shall all appear before him at the same last day, with this same flesh in substance that we now have." "I wondered all this while that you were so ready to grant that Christ is but after a spiritual manner in heaven . . . yet some carnal thing and grossness he hath in him, for he *hath flesh and bones*, which spirits lack."

The Romanists were driven to adopt many false arguments in endeavouring to support the erroneous doctrines of their church; but it is curious and instructive to find Mr. Close symbolizing with them in one particular, and adopting an opinion which had been denounced as heretical by our Reformers, because he thought he saw in it some support to his view of the millennium. Mr. Close no doubt had not noticed these and similar passages in the writings of the promoters of the Reformation; but he ought to have been aware, at least, that there was a sentence in our own Book of Common Prayer of the same import, and that when he asserted that our Lord has not the same body now in heaven as he had when he rose from the dead—not a body of flesh of blood—he was contradicting a positive statement of the church on the subject, made for the purpose of protesting against the doctrine of transubstantiation, in the declaration after the communion service—namely, that *the natural body and blood of Christ are in heaven*, and not here. Mr. Close little thought what company he was keeping, when he was using this argument to support his spiritual interpretation of Scripture; but the bad habit of allegorizing the Word of God will be sure to bring us into society with some whose companionship will be no credit to us.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

G. B.

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\* Cranmer on the Lord's Supper, p. 140.

## ON THE INTERPRETATION OF REVELATION, vi. 12—17.

REV. SIR,—In the letter of Nullius, in your number for last March, the following passage occurs:—

"By Dr. Todd, indeed, and others, it has been thought that the engines of divine judgment here enumerated [i.e. in Rev. vi.] are identical with those by which our divine Lord informs us that his second advent will be ushered in; and they see, accordingly, in the imagery of the passage, precisely a pictorial representation of the subject of his prophecy. To my own mind this parallel is very fanciful: it is certainly imperfect. Of Beasts of the Earth, for instance, our divine Lord says nothing, while he enumerates 'earthquakes,' of which there is no mention in this seal."

The opinion of Dr. Todd, and those who think with him upon this point, so far from seeming to me to be *fanciful*, appears to be the necessary conclusion to which sober common sense must inevitably come, on comparing the prophecy of our Lord in Matt. xxiv. with that in Rev. vi.

I presume it will now be generally granted, (whatever reference some may suppose to be made, in Matt. xxiv. and in the corresponding chapters in St. Mark and St. Luke, to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans as typical of greater events yet to come,) that the chief subject which our Lord had in view in that prophecy was his second advent, and the circumstances therewith connected.

That the same awful period is referred to in Rev. vi., I do not see, as Mr. Maitland has well observed, how "any unbiassed reader—nay, I may venture to say, any reader who is not devoted to some system of chronological interpretation—can doubt."\* For though, as he further remarks, some writers have supposed this passage "to predict the *setting up of Christianity on the ruins of Paganism under Constantine*, and others" have imagined it "to predict the *setting up of Atheism on the ruins of Christianity, at the French revolution*," surely the expression, "The great day of the wrath of the Lamb," (especially when taken in connexion with other circumstances,) must put it out of all question to every candid and unprejudiced mind, that it is to the second coming of our Lord that the prophecy relates.

This, therefore, being assumed as indisputable, we find, on comparing the two prophecies together, that in Matt. xxiv. 29, the very same signs are mentioned as immediately preceding the coming of the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven, as are described in Rev. vi. 12, 13, as ushering in the great day of the wrath of the Lamb.

The expression, "*a little season*," which occurs in the description of the Fifth Seal, and which manifestly alludes to the great tribulation of the 1260 days, shows that this period is closely connected with the one already spoken of. The martyrs of former times are represented as "saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?... and it

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\* An Attempt to elucidate the Prophecies concerning Antichrist. By S. R. Maitland. Pp. 31, 32.

was said to them that they should rest *yet for a little season*, until their fellow-servants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled," *i. e.*, in the times of the Man of Sin, "whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming." (2 Thess. ii. 8). Then the martyrs will obtain their reward.

Precisely in the parallel place in Matt. xxiv. we find mention made of the "great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be;" of which it is further said, that "except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved; but," it is added, "for the elect's sake, *those days shall be shortened.*" This exactly agrees with the assurance concerning the *little season* in Rev. vi. 11; and it is further stated in Matt. xxiv. 29, that "*immediately after* the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened," &c., *i. e.*, the judgments of the Sixth Seal will begin.

This little season of the martyrdom of the saints in the times of Antichrist begins to be described by our Lord in Matt. xxiv. 9. "Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you," &c.; and immediately before these words occurs the following passage—"Ye shall hear of *wars* and rumours of wars: . . . for nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be *famines*, and *pestilences*, and earthquakes in divers places. All these are the beginning of sorrows." (verses 6, 7, 8.)

Now, when in the corresponding part of Rev. vi. we find emblematic descriptions of war, famine, and pestilence, how any one can regard it *fanciful* to think that these descriptions are (to use Nullius's expression) "a pictorial representation" of the wars, famines, and pestilences foretold in our Lord's prophecy, appears to me quite unaccountable. On the contrary, the plainest dictates of common sense and of sound logic, seem absolutely to require us to regard the two parallel passages as referring to the same events. Moreover, this comparison of the two prophecies in question will, I think, sufficiently convince every unbiassed person of the utter groundlessness of all schemes of interpretation which make the Apocalypse a symbolical detail of events reaching from the first to the second advent of our Saviour. The Sixth Seal records the fearful signs which indicate the actual coming of the great day of his wrath. The fifth foretells the last, most dreadful persecution of his saints as taking place during a *little season*, before it, immediately after which our Lord tells us the signs of the Sixth Seal will commence. The Second, Third and Fourth Seals relate the judgments which His own prophecy narrates, as the beginnings of the severer sorrows that are soon to follow. The First Seal describes our Lord himself in the character of a kingly conqueror, (as he is described in Psalm xlv., and in the final conflict in Rev. xix.,) as coming forth, by the judgments that are afterwards described, to destroy them that destroy the earth, and to "take to him his great power, and to reign." (Rev. xi. 17, 18.) Clearly, therefore, the whole refers to the period of the second advent, and, by necessary consequence, the same is true of the remainder of the book.

There is, of course, no accounting for what may or may not appear

*fanciful* to persons of different casts of mind. But that any one should regard it fanciful to suppose that the Second, Third and Fourth Seals of Rev. vi. relate to the wars, famines, and pestilences spoken of in Matt. xxiv., while he does not think it fanciful to suppose the two witnesses of Rev. xi. to mean the tribes of Judah and Benjamin; "the third part," in Rev. viii., to allude to a division of the earth into "the Jews, the Gentiles, and the Church of God;" the locusts of Rev. ix., to signify "spiritual Nazarites;" the 7000 slain in the earthquake of Rev. xi. 13, to be the antitype of the 7000 in Israel who had not bowed the knee to Baal in the time of Ahab; and, while allowing that by the twelve tribes of Israel, in Rev. vii., the literal nation of the Jews is intended, to hold that by the 144,000 sealed out of them is meant the Church of the present *Gentile* dispensation, is certainly the strangest and most curious phenomenon that I have ever met with even in speculations concerning the Apocalypse.

Nullius objects that the parallel between Rev. vi. and Matt. xxiv. is *imperfect*, because our Lord says nothing of beasts of the earth, which are named in Rev. vi. 8, while he does predict earthquakes, "of which there is no mention in *this Seal*;" i. e., as I presume he means, in the Fourth Seal.

I do not see that this forms any valid objection against the conclusion that the two prophecies relate to the same subjects and period. For, is it not repeatedly the case, that in prophecies in different parts of Scripture that relate to the same time and events, one prophet supplies some circumstances that are omitted by another, and no one prophet details every special particular.

Nullius then refers to Ezekiel, xiv. 21, in terms which seem to imply that he supposes the passage not to have been noticed by any other commentator, except Mr. Elliott, in connexion with the subject before us.

I have seen it frequently noticed before by commentators who take the same view of Rev. vi. which has been given above; and such a view of that chapter seems precisely to correspond with what Ezekiel says concerning God's four sore judgments, since it is believed, on this hypothesis, to predict the last judgments which God will inflict on a wicked world which will then have filled up the measure of its iniquities.

I have lately met with the following passage in Vitringa's Commentary on Isaiah, lxiii. 7, sqq., which maintains the same idea concerning the gathering of a first-fruits out of the Jewish nation a short time previous to the final conversion and restoration of that people, which Dr. Todd and others correctly, in my opinion, believe to be foretold in Rev. vii.—"Quis pericopam legens non clare videat orationem prophetæ usque ad finem cap. lxiv. versari in eodem argumento? Ergo recte statuisse ac supposuisse videor, orationem hanc convenire in *Primitias Judæorum*, qui in ipsis initiis liberationis ecclesiæ ab hostibus suis in fine temporum conversi, cæteris hac confessione et prece sint præturi, et pro ipsis Divinam impetraturi gratiam." (Vol. ii. p. 858.)

I hope Mr. Arnold, in the course of his controversy with Mr. Elliott, intends to investigate and reply to what Mr. Elliott has written concern-

ing the grounds on which the year-day scheme is founded. To me a great portion of what he cites as his authorities from early writers, seems nothing at all to the point; and his professed refutation of Mr. Maitland's arguments contains some of the most singularly inconclusive reasoning that I have ever met with. Yet such things pass with many readers as unanswerable if they remain unanswered. Mr. Arnold seems peculiarly competent to do justice to the subject—and this appears to me to be *the main point* to which attention requires to be paid in the controversy in which he is engaged. If the foundation of the year-day scheme be, as I am convinced it is, utterly unsound, no scheme of figurative interpretation built on it, however plausible, is worth consideration. This, therefore, is the first point which requires to be thoroughly sifted and settled, and I think few persons who have candidly considered Mr. Maitland's arguments, and compared them with the replies of his antagonists, will have any doubt as to the correctness of his conclusions. Yet as many readers do not take the trouble to examine both sides of a question, and Mr. Arnold has this controversy in hand, he would do good service by probing the matter to the bottom.

I remain, Rev. Sir, very respectfully yours,

M. N. D.

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## NOTICES AND REVIEWS.

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*Letters to M. Gordon, Author of "Mouvement Religieux en Angleterre," "Conversion de Soixante Ministres Anglicans," &c., on the Destructive Character of the Church of Rome, both in Religion and Policy.* By Chr. Wordsworth, D.D., Canon of Westminster. London: Rivingtons. 8vo, pp. 334.

(Continued from p. 587.)

THERE are other points in this little volume which one would have wished to notice; among others, the just and sensible remarks which Dr. Wordsworth makes on Origen, and the allegorical system of interpretation. But it would not be right to conclude this notice of his work without saying, that, in a few places which we have observed, he does not appear to have used sufficient care in examining the meaning of the authorities he has appealed to in proof of his positions. It is unpleasant to be obliged to point out any inadvertencies of this nature, but the Roman-catholic controversy is one which requires so much care and caution in the handling, and it is so serious a responsibility to give a general recommendation of any book on such a subject, that one is compelled by a sense of duty to call an author's attention to inaccuracies which not only weaken the force of his argument, but which, as they are sure to be discovered by the opposite party, are equally certain, when detected, to produce a most injurious reaction.

Without descending to anything like minute criticisms, there are

two or three passages in his second letter which, we cannot but think, Dr. Wordsworth will see require reconsideration.

The first is one in which he has misunderstood a passage in Bellarmine, which we have frequently seen quoted in the Roman-catholic controversy, but never without regret. In the course of his observations on Mr. Newman's Essay on Development, Dr. Wordsworth argues in the following manner:—

“Conscience, says he, is to be obeyed, however ill informed it may be; ‘the Papal See has in all cases a claim on our obedience:’ hence, then, our Conscience is to resolve itself into the Pope’s will; and however ill-informed it may be in doing so, yet it is our Conscience, and it is to be obeyed, that is, we are to pay blind obedience to the dictates of the Pope; and though ‘he should command what is extreme or inexpedient,’ this ‘obedience will subserve our growth in illumination and sanctity.’ This is the *initial* point from which your Roman doctors go backwards to the destruction of the law of conscience and of right reason, by which that law is to be discovered and applied. Thus, for example, Cardinal Bellarmine says, ‘If the Pope should so far err as to *command vices* and to *prohibit virtues*, the Church would be bound to believe that vices are good and virtues are evil; unless she will sin against her conscience.’ (p. 60.) And in a note he quotes the original: “Bellarmine. de Pontif. iv. c. 5. Si autem Papa erraret præcipiendo vitia vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Ecclesia credere vitia esse bona et virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare.”

But if Bellarmine really believed (as Dr. Wordsworth seems to think) that the Pope *could* command vices and forbid virtues, what possible reason could he have for using the word “erraret.” According to his belief the Pope was infallible, and could not err *in rebus necessariis*. Consequently, if he supposed it possible for the Pope to command vices and forbid virtues, he must also suppose such a possibility to be in some way or other reconcileable with his infallibility, and that he would *not* err in doing so. As Dr. Wordsworth understands the passage, Bellarmine is made to represent that doctrine which he considered to be the turning point in Christianity, in the most preposterous and offensive manner, and that, for no imaginable purpose, except to point out the duty of the Church in the event of something happening, which he believed, and which he is actually proving, to be impossible.

The simple fact is, that what is here stated as Bellarmine’s own opinion, is not his opinion at all; but that which Bellarmine is stating as an absurdity to which he has driven an ideal opponent. The proposition which he is undertaking to prove, is not, as Dr. Wordsworth supposes, the duty of the Church in case of the Pope’s erring in a certain way, but the impossibility of his erring in such a way at all. His proposition is: “Non solum in decretis fidei errare non potest summus Pontifex, sed neque in præceptis morum, quæ toti Ecclesiæ præscribuntur, et quæ in rebus necessariis ad salutem, vel in iis quæ per se bona, vel mala sunt, versantur.” And the argument which leads to his using the words which have been so strangely misunderstood,

is in substance this: "If you maintain that a Pope may err in the prohibition or injunction of things good or bad in their own nature, you must maintain that the Church is liable to err even in matters of *faith*. For the catholic faith teaches that every virtue is good and every vice bad: and, consequently, if the Pope could err by commanding what is vicious, or prohibiting what is virtuous, then the Church would be reduced to this difficulty: she must either believe what is really vicious to be virtuous, and what is virtuous to be vicious,—and so err in the faith; or else, she must sin against her conscience by knowingly doing what was wrong, or omitting to do what was right: and the consequence, on either supposition, would be, that the Church would cease to be holy, contrary to one of the articles of the Apostles' Creed." This mistake is so important, and the perpetuating it is so injurious to the cause and character of our Church, that we print Bellarmine's argument entire in the note, as a bare reading of it is sufficient to show that his meaning has been totally misrepresented.\*

Another passage which Dr. Wordsworth has most unaccountably misunderstood, is one he has quoted from the Constitutions of the Jesuits. Having referred to some of the well-known expressions which the founder of the Jesuits has used to teach the members of his order the degree of corpse-like obedience he required them to pay to their superior, Dr. Wordsworth says:—

"And, as if this was not enough, it is expressly said, that the Superior may bind the members of the Society to commit *mortal sin*, 'in case it shall be *very conducive* to the good of an individual, or of the whole. And in this case it is commanded, that the person bound to Sin should feel love and desire of all perfection, instead of any fear of offence.'"

And, in a note, he refers to the Constitutions, Pars. vi. c. 5, and quotes a part of it, which we need not transcribe here, (as we shall quote the whole presently,) but merely observe that Dr. Wordsworth states in this note, that "the Constitutions are *not* to bind to mortal sin, *NISI* Superior id in Nomine Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, vel in virtute Obedientiæ, juberet, &c." The same meaning has been ascribed to this Constitution in an edition published in 1838, with an English translation; and the latter part of the chapter, both in the

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\* "Probatur jam propositio; et PRIMO, quod non possit Papa errare in præceptis morum ad salutem necessariorum: quia tunc tota Ecclesia graviter læderetur, et erraret in rebus necessariis, quod est contra promissionem Domini. Joan. 16. *Cum venerit ille Spiritus veritatis, docebit vos omnem veritatem.* Quod intelligitur (ut minimum) de veritate necessaria ad salutem. SECUNDO, quia Deus tunc deesset Ecclesiæ suæ in necessariis, quando quidem præcipit illi, ut sequatur Pontificem, et Pontificem permittit errare in necessariis. At certè si Deus nulli rei deest in necessariis, quanto minus Ecclesiæ suæ? Quod autem non possit Pontifex errare in moribus per se bonis, vel malis, probatur. NAM tunc Ecclesia non posset verè dici sancta, ut in Symbolo Apostolorum vocatur. Nam sancta dicitur potissimum ob sanctam professionem, ut alibi ostendimus; quia minimum legem, et professionem sanctam profitetur, quæ nihil docet falsum, nihil præcipit malum. SECUNDO, quia tunc necessariò erraret etiam circa fidem. Nam fides Catholica docet, omnem virtutem esse bonam, omne vitium esse malum: si autem Papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Ecclesia credere vitia esse bona, et virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare."—De Rom. Pont. Lib. iv. cap. v.



original and the translation, (from the words *Nisi Superior*,) is printed in capitals—which in truth would seem scarcely needed to give emphasis to such a passage, if it meant anything like what the translator and Dr. Wordsworth have supposed.

Surely, one would have thought any person of Dr. Wordsworth's abilities and information, must have seen at a glance the impossibility of a man so shrewd as the author of the Constitutions, supposing the case of a superior commanding a member of the society to commit mortal sin *in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ*. The truth is, that the whole meaning and intention of the chapter has been utterly misunderstood. The title of the chapter is, "*Quod Constitutiones peccati obligationem non inducunt*," which does not mean, as the English translator imagined, "that the Constitutions involve no obligation *to commit sin*,"—or anything like it: but it means, that the Constitutions do not create such an obligation as to make a breach or neglect of them a sin. In accordance with the whole spirit of his institution, it is the command of the superior which the founder makes it sinful to disobey; and the spirit in which he wishes the society to conform to his Constitutions, is not the spirit of fear, which would result from feeling that every word of their rule was binding under pain of incurring the guilt of mortal or venial sin, but the more free and generous spirit of love and a desire of universal perfection. For this purpose the chapter provides that (always excepting the expressed vow of obedience to the Pope for the time being, and the three other essential vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience) no constitutions, declarations, or rule of living, can induce such an obligation as makes obedience to them binding under pain of mortal or venial sin, *unless* in any particular instance the superior should command the observance of any of them, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, or in virtue of obedience. And this he has the discretionary power to do in certain cases.

The following is the whole chapter referred to:—

*"Quod Constitutiones peccati obligationem non inducunt.*

"CAPUT V.

"Cum exoptet Societas universas suas Constitutiones, Declarationes, ac vivendi ordinem, omnino juxta nostrum Institutum, nihil ullâ in re declinando, observari; optet etiam nihilominus suos omnes securos esse, vel certè adjuvari, ne in laqueum ullius peccati, quod ex vi Constitutionum hujusmodi aut ordinationum proveniat, incidant, visum est nobis in Domino, excepto expresso Voto, quo Societas Summo Pontifici, pro tempore existenti, tenetur, ac tribus aliis essentialibus Paupertatis, Castitatis & obedientiæ, nullas Constitutiones, Declarationes, vel ordinem ullum vivendi, posse obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere; nisi Superior ea In Nomine Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, vel In virtute Obedientiæ juberet: quod in rebus, vel personis illis, in quibus judicabitur, quoddam ad particulare uniuscujusque, vel ad universale bonum multùm conveniet, fieri poterit: & loco timoris offensæ, succedat amor & desiderium omnis perfectionis; & ut major gloria & laus Christi Creatoris, ac Domini Nostri consequatur."\*

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\* We quote from the Antwerp Edition of 1635, Superiorum Permissu.

The phrases here used, *obligatio ad peccatum* and *obligatio peccati*, are equivalent to *obligatio sub pœna peccati*. It is easy to multiply examples from the Constitutions and Declarations. Thus, in the Examen Generale, on the interrogation of candidates, "*Obligatio vera dicendi in examine, ad peccatum esse debet.*" (Cap. iii. § 1, Declar.) In the chapter, *De auctoritate vel providentia; quam Societas habere debet erga Præpositum Generalem*, "Quarta est, quod si quis urgeret (licet cum non *obligando sub pœna peccati*) ut dignitatem aliquam admitteret, in qua Præpositi officium necessario relinquendum esset, non posset sine consensu societatis eam admittere." (Pars ix. Cap. iv. § 5), where the Declaration says: "*nec Societas approbabit, si Pontifex præcepto,—quod ad peccatum obliget, non compelleret.*" And in the following chapter, "Si ageretur de dignitate, quam ut plurimum pati non potest Præpositi officium, si non compulerit talis Obedientia Summi Pontificis, *quæ ad peccatum obligare posset,*"\* &c. (Pars ix. Cap. v. § 6), where the Declaration has "*nisi Obedientia Sedis Apostolicæ intercederet, quæ Præpositum, vel Societatem (ut dictum est) ad peccatum obliget, nisi res ad effectum perducatur.*" Again, in requiring a vow from the professed, not to seek, or take prelacies, &c., "Promittant etiam Deo ac Domino Nostro ad nullam etiam extra societatem prælationem, vel dignitatem obtinendam se quidquam acturos: nec ad sui electionem ad hujusmodi munus, quoad ejus fieri poterit, consensum præstituros; si ejus Obedientia, *qui sub pœna peccati potest præcipere*, eos non compulerit." (Pars x. § 6.) And on this the vow itself is formed. "Promitto præterea, nunquam me curaturum, prætensurumve extra Societatem prælationem aliquam vel dignitatem; nec consensurum in mei electionem, quantum in me fuerit, nisi coactum Obedientiâ ejus, *qui mihi præcipere potest sub pœna peccati.*" (Formula votorum, p. 367.)

We should not think of multiplying these proofs of what seems so very obvious, had the mistake been sanctioned by a less respectable writer than Dr. Wordsworth, and did it not seem so very important to guard the Church against the injury which is sure to arise from charges against Romanism or Jesuitism, which are founded on a misapprehension of the meaning of authorities.

There is another passage in these letters to M. Gondon, to which it is necessary to refer, and which we shall give in Dr. Wordsworth's own words.

"The following document is a public and an authoritative one; it has even taken its place among the 'Symbolical Books' of the Church of Rome, and I cite it from one of the most recent editions of the dogmatical Collections† of that Church. You will see from it to what awful conclusions the Papal principle of Implicit Faith leads, and to which it *has actually led*; and after having perused it, you will, I think, be induced to inquire whether the Papacy does not claim 'dominion over your Faith,' and whether it be not liable to the

\* Even the English translation referred to above renders this "unless such obedience to the Pope, as is *compulsive under the penalty of sin*, oblige him, &c."

† Libri Symbolici Ecclesiæ [Romano-] Catholicæ, editi a Streitwolf (a Roman Catholic). Gotting. 1838. Tom. ii. p. 343.

wo denounced by our blessed Lord upon those who 'make the Word of God of none effect by their traditions;' and 'teach for *doctrines* the commandments of men:' whether it does not come under the sentence of condemnation uttered by the Apostle, 'Though an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel unto you than that we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.' Let me also be permitted to ask you, whether in submitting to such a system as this, you are not disobeying the Divine will; whether, if I may so speak, in tying up your own Reason and Conscience in the Napkin of the Pope's will, and burying it in the ground, you are not incurring the judgment which will be pronounced on the *unprofitable* servant at the great day.

"But to proceed to our citation. It is from the

"*Confessio Romano-Catholica in Hungariâ Evangelicis publicè præscripta et proposita*; i. e. from the Roman-catholic Confession publicly prescribed and propounded to Protestants in Hungary on their reception into Communion with Rome.

"I quote from it the following articles:—

"I. We confess that we have been brought from heresy to the Roman-catholic faith by the diligence and aid of Fathers of the Society of Jesus.

"II. We confess that the Pope of Rome is Head of the Church, and *cannot err*.

"III. We confess and are certain that the Pope of Rome is Vicar of Christ, and has plenary power of remitting and retaining Sins according to his will, and of thrusting men down into hell (*in infernum detrudendi*).

"IV. We confess that whatever *new* thing the Pope of Rome *may have instituted* (*quicquid Papa instituerit novi*), whether it be in Scripture or out of Scripture, is *true, divine, and salvific*; and therefore ought to be regarded as of *higher value* by lay people than the *precepts of the living God* (*ideoque a laicis majoris æstimari debere Dei Vivi præceptis*).

"V. We confess that the Most Holy Pontiff ought to be honoured by all with *divine honour* (*honorari divino honore*), with *more prostration* than what is due to Christ Himself.

"XI. We confess that the Pope has the power of *altering Scripture*, or *increasing and diminishing* it, according to his Will.

"XXI. We confess that *Holy Scripture* is imperfect, and a *dead letter*, until it is explained by the Supreme Pontiff, and permitted by him to be read by lay people."

Dr. Wordsworth has not given the whole of this confession, and some of the parts he has omitted we shall transcribe, because they appear necessary in order to qualify the reader for forming a correct judgment of the character of the document.

"IX. We confess that every priest is much greater than the mother of God, the blessed Virgin Mary, who has only once brought forth Christ, and brings him forth no more. But the Roman Priest, not only when he wishes, but whensoever he wishes, offers and makes Christ, nay he also eats him whom he has created.

"XVII. We confess, that Mary, the blessed Virgin, is worthy of greater honour from Angels and men than Christ himself, the Son of God.

"XVIII. We confess, that the blessed Virgin Mary is the queen of heaven, and reigns along with her son, for whom her son is bound to do all things at her pleasure.

"XXII. We confess, that one mass of a Roman Priest is more useful than a hundred sermons of the Evangelicals and more. . . . We swear also, while one drop of blood remains in our body, we will persecute that accursed evan-

gelical doctrine by every means, privily and openly, violently and fraudulently, by word and deed, not even excepting the sword.”\*

Now really, before venturing to cite such extravagance and absurdity as this, *as a public and authoritative document*, one would like to know a little more about it, and to have some certainty by whom it was authorized and published—when, where, with what sanction, and under what circumstances it first appeared. All the information that can be found in the work from which Dr. Wordsworth has made his extracts, is contained in the following passage (*Tom.i. p. li. prolegom.*): “*Quarta, [se. fidei professio] cujus auctor quidem et ætas non satis certo constant in Hungaria circa annum 1673, per patres societatis Jesu composita esse videtur. Sæva hæc formula, a professione fidei Tridentinæ admodum aliena, Evangelicis ad Ecclesiam Romanam revertentibus illic primum præscripta, dein per ipsam Germaniam dilatata est. Textum ejus ex libro Friderici Mohnike supra laudato, p. 88. sqq. repetivimus.*” Mohnike’s work we have not yet seen, but it would require very satisfactory evidence, indeed, to satisfy one that such a performance (whose author and age are uncertain) can be a genuine and authentic document: and if such evidence can be produced, it ought to be laid before the public. Meantime we cannot avoid thinking that if the Jesuits ever did draw up, and publish, and enforce such an extraordinary document as a profession of faith, they have less of caution and discretion than the world has been accustomed to give them credit for.

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*The Great Civil War of the Times of Charles I. and Cromwell.* By the Rev. Richard Cattermole, B.D. With Twenty-nine highly finished Engravings from Drawings, by George Cattermole, Esq. Fisher and Son. 4to, pp. 279.

THE drawings in this volume would render it an attractive book even if the text of the narrative had nothing to recommend it. But it is due to Mr. Richard Cattermole to express the pleasure he has given us, by the soundness of his views on the political and religious questions and characters of a period of which few people think with candour and moderation, and of those who do regard it without party prejudice, a still smaller party have the courage to express their opinions. Several of the drawings are very pleasing compositions, and the whole volume is so unexceptionable, that one is willing to overlook an occasional oversight. But to notice one which has struck us: the engraving of “*Strafford’s Farewell*” is not only wanting in historical

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\* IX. Confitemur, unumquemque Sacerdotem multo majorem esse Deipara, B. Virgine Maria, quæ semel solum peperit Christum, nec amplius parit. Sacerdos autem Romanus non solum, dum vult, sed et quandocumque vult, offert et facit Christum, imo et creatum absumit.

XVII. Confitemur, Mariam Beatam Virginem, majore honore dignam ab Angelis et hominibus, ipso Christo, Filio Dei.

XVIII. Confitemur, Beatam Virginem Mariam esse Reginam Cœli, simulque cum filio regnare, cui filium omnia ad voluntatem ejus facere debere.

XXII. Confitemur, unam Missam Sacerdotis Romani utiliorem esse centum et pluribus concionibus Evangelicorum. . . . Juramus etiam donec una gutta sanguinis in corpore nostro exstiterit, doctrinam maledictam evangelicam, nos omnimodo, clam et aperte, violenter et fraudulenter, verbo et facto persecuturos, ense quoque non excluso.

accuracy, but is contradicted by the text of the narrative on the opposite page. Archbishop Laud was in his prison when Strafford was going to execution, and it was from the window of his chamber he gave his last blessing to his illustrious friend. Strafford was attended and accompanied to the scaffold by Archbishop Usher. The account which Archbishop Laud has himself given of this memorable interview needs no painter to impress it more vividly on the imagination. "His lordship being to suffer on the Wednesday morning, did upon Tuesday in the afternoon desire the Lord Primate of Armagh, then with him, to come to me, and desire me that I would not fail to be in my chamber window, at the open casement, the next morning, when he was to pass by it as he went to execution; that though he might not speak with me, yet he might see me, and take his last leave of me. I sent him word I would, and did so. And the next morning as he passed by, he turned towards me, and took the solemnest leave that I think was ever by any at distance taken one of another; and this in sight of the Earl of Newport, then Lord Constable of the Tower, the Lord Primate of Armagh, the Earl of Cleveland, the Lieutenant of the Tower, and divers other knights and gentlemen of worth."

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*The Two City Apprentices, or Industry and Idleness exemplified; a London History.* By the Rev. T. B. Murray, M.A., London: Rivingtons. 12mo, pp. 48.

*Golden Sayings of the Wise King; being a Selection from the Book of Proverbs on the Conduct of Life, with Metrical Illustrations.* By the Rev. T. B. Murray, M.A. Printed for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 12mo, pp. 72.

*An Alphabet of Emblems.* By the Rev. T. B. Murray, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 12mo, pp. 72.

THESE little books of Mr. Murray's should have been sooner introduced and recommended to our younger friends, to whom they will be safe and acceptable presents. They are illustrated with pretty woodcuts. The first in the list contains copies of Hogarth's well-known series of engravings to illustrate the career of Industry and Idleness. London, and London apprentices and masters, are altered since Hogarth sketched those scenes. But the moral remains: and industry, and probity, and good principles still find their reward in the confidence and gratitude of the London merchant, and we trust the day may never come when they will not.

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*Handel's Messiah, in Vocal Score, with a separate Accompaniment for the Organ or Pianoforte.* Arranged by Vincent Novello. Part I. to VIII.

*Haydn's Oratorio, the Creation, in Vocal Score, with a separate Accompaniment for the Organ or Pianoforte.* Arranged by Vincent Novello. Part I. to V.

THESE editions are not more recommended by their cheapness, than by their great beauty as specimens of musical printing. We are no advocates for the sacred words of the Messiah being sung for amusement, either in public or private; but for the student, the immortal work of Handel is invaluable, and indeed indispensable; and to place it in so complete a form within the reach of so many, is likely to have a considerable effect in improving the public taste.

*A Tour from Thebes to the Peninsula of Sinai, by Professor R. Lepsius, of Berlin, between March 4 and April 14, 1845. Translated from the German by Charles H. Cottrell, Esq., M.A. London: Petheram. 1846.*

WE attach but little value to the monastic traditions which profess to point out the sacred places in the scenes of the Scripture narrative. But surely the ignorance and credulity of the most superstitious and illiterate monk that ever existed are not more pitiable than the eclectic folly, which attributes a certain degree of historic value to the Word of God, and at the same time labours to explain away the miracles which constitute its essence. This tour, which the translator has dedicated to Chevalier Bunsen, as the "fellow labourer" with Professor Lepsius, in his Egyptian researches, contains some curious specimens of what may be done in this way. If the Mosaic history be not a fable, the Israelites were supplied by a succession of miracles with food and water in their passage through the wilderness. But, according to Professor Lepsius, there need be no miracle in the matter. Moses knew the country well, and so he led the people to a place where he knew there was a plentiful stream of water to be found, abundance of quails, and manna to be gathered from the trees. A specimen or two of this sort of treatment of the Scriptures it will be worth while to transcribe. Having given his readers to understand that, in looking out for the situation of Mount Sinai, he was guided by the consideration that "mere space could not be an object of primary importance in making choice of an encampment," and that "the most essential point" "must have been to provide food and water," he says,—

"This struck me even before I left the convent, and led me to form great expectations from the *Serbál* and *Wadí Firán*, the only spot in the Peninsula where the existence of a former city and episcopal residence implied that there were better means of obtaining the necessaries of life. At the present day, all the Arabs talk of it, whenever anything is said of springs, palm-trees, and manna. My eyes, however, were completely opened when I saw this oasis in the desert, and traversed it with continually increasing astonishment. *El gennain fel Wadí Firán*, 'the gardens in Wadí Firán,' is the specific name of the spot; *Derb Firán*, 'the road to Firán,' the track which leads to it, from the north and south, just as they talk of *Derb Sues*, *Derb Akaba*. No place in the whole Peninsula, as all the Arabs assert, is to be compared in the remotest degree with *Firán*, in point of abundance of water and fertility. I have already attempted to show that the unusually rich vegetation of this district is explainable by the general quality of the soil. It was only now that I felt the full importance of the command of the Lord on Horeb, the Mount of God, addressed to the great and wise leader of the children of Israel, when He bade him to bring them into the wilderness, and do sacrifice to Him.—Exod. iii. 12.

"Moses had been acquainted with the Peninsula from his youth; he knew how much, and how little, nourishment it offered for a large multitude with their flocks; hence he felt, very naturally, considerable anxiety at the idea of undertaking the great work to which he was called; he knew the nature of the population, which could not then be greater, hardly so great, as now—that it consisted only of nomade shepherds, from whom he had no resistance to apprehend—he was also acquainted with the Mount of God, Horeb; he knew the fertile oasis in the *Wadí Firán* at its foot, for he had driven the sheep of Jethro thither, and there had received his call. He knew that this was the only spot calculated to offer them a place of refuge, until the time arrived for

proceeding into Canaan. He must also have known that it was the only spot which had been long occupied and possessed by the tribes of the Peninsula; that it was the dwelling of the Amalekites, and that he certainly might establish the people in the country, from one end of it to the other, without molestation, because it was naked and bare, and that the possession of it was not worth contesting. On this very account, however, it would have been of no use to him whatever, unless he could deprive the Amalekites of the fertile and well-watered district of *Firán*.

"For these reasons the main efforts of a man like Moses, who was a man of wisdom, and acquainted with the country, were directed to this point. This is obvious, from the very nature and necessity of the case, which here must be allowed to possess all the cogency of the strictest diplomatic proof, by any one who carefully considers the Mosaic narrative in its historical truth and entirety, and who explains it in reference to the connexions of the locality which have existed from the very earliest times."—pp. 37—40.

But is it not evident, from the account that Moses himself has given, that he had no choice in the matter; that he was guided and directed by a miraculous cloud, when and where to go and to stop:—and that, in fact, the places to which he was directed to bring the Israelites, so far from being noted for abundance of food and water, were destitute of both;—that the want and destitution were designed by the Almighty as trials of their faith, and that the supplies, when they were supplied, were given by a miracle obvious to the senses of the people? Another curious example of this sort of absurdity, is the account Professor Lepsius gives of his notions respecting the site of Marah.

"The salt spring of Howára is now generally considered the ancient Marah, and so Robinson thinks. This seems to me utterly improbable. According to Robinson's account, the Arabs universally held it to be the saltiest and worst of all those salt springs; and so little notice is taken of it, that it was never once mentioned by the Arabs to Niebuhr, nor seemingly to Pococke either, but became known only through Burckhardt. Besides this, it is not situated in a *Wadí*, so that the cattle could not find any fodder. It is remarkable, indeed, for nothing but its bad water; and there was no reason whatever, therefore, why it should have been dignified by the name of a station in old times. On the other hand, four or five miles further on, was the broad *Wadí Gharándel*, which 'lies lower, and is better supplied with bushes and shrubs,' than any one of those which Robinson had met with hitherto. The Arabs found 'running water' in it, which 'in general was quite as salt as that of the former springs, although somewhat less disagreeable than that of Howára.' It is still a 'principal watering-place of the Arabs,' and there can be no doubt, therefore, that it was so in the time of the Israelites. It is no wonder, then, that it obtained pre-eminently the name of Marah, 'the bitter well,' as the Arabs, up to this day, usually make use of the word *Murr*, 'bitter,' to express the salt, or rather brackish, nitrous taste of the water. Could Moses, who was acquainted with the country, have been ignorant of all this? or could he have disregarded it in the difficult task he had undertaken, of attempting to satisfy the wants of the people? Would he have selected the much more insignificant spring of Howára, merely because it was the saltiest, in order to make the miracle of sweetening it appear the greater? This would be a pitiful attempt at explanation, against which Robinson also protests, with great dignity and truth, in another passage. If the Israelites had exhausted the stock of water they brought from *Ain Músa*, they would certainly have been more thankful to Moses for sweetening the copious stream at *Gharándel* than the scanty one of Howára. The means which he adopted of making the bitter

water drinkable, by throwing into it a piece of wood, or the peel or fruit of some tree or shrub, which must have been abundant in those valleys, is certainly no longer known; but yet it might perhaps be discovered again, if attempts were made on the spot. I brought away with me various specimens of the most common sorts of wood, out of the upper valleys, it is true, but as yet have had no opportunity of testing their efficacy."—pp. 43—45.

This would be simply ridiculous, if the unhappy writer had been dealing with any other document than the Word of God. One more quotation will suffice. It is that which refers to the manna and the quails.

"Now it was in the wilderness of Sin that the Lord sent the quails and manna for the people to eat. I have already mentioned the vast number of desert fowls, which are still so remarkable at the present day. They naturally frequented principally the most fertile valleys; and the manna is likewise found only in the well-watered valleys of the primitive mountains, especially, and now almost exclusively, in the *Wadi Firán* and the adjoining part of the *Wadi e Schech*. The Arabs say that it is found in one or two more distant places, and assert that it is not produced in the other valleys, although tarfa-bushes are met with almost everywhere. In dry seasons it frequently fails, even in the *Wadi Firán*, though this is not the proper occasion for saying more upon this remarkable tree-honey, which still appears in the wilderness of Arabia as the most wonderful food of the country. The season for it is in May and June, a little before the dates are ripe, the precise time of year when the Israelites arrived there. In wet seasons it then trickles down in incredible quantities from the tarfa-bushes on to the sand, where it is eagerly picked up both by man and beast. It is renewed fresh every morning, but melts in the heat of the sun at noon; as we read in Exodus xvi. 21, 'And when the sun waxed hot, it melted.' I was highly gratified on first discovering, contrary to my expectation, after a careful search in a twig of tarfa on the convent mountain of *Hererát*, a few glistening pearls of manna, and when the Arabs assured me that it *was* manna, although the season for it had not arrived. On looking further, I found several more white and yellow drops in rich strings, and, on many of them, the little worms mentioned in Exodus, so that I was able to collect several little twigs full of manna, which I put into a bottle and brought away. It is, in fact, inconceivable to me, how so circumspect a man as Robinson could for a moment doubt that this is the old manna of the Israelites, which the Arabs to this day call *men*, and suppose that their manna was something very different, and sent expressly for them from heaven. If his objection was only as to the quantity, and certainly there may not perhaps be sufficient to feed such a multitude, which he did not see very well how to account for, he must, upon the same grounds, suppose that there were many more quails, and a much more ample supply of water, than at the present day, because the sustenance of such an immense multitude as they were, especially in the desert of Arabia, seems inexplicable by any reasoning we can offer on the subject."—pp. 66—68.

So, of course, as there are vast numbers of quails to be found in these most fertile valleys, that is quite sufficient to account for the enormous quantity of quails which the Israelites did *not* find in a most fertile valley, but which God himself gave them in a wilderness so desolate, that they expected to have died of hunger, and which were brought "*from the sea*" by a supernatural wind, and left in heaps two cubits high all round their encampment. And as for the manna: what the Israelites gathered was not found on *bushes*, but on the *ground*; lying on the face of the wilderness, like hoar frost on the ground.



And if Dr. Robinson is sneered at because he was simple enough to suppose that the manna given to the Israelites was sent to them from heaven, it is at the sacred narrative the sneer is really offered. "Behold, I will rain bread from heaven for you," ought to be a conclusive authority to any one who considers the history anything better than an imposture. But how extraordinary is the absurdity of such criticism. This tree-honey, our professor was told by the Arabs, "is found in one or two more distant places," and "*is not produced in the other valleys*:" and yet it is inconceivable to him how any one could for a moment doubt that this is the old manna of the Israelites, although one of the most remarkable facts connected with the old manna is, that during the whole of their progress for forty years, the Israelites found it on the ground every morning for six days in the week, *wherever they went*; and even after they had crossed the Jordan and entered the promised land, it did not cease until "the morrow *after* they had eaten of the old corn of the land."

What Mr. Cottrell's object in translating such wretched nonsense may be, we pretend not to conjecture. But looking at Professor Lepsius merely as a traveller, who has undertaken to throw light on questions on ancient history and geography, his infidelity, or neologianism (if there be any difference between them) has too much of credulity about it for any sensible person to have much value for his opinion, or even much reliance on his accuracy.

#### THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.

THE following excellent exposition and defence of the objects and operations of this venerable society, will, we doubt not, be read with much pleasure. It is a report of a speech delivered by the Rev. Dr. Hinds, at a meeting of the branch of the society connected with the University of Dublin. This report has been reprinted as a tract of four pages, by some friends of the society in Ireland, who conceived the speech to be admirably calculated to remove prejudice and misconception. And it is inserted here as much for the purpose of bringing it before those who may wish to reprint it for a similar purpose, as for other reasons.

#### SPEECH OF THE REV. DR. HINDS,

*At a meeting of the Trinity College, Dublin, Branch of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 15th Dec. 1846.*

"The Rev. Dr. HINDS, in moving the second resolution,—That this Association deplores the ignorance and misconception that exist in Ireland respecting the true nature and constitution of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and takes this opportunity of calling on all its well-wishers to exert themselves in removing such false

impressions, and in setting forth its peculiar claims to the sympathy and support of every member of our church'—spoke as follows:—This resolution gives, my lord, what I believe to be the true reason why the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has met with so little encouragement, comparatively, in this country, which, in general, is behind no country in the world in sympathy with every religious and benevolent enterprise. It is not known—it is not understood. There is much misconception of its character and objects, and much more of total ignorance of its existence; and, strange as the assertion may sound, I believe that its not being generally known is owing to the very magnitude of the objects which it is accomplishing. The vast results which are flowing from the operation of this society force themselves on the notice of all persons, but these results appear so disproportionate to the powers and resources of a quiet voluntary association, that few persons think of looking to such a quarter for the origin of them. Everybody hears or reads of complete church establishments, including bishops, archdeacons, a staff of clergy, churches, schools, in Calcutta, Madras, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Canada, New Zealand—throughout the wide range of our colonial possessions; but if the question occurs, how came all these institutions into existence? the reply which suggests itself is, 'I suppose the British Government formed them—I suppose the people in these settlements did it.' Results so vast and momentous lead away public attention from a voluntary association as the origin and prime mover. It is impossible that any one can be ignorant of the immense stream of emigration which is annually pouring from the shores of Great Britain, Scotland, and Ireland, to distant lands. And I suppose no member of our church who thinks at all on the subject, thinks that these emigrants go out to a life of heathenism—that they abandon the religion as well as the home of their fathers. But what is to hinder this being the case? Emigrants in a new settlement have generally no more than enough means to provide for their bodily wants and existence. Necessity is the cause of emigration. Who then cares for the spiritual welfare of these men? What is the channel through which the provision comes to the members of our church? People not informed of the actual state of the case attribute it to government, to some vague resources in these settlements. They do not naturally connect with a private body of men, deriving their resources from voluntary contributions, a sphere of operations co-extensive with that of the Colonial Office, and with the colonial empire of Great Britain. Most persons know, in like manner, that we have a vigorous sister church in the United States of America. But ask nine persons out of ten how it came there, under divine Providence? Who planted it? Who nursed its feebleness and infancy? The reply will probably be, 'I suppose the Americans did it themselves;' 'I suppose that it was the British government, while the connexion lasted between the two countries.' How few recognise in this society the apostleship, not only of the United States of America, but of Canada, New Brunswick, and the Archipelago of the West India Islands? How few are aware that the first of that noble array of bishops, whose efficiency is felt throughout the United

States of America, was a missionary from this society? But of those to whom this society is not unknown, there are very many who are grossly misinformed about it, or in some way misconceive its character and purposes; and, as a consequence, either entertain preposterous prejudice against it, or undervalue and disparage its utility.

"The report calls our attention to an imputation which has been cast on it, as if it were lending itself to a formidable movement within our church, which it cannot be necessary for me more particularly to describe. Now, this imputation, as every one acquainted with the constitution and working of the society must know, is not only untrue, but it is impossible that it should be true. This society is only a representative and organ of the united church of England and Ireland, as that church is. It has no doctrines or ecclesiastical views of its own, but only those which it reflects from the church at large. If the imputation were true, it would be true of the church. This society is directly under the control of the bishops and authorities of the church. It is so by charter, and it is so practically in its working. If your grace goes to London, and enters the committee room of the society, you are called to the chair, you preside over their deliberations, you exercise an influence over their proceedings, simply because you are a bishop. No one asks, 'Is he high church, or is he low church? Is he this, or is he that?' You take your place and exercise authority there, solely because of your grace's recognised station in the church. The same is true of every bishop, at home and abroad. It is impossible that a society so constituted should not have in its employ persons holding the same variety of views which characterises the church itself. What would be inconsistent in a society differently constituted, is unavoidably and properly the case in this. It sends out a high churchman to Australia, and it sends out a low churchman to Calcutta. It does not assume the office of judging the church's orthodoxy, or correctness of practice; it only reflects, in its appointments, the condition of the church as it is. And, whatever my particular view may be of the questions which divide us, I should be sorry to see any different course followed by the society, for it would then be, not what it is, the organ of the church, but the organ of a section of the church, or of some party within it. This too I will aver, and the reports which come from our colonial dioceses, and which appear in monthly publications accessible to all, will confirm what I say—if any of the clergymen employed by this society do go from home imbued with extreme opinions, whatever is extreme or eccentric about them disappears, or nearly so, in the field of their labours, under the overpowering sense of the great evangelical work in which they are engaged. But, my lord, the misconceptions which prevail in this country respecting our society operate as much to its prejudice in another way. It is generally thought by those who know anything of it, that it has common ground with other societies, between which and it the public may fairly make a choice. Accordingly, if we go to ask for a subscription, on the ground that the society sends missionaries to the heathen, the reply probably is—'Oh! I subscribe already to the Church Missionary Society.' If we

say, 'Give us a subscription nevertheless, for it also sends out clergymen to the colonists in those heathen countries, to your own countrymen and fellow-churchmen.' The reply then is likely enough to be, 'Why, there is a Colonial Church Society,—surely a society that confines itself to a specific object must do its work better than one which attempts different objects.' Now, my lord, one main recommendation of this society—one main ground on which it claims and deserves public support is, that it is both a Colonial Church Society and a Church Missionary Society. The combination of the two is its great excellence, and that which gives it a ground unoccupied by any other religious body. Its first purpose is to preserve the institutions of our church, and the light of the gospel as cherished through them, among the colonists who are continually quitting Great Britain, Scotland, and Ireland. But, as these colonists settle themselves in countries inhabited by heathen men, a regard for the conversion of the heathen has always entered largely into the society's plan. The peculiarity of its missionary character, however, is this—It connects the conversion of the heathen with the colonization of their country by Christian men—it follows the stream of civilization that is pouring into their country, and sends them the Ark of God on that stream—it seeks to bring to the aid of the solitary missionary, whom it sends to those benighted men, the influence of the enlightened community which is settling, and spreading, and pressing on them, for good and not for evil, as it must otherwise be—it seeks, in short, to infuse that purifying principle into the colony which shall make it a missionary instrument, and without which the mere individual missionary's work cannot but be hindered and frustrated. My lord, I would not be thought to speak disparagingly of the missionary station—I would not be understood as detracting ought from the services and the high and holy calling of the man who, for the sake of our Redeemer and his cause, foregoes the ties and the blessings of civilized society, and casts his lot for this world among savages. But experience tells us, reason tells us, that when there is a missionary in the wilds, and a colony of civilized men on the borders of those wilds, the heathen, in their intercourse with the colonists, will take their religion practically from them. While the preacher delivers to them the doctrines and precepts of the gospel from the Book of God, they will take the practical application of them from the community of Christians, enlightened Christians, whom they visit for traffic or from curiosity. They naturally argue thus—'Here is a Christian people, such as the missionary is trying to make us, a portion of the people, and of the church from which the missionary came to us: this is the example of what Christianity is; we will be Christians such as we see them.' When the colony lacks that which should make it a missionary instrument, in aid of the missionary station, it must ever prove a mission of evil, counteracting and frustrating his labours. History presents us with some melancholy records to confirm this—records of whole races of these unenlightened heathens, withering before the march of mere civilized society, and deriving from it only the debauchery and the diseases in which they have perished. My lord, we meet in this room

and call ourselves a Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen ; we meet elsewhere and call ourselves a Church Missionary Society ; but the real, the effectual society for propagating the gospel among the heathen—the true missionary society, is the colony settled in their country—missionary for God, or for the enemy of goodness. History, experience, reason, tell us this. But what provision have we for giving a right direction to this inevitable agency for great good or great evil ? What agency is at work, on the part of our church, at least, to prevent a repetition of these awful spectacles of the result of mere civilized society on the heathen ?—What but the Society for Propagating the Gospel. I cannot imagine any one becoming thoroughly aware of the purposes of this society, both as regards the heathen and the colonists settled in their countries, and withholding his support from it. I am confident that this resolution asserts what is true, that all that is wanted to procure due support for it from Ireland is, that it should become more generally known and better understood."

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#### FLAX AND FISHERIES IN IRELAND.

(Communicated.)

EVERY day makes one more and more apprehensive of the utter impossibility of Ireland being relieved out of the present appalling state of helplessness in which she is plunged by any rate for out-door relief. There must be, perhaps, such a spur given to farmers and landlords as will arouse them from that stupefaction into which the dreadful prospect of the future has plunged them, and force them to strain every nerve to extricate their country and themselves from the difficulties in which its agricultural powers are entangled, and for this purpose it may be necessary that a heavy rate should frighten them into borrowing money from Government for the improvement of their properties. It may be necessary that in so tremendous a transition in which Ireland is passing from one kind of agricultural existence to another, the employing classes should be prevented from starting back from the difficulties which are before them, by placing the picture of utter ruin close behind them : but though it may be necessary that they should be thus terrified and forced by a death struggle to plunge through the difficulty, still it is evident to every calm, reflecting mind, that unless aided in the struggle they must perish in it. Manufacture and trade must lend the most powerful assistance, or else the employing class in Ireland can never succeed in raising the agricultural population of Ireland from being beggar proprietors to the condition of comfortable and well-fed labourers. The very plainest proof of this is afforded by the state of our fisheries, and also of our flax trade. There is no

country in the world which has been found so admirably suited to the growth of flax as Ireland; but the merchants have not made such moves as would enable the growers to turn their flax to account; so much so, that thousands of acres this year would have been sown with flax in the south of Ireland, if three-fourths of the price which is paid for flax in the north could be obtained by the southern farmer; and all the now idle female population of Munster would be employed in the growth and preparation of flax, were it not that the farmer is unable to carry his flax to the northern market, and the merchant, from want of capital, is forced to buy an inferior article, imported from other shores, in preference to using the first-rate and yet cheaper one grown in his native land. The introduction of the Courtrai system would render flax husbandry alone quite sufficient for all that is required to meet the circumstances of this most trying emergency in Ireland; but where would be the advantage of farmers growing flax, and their wives and daughters preparing it, if there is no market for it when ready for sale?

The state of our fisheries affords a proof of the same kind. Although pre-eminently fitted, as a branch of trade, to become a profitable source of employment in Ireland, and especially calculated for relieving those unhappy districts on the coast where such awful want and misery at present exist, still it is totally impossible that the present employing classes in those places—that is, the farmers and country gentlemen—can give to the fisheries that stimulus which is so much wanted, in order to make them no longer an *occasional occupation and benefit*, but a *regular trade*, unless the enterprise and the capital of the country be to a certain extent brought to bear upon the matter. Without this, the exertions of individuals acting singly, or even the combined efforts of men who have not the habits of trade and a command of capital, will not and cannot succeed. I do not mean to say that something might not be done to encourage and to improve the fisheries on the coast of Ireland, by the combined exertions of the persons possessing influence and property in the localities most suited for fishing stations; but I say that enough cannot be done to make the matter really profitable to those who enter upon it; and we know that Ireland is not the only country in the world where persons having just a bare sufficiency to support their families in the grade of society in which they were born, are slow to speculate in enterprises which cannot be made profitable without an outlay of money, and probably not even then unless the outlay be liberal. I know that good men ought, for the sake of benefiting the poor, to exert themselves with energy and to work with patience, and even to part with their money without return; but alas! in ordinary cases,

the energies of men become exhausted, and their patience soon worn out, unless both are sustained and supported by the hope of gain. I know that for the purpose of benefiting the poor there does not exist in Ireland at this present moment any way so admirably fitted to combine employment and food in the districts along the coast as is afforded by the fisheries. The women can be employed in spinning the lines whilst the men are out, and in curing and saving the fish when they return home ; whilst in a hundred different ways even the children are enabled also to make themselves useful, and thus virtually earn their bread. But a great mistake is made when persons suppose that those who live on the sea-coast need suffer no hunger, because it would appear that they have nothing to do at any time but to go and catch fish. It is necessary that there should be boats, and lines, and hooks, and nets ; and oftentimes whilst the poor fisherman is toiling all night and catching nothing, it is necessary that he should have some little sustenance, however scanty, to enable him to sustain, without fainting, his long exposure and great fatigue—nay, even when the fish is caught, it is not by itself a food upon which it would be wholesome to live for any length of time ; and therefore, in addition to the boats, and hooks, and lines, and nets, there is required a market close at hand, or salt and storage to save the fish until the market can be reached, that some of the fish may be exchanged for money to keep the boats and tackle in order, and purchase bread or meat to assist in sustaining life, either when fish is plentiful, or in the intervals when, owing to the weather or other causes, fish cannot be caught.

All these things are becoming matters of intense interest to us here at the present moment. The winter has now passed away, and though the season has been as yet unpropitious, still our thoughts are turned with great anxiety to the usual mode of helping out the struggles of the year by means of fish. As to my own mind, it is occupied with the subject by night and by day. Unfortunately, the poor have not, this year, the ordinary means of setting themselves afloat. They have not now their little store of potatoes by which they could support themselves under their toil, or by sale of which they could repair the decay, and rust, and wear and tear of time and last year's work upon their fishing-tackle and their boats. Few can commence fishing this year without some little assistance in the repairs of their gear, and some little aid, in the commencement, in the shape of food. I have therefore commenced my operations with an outlay of 10*l.*, part for boat-carpenter's hire, part for the pay of women spinning lines, part to supply a store of meal to each boat's crew when going to sea.

I propose, in the commencement, to give a small bounty on the fish caught, in consequence of the high price of provisions; out of which any advances, in the way of tackle, &c., are to be repaid by instalments, deducted each time, according to a certain ratio settled beforehand, and I do not despair of enabling thousands of the poor people of this parish, not only to support themselves during the summer, but also to provide food for themselves for the next winter. How much better this than that the country should be overwhelmed with a rate exceeding the annual rental, and the men supported in idleness, obliged, as the law directs, to attend personally (in hundreds, as it must be in this wretched neighbourhood) at the soup-houses, to receive and carry home the pitcher of porridge in their hands, in hopeless degradation, discontented, and debased? How much better to encourage and assist them to support themselves by that manly and enterprising pursuit, which, from their childhood, they have loved? Numbers have already applied to me, and begged to be included in my list; as they are weary of idleness, and, like the men standing all day in the marketplace, there is no man to hire them. The engineers have, during the last fortnight, turned off the public works in this parish six hundred men. The man best off of these, rents but 5*l.* worth of ground, (on which no one will suppose that he has much store now laid by, otherwise the landlords are the mildest of the human race, for never were they so pressed for money as now,) whilst there are four hundred and twenty of them who have no ground at all, not even a conacre-perch of garden. The greater number of those who were turned off last week have already, of course, used their last week's wages (three shillings and sixpence;) and the portion who were dismissed this week, have only three and sixpence each in hand. These poor creatures must be assisted; and I know of no way of assisting them which promises better success than by encouraging and assisting them in fishing. My commencement must, of course, be weak; but who can tell but that it may be the beginning of a profitable and extensive trade, which, when taken up by more suitable and better hands, may yet place the poor inhabitants of this wretched coast in comfort and prosperity. It may be well, here, to take a view of the nature of the fishing-trade generally, so as to show the capabilities it affords (where it can be really carried out) of supplying employment and support to a large population.

The fishing-trade, as it presents itself to us around this coast, may be said to consist of the inshore fishery and the deep sea fishery. The first is that which has ever been most resorted to for aid, in their struggles for existence, by the poor inhabitants



of these western shores. In its most feeble efforts, it requires but a small boat, and a couple of lines or more, by which mackerel or whiting can be taken, or cheap nets, which will take larger fish, and in somewhat larger quantities; or with a little more outlay on spiller-lines, (say about 17. 10s. for a tolerably good set,) a still better description of trade may be carried on. It is in these small ways that our poor people have hitherto chiefly employed themselves, and therefore their fishing has not been remunerative enough to enrich them, few having capital sufficient even for the purchase of spiller-lines; and it is in this way that I would, at the present moment, wish to assist them. A set of spiller-lines, not quite so lasting, but still durable, and of a cheaper description, can be made by substituting the flax grown in the neighbourhood instead of hemp; and the women of the place could be at once employed in spinning them. A set of these I would furnish at a reduced price to each boat, to be repaid, together with the cost of any little repairs of the boat, out of the bounty granted on the fish caught. I have no doubt that, by this means, I shall be able to give a great spur to the fishing of this place, as well as in other ways open up a source of employment and benefit. There is one other branch of in-shore fishing, the most profitable of all, but requiring a greater amount of capital than the poor fisherman can ever command—I allude to fishing with a scine, that is, a very large net, capable of taking a great quantity of fish at a time. This branch of the trade cannot be commenced without an outlay of from 100*l.* to 150*l.*; immense profits, however, are sometimes realized by it; but as it requires a daily expenditure, in the way of hire, to nearly a score of men to each net,—and the take of fish may not be sufficient for weeks to repay even this expenditure, whilst there is great care and experience required in the principal persons employed,—few, *comparatively*, have patience to carry on this species of fishing with vigour: in several of the fishing-towns on the coast, however, fortunes have been made by it.

The grand description of fishing is the deep-sea fishery, little tried and little known; but when tried, invariably affording encouragement and promise of a large return for the capital embarked. None, however, but those possessed of very large capital—in fact, large companies alone—could undertake the outlay and expense attending on this noble trade. We can, in our feeble efforts inshore, do nothing more for the deep-sea fishery except prepare the men for it, by letting them taste the reward of labour, and arousing their energies into activity and life. Indeed, the men, to be useful in the more extensive trade, must be trained in the humbler branches from their youth; so that whilst thus employing them, we have the comfort of know-

ing that every step we take is in the right direction; but to employ them on, or enable them to embark in, so extensive an undertaking as deep-sea fishing would absorb, for one boat, (which ought to be a good-sized hooker,) more money than the equipment and assistance of forty boats equipped for the inshore fishery would amount to. On an average, I can equip each boat with everything necessary in the way of repairs and tackling for about 1*l.* 10*s.*, which, with the assistance of provisions when going out, and bounty on the fish caught, would amount, eventually, to about 3*l.* 10*s.* upon each boat; whereas a hooker, fitted for the long-line (that is, the deep sea) fishery, could not be sent out under an expense of 150*l.*

W. M. CROSTHWAITE.

Durrus Rectory, Bantry, May, 1847.\*

#### UNAUTHORIZED SERVICES IN CHURCHYARDS.

THE following letter and opinion refer to a practice which, if it be not stopped in time, is likely to be productive of serious inconveniences. The author has kindly permitted us to reprint it, as it will be read with interest by many, who are not likely to have seen it in the newspaper where it first appeared. It may be right to add, that it has also been published as a tract for distribution.

*"A Letter to the 'Northampton Herald,' with Case and Opinion on the attempted use of Unauthorized Addresses, Prayers, or Hymns, in Churchyards, by Abner W. Brown, M.A., Vicar of Pytchley, Northamptonshire, and Rural Dean.*

"There is often felt, especially in rural parishes, an uncertainty and indecision as to the legal bearings of a practice enjoined by some friendly societies,—which are widely organized over the kingdom,—and which direct a prayer or address to be read by one of their officers at the grave of a deceased member. A similar difficulty also occurs when the friends of one who has died unbaptized, and is, therefore, buried without the authorized service, wish to perform in the churchyard some public act of worship over the body. And a

\* The following additional contributions are acknowledged by the Rev. J. C. Crosthwaite, St. Mary-at-Hill, London, for the relief of the poor of Durrus Parish:—

Mrs. Stephenson - - - -	£5 0 0	B. Bedford, Esq. - - - -	1 0 0
Miss Stephenson - - - -	5 0 0	X. Y. - - - -	1 0 0
The household servants at		Rev. M. Coxon, Heswell, col-	
Welbeck, per the Lord		lected on the Fast Day -	4 0 0
Bishop of Lincoln - - -	5 0 0	Rev. G. W. Woodhouse - -	5 0 0

like question arises whenever the mourners attending the funeral of a Dissenter ask to sing a hymn of their own at the grave, in addition to the regular service.

"Some clergymen have permitted, whilst others have prevented, one or all such encroachments, on the clearly defined principle which restricts to persons in the orders of the Church of England the power and right of performing religious service in her consecrated buildings and graveyards. The former have been guided rather by the propriety, decency, or harmlessness of the proposed hymn, prayer, or address, than by any broad rule of ecclesiastical principle.

"It appears now, however, to have become advisable and necessary, that one uniform line of proceeding, based upon a clearly defined principle, should be adopted by the clergy; for some branches of those societies seem much disposed to insist upon performing their own service in consecrated ground, even in direct contravention of the clergyman's wishes and warnings. They assign, as a reason, that so many clergy, nobility, and gentry as are enrolled in their honorary list, would not have consented to belong to their societies, if their known rule, requiring such religious service, were illegal; and clergymen who decline allowing any unauthorized addresses, are supposed to be acting unwarrantably, because some others may have permitted them, or are erroneously reported to have done so.

"Will those clergy, nobility, and gentry, who patronize such societies, permit one, who has had experience of the inconvenience which he describes, respectfully to remark that, since their names are improperly used to sanction what they never could have intended (for I cannot question their friendship to the Church of England), it is not unreasonable in the rest of the church to request that they will insist upon the obnoxious rule being everywhere and finally rescinded, as the condition of their continuing to afford the patronage of their names and money.

"I know that the industrious and respectable benefit members, of whom the great mass in such societies is composed, have no wish to do what is wrong, or to show any disrespect to the Church of England, to which, indeed, most of them belong. To them, therefore, I beg to offer an assurance, that the practice they have adopted is illegal; that they must expect it to be resisted, and, if persevered in, to draw upon them the necessary consequences of acting against the laws of the land. Surely, they must be aware that those of the clergy, nobility, and gentry, who have joined them for the sake of encouraging their honest efforts to provide against the time of sickness, have never, in doing so, intended to sanction anything wrong in their rules (which, probably, many of them have never read), and neither will nor can protect them in what is illegal. Relying on their own good sense and good feeling, therefore, I confidently invite them to alter this rule throughout all their societies; and either to do away entirely with an address (which, really, is not necessary to those who consider the richness and beauty of our burial service), or to direct that it shall be read at the house of their deceased friend before his corpse

leaves it. The attempt to go as near their point as they think the law will permit without making them suffer, by reading their address just outside of the churchyard, is surely an unseemly act, and far different from the subdued and solemn spirit which we should all feel at the grave of a fellow-sinner and fellow-Christian. In this immediate neighbourhood, I am sure my brethren of the labouring classes, knowing my long endeavours to promote, by every means, their general and individual welfare, will not be unwilling to weigh well the advice which I offer.

"To such of my brother clergy as may have felt at a loss, I venture to submit an extract from an opinion, which, when officially consulted some time since, on a case in point, I thought it advisable to procure from a well known and eminent ecclesiastical counsel, and which may be serviceable to them, should kind remonstrance and reasoning not prevail with their parishioners to give up any attempt at irregular proceedings in the churchyard.

"To the whole church I beg respectfully to suggest, whether the practice of performing, even where it may have been hitherto allowed, —and much more, whether the claim to perform as a right or a *quasi* right, any unauthorized service in consecrated places of the Church of England, especially if insisted on by annoyance, intimidation, or force,—should not be promptly, and on all hands withstood, while as yet it is easy to do so. However innocently intended, or thoughtlessly enjoined, on the part of those societies, it seems calculated to open the way for stealthy Roman-catholic assumptions, or aggressive sectarian intrusions. Surely the clergy may rely on the co-operation of all who belong to the Church of England, and, indeed, ought to have the aid of all who profess to be Protestants, in putting an end to this practical difficulty throughout the kingdom :—

#### "CASE AND OPINION.

"Question—Is an officiating clergyman *authorized to allow* of any religious ceremony or service, *any* address, prayer or hymn (other than what the Book of Common Prayer enjoins or expressly permits), being read in the church or churchyard, before, during, or after the funeral, either of a baptized person, or of one over whom the rubric forbids the burial service to be read?

"Answer—I am of opinion that he is not.

"Question—Can any person, not being in Holy Orders, *legally* perform, whether with or without the officiating clergyman's consent, any religious ceremony? or pronounce, offer up, or sing, *any* address, prayer, or hymn, in a churchyard of the Church of England?

"Answer—I am of opinion that he cannot. Were a prayer or hymn (of unexceptionable doctrine) to be offered up, *with the rector's consent*, it *might* be an answer to any proceeding against the party offering up the same.

"Question—Allow me to ask your advice generally on the subject: should parties insist on performing such services, what steps should be taken to prevent their doing so?

" Answer—The ground is (generally) the freehold of the rector, subject to the interests of the parishioners ; and, for that purpose, is consecrated and to be used according to the rites of the Church of England. In regard to the prevention of such services as referred to, I advise a notice to be served upon those who may be known (or expected) to claim the privilege. If served and disregarded—and, indeed, without such a notice—if admonished at the time and without effect, I am of opinion that the parties may be removed from the churchyard, and be subject to a suit in the Ecclesiastical Court for brawling or a disturbance, and probably also be amenable to the common law.

" (Signed) ———

" Doctor's Commons, ———, 1845.

" To this case and opinion I venture to add, that, besides the rector's notice, served by the hands of one who can prove the service, a separate notice, signed by the churchwardens as such, should be similarly served. That the churchwardens should both be present at the funeral. That it should be calmly but distinctly stated beforehand, what steps will be taken if the irregularity be attempted. That every kindness should be tried first, but that, if there is reason to believe it will prove in vain, the police should be in readiness, as they are most likely to remove offending parties with the least possible commotion, and the least annoyance to the offenders themselves.

" I am, &c.,

" ABNER W. BROWN, Rural Dean.

" Pytchley Vicarage, Northamptonshire, 5th April, 1847."

#### THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND: WHOSE IS IT?

OUR readers will not gather from this title that we are going to propose a question which very few sensible people in the country, who are not blinded with religious prejudices, can have any difficulty in answering for themselves. But the question has been lately asked by "the official organ of the Congregational Union" of independent dissenters, the so-called *Christian Witness*, and has been answered by its editor in a manner which would be wonderful, if anything could be wonderful which appears in that unhappy publication. The mass of falsehood (for it would be wrong to call it by any other name) with which this organ of the independent ministers of England and Wales came forward along with his fellow-labourer, Dr. Massie, in aid of the Irish Romanists, has already been exposed in this Magazine, and the incontrovertible facts and figures which prove the truly deplorable disregard of truth to which the Dissenters have shown themselves ready to resort in their dis-

reputable hatred of the Protestant Church, have been laid before our readers by one of that body, whose destruction appears to be their favourite project.\* In vain have we searched in the pages of the *Christian Witness* for a single word of apology or retraction. Fifteen months have now elapsed, and to this hour the editor has never had the honesty to ask pardon for circulating such misrepresentations amongst the portion of the community least likely to possess the means of detecting their dishonesty. And now, in the April number of this same *Christian Witness*, has appeared another paper of the same character, which want of room prevented our reprinting last month. Perhaps, however, the delay is not much to be regretted, as the paper in question has given rise to a correspondence which has appeared in the newspapers, and which is calculated, even more than the article itself, to exhibit the reckless character of the "official organ" of the interest, and the utter want of principle of the publication which the independents have selected as their representative. The article is entitled, "The Church of England: Whose is it?" We shall reprint it entire; as it is really important to preserve such a document, appearing, as it does, just at the very moment when the education question has proved to all Christendom that the Church is in a more efficient state, more truly devoted to its sacred purposes, more laboriously the friend of the poor, and more deeply seated in the intelligent affections of the country, than it ever has been at any former period since the Reformation; and, perhaps, we should also add,—when every denomination of Protestant Dissent is every month furnishing fresh acknowledgments and revelations,—extraordinary beyond anything that could possibly have been anticipated,—of the feebleness and inefficiency of the Voluntary System, of its total inability to educate the Dissenting poor, or even to keep the schools, colleges, chapels, and missions, on which the perpetuity and the very existence of dissent depends, out of ruinous and disgraceful debt, and of the real and steady decrease in the wealth, influence, and even the numbers of the different denominations. At such a moment it is that the official organ of the Congregational Union has had the modesty and discretion to put forth the following article:—

**"THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND: WHOSE IS IT?"**

" 'The daughter of Babylon is like a threshing-floor: it is time to thresh her.'—Jer. li. 33.

"The doublings and windings of error are endless. In former days the cry of the parsons turned upon the character of the church.

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\* See the *British Magazine* for March, 1846, p. 355.

At every corner men's ears were met by the shout, 'Our holy Apostolic Church.' On each alternate cleric page stood, 'The most Apostolic Church in the world,'—and not seldom, 'The only Apostolic Church.' In those days little or nothing was said about the popular relations of the church. But at length the voice of utilitarian philosophy, that is, of common sense, began to make itself heard by putting troublesome questions as to the benefit the people of England derived from the Church of England. The cry was then changed into, 'The Church of England the People's Church.' For purposes of conservatism this was a good cry; the only drawback was, its being unfounded in truth. It was too intelligible; it was easily scrutinized; and some of those interested in its maintenance felt that inquiry would be fatal to its claims; and hence, of late years, there has been, in many quarters, a considerable effort to bring the facts into harmony with the affirmation. But notwithstanding all that has been done, it is still felt by observant men, and confessed by honest men, that matters remain much as before. They 'would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed.' An intelligent writer in one of the best of the church journals, the *Church and State Gazette*, thus expresses himself:—

"It requires no great amount of foresight to perceive that the day is fast approaching when an effort must be made to effect a reform of those abuses which have so long fettered and impeded the usefulness of that church to which we have the privilege to belong. Public opinion has been awakened to the subject; that mighty engine, the press, the never-failing reformer of abuses, has already sounded the tocsin; and scarce a day passes but we may read of a growing desire, on the part of the people, that the Church of England should become, what in candour we are bound to admit she is *not*, the CHURCH OF THE PEOPLE."

"*It is time to thresh her!*"—The Church of the People? No; she has for ages been the selfish foe of the nation, the grand obstructor of every movement for the people's good! On the people of England, considered simply as citizens, she has no claim. When their wrongs, endured at her hand, shall command a voice adequate to their full expression, terrible will be the popular indictment against her! But if not the people's church, whose is she? Will it be replied, the parson's church? Even this must be taken with large limitations. The bulk of her best, most laborious, most useful men—the men who alone are doing any real good among the people—are starving on the crumbs which fall from their master's tables. The journal already quoted states the matter thus:—

"English curates are hardly considered worthy of the rights of citizens—much less the rights of their class, fairly earned. *As a body, they are the worst treated men among all her Majesty's subjects, while the curates of the metropolitan diocese are the most ill-used of this evilly-requited, but exemplary phalanx of the soldiers of Christ.* In England favour strangles merit; youth without claim, but mounted on influence, rides over the aged labourer in the church, and dismisses him, im-

*poverty and broken-hearted, to go and receive his only certain reward from a Master that never faileth.*

“*It is time to thresh her!*”—The church of the working clergy? No; she is not theirs; she grinds them to the dust! In the Parliamentary Papers of 1830, containing the diocesan returns of the number and stipends of curates in England and Wales, it was shown that out of 4254 curates, there were 1639 *salaries not exceeding 60l. per annum*; that only eighty-four out of the whole number enjoyed a *salary exceeding 160l.*; that the incomes of fifty-nine ranged between 20l. and 30l., and those of six between 10l. and 20l.; that only 1393 resided in glebe houses, and 805 more in their parishes. Is this the Church of the People of England? The People's Church? But supposing the stipends of the curates to average the mighty sum of 75l. *per annum*, still their share of the church revenues would amount only to 319,050l.—Yes, *three hundred and nineteen thousand and fifty pounds out of nine millions four hundred and fifty-nine thousand pounds!*\* Is this the church of the working clergy?

“*It is time to thresh her!*”—Whose is she? She is the church of the aristocracy. The real state of the case is this: In England and Wales there are 5098 rectories, 3687 vicarages, and 2970 churches neither rectorial nor vicarial; in all 11,755, and contained in 10,674 parishes and parochial chapelries. Now comes the hydra: 10,674 benefices in the hands of 7191 incumbents! Further analysis shows 7037 of these livings in the hands of 2886 individuals—1701 livings in the hands of 517 persons—836 livings in the hands of 209 persons—320 in the hands of 64 men! Even the Clerical Guide unwittingly shows that nearly *one-half* of the whole incumbents are pluralists! Some are rectors at one place, and vicars at another, and curates at another! Some, more rapacious still, hold three or four rectories, besides vicarages and chapelries; some hold two vicarages, a chapelry, and a rectory. Mr. Wright, secretary to four bishops, states that in one diocese the majority of the clergy held *three* livings, some *five*, and some *six*, besides dignities, while ‘a great part of them did not reside upon any of their preferments!’ Some honest, simple people, whose modes of thinking are governed only by common sense, think that there are just so many rectors as rectories, vicars as vicarages, prebends as prebendaries, deans as deaneries, &c.; but it is greatly otherwise. There is no rule but this: *every man holds all he can get*. According to the high authority already cited, ‘the twenty-six bishops, seven hundred dignitaries, and about four thousand *non-resident incumbents*, principally belonging to the aristocracy, enjoy nearly the whole ecclesiastical revenues, properly computed, amounting to more than NINE MILLIONS!’

“People of England! is this your Church? ‘The Poor Man's Church?’ ‘The Church of the People?’ Mockery of Reason! Insult to Religion! Treason to the Majesty of Justice!

“Oh for a forty-parson power to chant  
Thy praise, Hypocrisy!”

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\* See *Exposition of Abuses, &c.*, p. 52.



“ ‘*It is time to thresh her!*’—Who can be silent amidst such an assemblage of outrages perpetrated under the mask of the religion of Christ? Is it not time to ‘set up a standard in the land, to blow the trumpet among the nations, and to prepare the nations against her?’ Is it not for every friend of reason, religion, England, and the world, adopting the words of Jeremiah, to cry, ‘O, thou that dwellest upon many waters, *abundant in treasures*, thine end is come, and the measure of thy covetousness?’—God will ‘send fanners that shall fan her.’ ‘Make bright the arrows; gather the shields; the Lord hath raised up the spirit’ of his chosen servants ‘to come against her,’ to ‘open her storehouses’ of abuse and abomination; ‘to cast her up as heaps, and destroy her utterly.’ It is high time to ‘call together the archers against this daughter of Babylon.’

“Young men of England, fathers, teachers, preachers, pastors, and above all, ye who direct the liberal and religious press of the nation, on you we call to engage in this great work of truth and justice, of piety and patriotism. Public writers, guides of opinion, ‘put yourselves in array against Babylon; all ye that bend the bow shoot at her! Spare no arrows! She hath sinned against the Lord, and against all the people of the land. Shout against her round about!’ We record with satisfaction the following from her former strongest literary bulwark:—

“ ‘The times are past when that blind, unreasoning sentiment, miscalled Conservatism, prompted a large portion of the people of this country to regard, with a kind of holy horror, every attempt to touch the existing institutions of the Established Church. Whoever dared to lift his voice against the most notorious abuse, or to point out the most obvious defects of the sacred fabric, was viewed in those days as little better than an Atheist. Such absurdities are now no more; and he who should attempt to revive them would be overpowered with a ridicule far more universal, and far more powerful, than that obsolete sentiment of Conservatism. We are, therefore, not afraid to direct the public attention, from time to time, to the evils, as they rise to the surface of ecclesiastical government; nor do we dread the anathemas of a defunct section, whose hieropolitical creed savours more of superstition than of faith.’

“ ‘*It is time to thresh her!*’—Long enough has she threshed these nations. It is a fact known to all, that what the clergy call their property was given for a threefold purpose, to support the poor—to maintain the parson—and to uphold the buildings erroneously called churches. How has she discharged her stewardship? She has taken these three portions comprising the whole, and appropriated them entirely to herself, throwing the entire support of the poor on the public, and the maintenance of the 10,674 parochial buildings called churches, upon the parishes! This, in love, mercy, and apostolic simplicity, did the Church of England, ‘The Poor Man’s Church,’—‘The Church of the People.’ Let us just glance at Paul’s successor in Durham. The following are the gross and nett receipts of the bishopric of Durham from 1837 to 1843 inclusive, according to a docu-

ment which, from its source, is likely to be, as usual, far below rather than above the mark :—

	GROSS.	NETT.
1837	£19,577 13 10	£5,937 16 7
1838	28,576 3 5	14,529 14 10
1839	23,745 4 0	10,005 17 5
1840	29,806 12 1	14,655 4 5
1841	37,161 16 2	21,667 17 2
1842	23,346 8 3	8,964 2 4
1843	22,416 0 2	6,791 16 4
		<hr/> 7)82,552 9 1

Average income for seven years.....£11,793 4 2

“Such is the Church of a land, the children of whose people, the parsons tell us, are still so untaught, that it has been coolly proposed to exact annually for their proper education some TWO MILLIONS of money from a people already ground to the earth by fiscal burdens, and labouring under the grinding pressure of an income-tax !

“But we cannot close without one look at Ireland, which also boasts the perfection of Apostolic Churchmanship,—Ireland, which is the very Goshen of Ecclesiastical Establishments, presenting the paradisaic sight of a close conjunction between golden mines and ecclesiastical sinecures. From authentic sources we gather, that some 3195 offices are shared among 850 individuals, whose aggregate ecclesiastical revenue, in 1830, amounted to about 1,426,587*l.*, averaging 1678*l.* to each person ! The history of human affairs presents no parallel. Even the boundless domain of Popery shows no case of 850 men possessing in bishop's lands and glebes one *eighteenth part of the soil*, and claiming in addition one-tenth of the produce of the remainder, which supports between *eight and nine millions of people* ! This is ‘The Poor Man's Church’ of Ireland,—‘The Church of the People.’ It is Mammon's own Temple ! Happy the High Priests who are stewards of his mysteries ! Let us take an instance ; a Bishop of Clogher, who, having been tutor to Lord Westmoreland, ‘went over to Ireland without a shilling, and continued in his bishopric only some eight years, at the end of which he died, worth between 300,000*l.* and 400,000*l.* ;’ and Sir John Newport brought it out, in the House of Commons, that in the space of the previous fifteen years, three Irish bishops died. leaving to their respective families the enormous sum of 700,000*l.* !

“Such is ‘The Poor Man's Church in Ireland.’ Yea, such substantially is the condition of that Church at that moment, when a fourth of the Irish nation are threatened with death by famine, and only saved by millions added to the debt of the industrious people of England. How long shall this state of things continue ? Englishmen ! again we ask,—How LONG ?”

This article has called forth a correspondence between Mr.

Seeley, of Fleet-street, and the Editor of the *Christian Witness*, Dr. Campbell. Mr. Seeley has forborne to enter on the paragraph which refers to the Irish Church question. Those who wish to know the truth of the case will find in the charge of the Archbishop of Armagh,\* and in the letter already referred to, which was published last March in the *Church Matters* in this Magazine, (vol. xxix. p. 355,) a collection of facts which will enable them to refute for themselves the monstrous misrepresentations to which the Dissenters are not ashamed to resort. But let it be remembered in the history of Protestant Dissent, that it was precisely in the month of April, 1847, when the unparalleled devotion and benevolence of the Irish clergy, in behalf of the starving Roman Catholics and Presbyterians in that afflicted country, have wrung, even from the bitterest of their political and religious opponents, such a tribute of praise as it has but rarely in the history of Christianity been the fortune of any body of clergymen to receive,—at that very moment, when the Irish clergy were sacrificing their substance, their health, and their very lives, to alleviate the horrors of famine and pestilence, that was the time and opportunity which “the official organ of the Congregational Union” selected as a fitting and appropriate and delicate occasion for branding the Protestant Church in Ireland as *Mammon’s own Temple*, and her suffering and devoted clergy as the *High Priests* of Mammon and the *Stewards of his mysteries*. How can one read such attacks as these on the Protestant Church in these countries, without asking oneself,—*Can those who write these things be Protestants?*

But we shall no longer delay transcribing Mr. Seeley’s correspondence with Dr. Campbell.

“TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN WITNESS.

“SIR,—I have been accustomed to regard your periodical,—though frequently advocating what are called ‘extreme opinions,’—as one eminently distinguished by strong common sense and honesty of purpose. As one instance of these qualities, I might point to the review, in the April number, of the publications concerning the London Missionary Society. But in that same number I met with one paper, entitled, *The Church of England:—whose is it?* which excited my astonishment, from its want of these characteristics. I never before saw, in any periodical of decent character, a paper so thoroughly unreasonable, absurd, and unjust. And, as I observe that you promise a fair hearing to Mr. Vevers, and have often granted the like measure of justice to other writers, I trust that, if I confine myself to a brief comment on the allegations of that paper, you will spare me a page or two in your next number.

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\* Published by Parker, 1846.

"The writer's main fault or folly is, that he assails the Church of England of 1847, upon the ground of facts, real or alleged, which date back as far as 1830 and even as 1813; and some of them belong to the last century!

"Surely it cannot be necessary to insist on the absurdity and injustice of such a course. Imagine for a moment that we were to reason thus in the present educational controversy. Suppose I were to say, 'I find by a return of the year 1830, that the Dissenting schools contain only — children, and *therefore* it is clear that we can expect little aid from that body in educating the children of the poor.' Should I not be instantly told that I was acting most absurdly and most unjustly; that it was a matter of notoriety, that within the last dozen years the Dissenters had made great efforts,—had raised hundreds of thousands of pounds, and built many hundreds of schools; and that to overlook all this, and to go back to 1830 for facts, instead of taking the facts of 1847, was both the most silly and the most unfair course possible?

"The very same objection do I make to the statements contained in the paper to which I have alluded. All the facts stated, if they ever were true at all, must have been true some twenty, or thirty, or fifty years ago. They have no existence now; and consequently to arraign the church on *such* evidence, is merely a ridiculous waste of time.

"Not to trespass upon your patience, I will confine myself to three points,—

- "1. The low stipends paid to curates;
- "2. The pluralities of incumbents; and,
- "3. The wealth of the establishment.

"First, then, of the curates. The representation made is, that these are 'starving on the crumbs which fall from their masters' tables,'—that 'there were 1639 on salaries not exceeding 60*l.* per annum,' and so on.

"I must in charity suppose that the writer is profoundly ignorant of the *present* state of things in the church. If he is not thus ignorant, then indeed he is most inexcusable.

"I shall not go back seventeen years, but shall unhesitatingly declare, that the current and almost universal stipend paid, for several years past, to curates, has been 100*l.* per annum. A young man, fresh from college, and only in deacon's orders, may sometimes accept 90*l.* for the first year or two; but to curates of any experience, 120*l.* and 130*l.* is often given. One society, with the working of which I happen to be well acquainted—the Pastoral Aid Society—makes grants to more than 200 curates; and I am sure that there are not twenty out of the whole 200 who receive *so little* as 90*l.* a-year.

"In the last number of the *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, the principal advertising medium for curates, I observe that fifteen incumbents advertise for curates, naming the stipends they offer. Of these fifteen, *one* offers 75*l.* and *three* 80*l.*, these four cases being either for deacons, or the duty being light. Of the remaining eleven cases, *one* offers 90*l.*,

nine offer 100*l.*, and one offers 120*l.* I believe that these fifteen cases present a fair sample of the whole, and they show that from 90*l.* to 120*l.* is the usual salary. The '1639 on salaries *not exceeding* 60*l.*' appear nowhere. I believe that no such stipends are now offered, except, perhaps, in some *very few cases*, in which the whole income of the benefice may be a poor 50*l.* or 60*l.* a-year, and the curate, receiving the whole income, makes out a subsistence by taking pupils.

"If it be objected that 90*l.* or 100*l.* per annum is still too small a stipend, I reply that the majority of curates, being of the middle classes, possess private incomes; that the prospect of an immediate 100*l.* a-year, and a certain position in society, *is already drawing many dissenting ministers and students into the church*; and that *I am inclined to believe* that if the ordinary stipend of a curate were raised to 150*l.*, a *very large proportion indeed of the ministers of dissenting churches would endeavour to gain admission*. I merely make this remark, founded on facts which have come within my own knowledge; and believing that you will agree with me, that it is not desirable that such a state of things should be produced.

"2. Of the pluralities of incumbents. Here the writer gives us no date whatever, but says, 'The real state of the case *is this*—10,674 benefices in the hands of 7191 incumbents—7037 of these livings in the hands of 2886 individuals.—Some hold *three or four* rectories, besides vicarages and chapelries.'"

"As I have just said, the writer does not tell us what document he is quoting, nor the date of it. Yet he says, 'this *is* the state of the case'—quite forgetting that this *cannot* be the present state of the case; inasmuch as in the year 1838—nine years ago—the Archbishop of Canterbury himself brought in a Bill which utterly terminated this state of things. It could not deprive the existing holders, but it provided that for the future no person should hold two livings if they were more than ten miles apart, or if they were, unitedly, of greater value than 1000*l.* per annum. I say not that this is all that could be desired; but I do say that it is rapidly changing the state of things described in the document in question; and I add, that to adduce some old return of pluralities in George the Third's reign, and to say, '*this is* the state of the case,' is a most scandalous and intolerable misrepresentation.

"3. The alleged wealth of the church. This is stated to be 9,450,000*l.* And again, as '*more than nine millions*!'

"The writer again neglects to quote any document. But how comes he to forget that the only authentic document in existence convicts him of an enormous exaggeration?

"About fourteen years ago, the Government appointed a commission to inquire into the amount, and the circumstances, of the property of the church. The Report of those Commissioners, laid before Parliament, printed, and never to this day impugned, shows the aggregate of the incomes of the 10,701 benefices of England and Wales to be 3,058,248*l.*; and the whole endowments of the church,—episcopal, cathedral, and parochial, to be 3,490,832*l.*

"Now the writer of whom I am complaining, has taken a parlia-

mentary return as the basis of his statements regarding *curates*; and another parliamentary return as the basis of his statements as to *pluralities*. But when it suits his purpose, he coolly sets aside the parliamentary return of *revenues*, and turns a total of 3,490,382*l.* into 9,450,000*l.*, upon the authority of no document whatever!

"This is no light matter, because upon this monstrous exaggeration is based all the declamation about 'golden mines,' 'abundant in treasures,' 'Mammon's own temple,' and the like. Only let the fact be thoroughly understood,—that the whole wealth of the church,—which the *people* of England, after all, *do not pay*; since it is chiefly a charge upon the *land*,—does not amount to one-half of the sum annually wasted on snuff and cigars, or to *one-fifth* of what is worse than wasted on intoxicating liquors,—and it will be difficult to excite a clamour against her on *this* ground, whatever may be said on others.

"I must not trespass further on your patience, or I should touch on the case of Ireland, to the church of which country still greater injustice has, I believe, been done. I conclude by merely recapitulating my three objections; namely, that the writer of the paper in question,—

"Has, from some old document, stated the stipends of curates to be on a scale now utterly unknown.

"That he has, also from some old and now useless return, stated the pluralities of the church to exist to a degree far beyond the fact; and has forgotten to remark that a law which passed nine years since, is rapidly extinguishing them. And,

"That he has borrowed, from some pamphlet-estimate of no authority, a most exaggerated view of the revenues of the church; and has neglected a more recent and correct return; chiefly, I fear, because it did not answer his purpose.

"Hence, as a general result, I find that *the whole of his facts* are grossly incorrect, and such being the case, it would obviously be a waste of time to attempt to deal with his deductions.

"I remain, Sir, yours very truly,

"Powis-place, April 6, 1847.

"R. B. SEELEY.

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"Finsbury, April 14, 1847.

"Sir,—Severe indisposition has prevented my replying to your letter till now. I have read your paper with the respect which is due to its author. It cannot be admitted in full; I have no objection to insert the main passages, with a comment. Even this, however, I could not accomplish this month, because of other pressing matters with which the *Christian Witness* is already filled. Then comes May, with its meetings, and leaving room for nothing else; but if June will be agreeable to you, it shall (p.v.) then be done. If this does not meet your views, and you wish your MS. returned, a line to that effect will immediately be attended to.

"Yours respectfully,

"R. B. Seeley, Esq.

"J. CAMPBELL."

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"Fleet-street, April 26, 1847.

"Rev. Sir,—Your letter, though dated the 14th, was only delivered to me on Saturday, the 24th. Through what misadventure this hap-

pened, I cannot tell; I only allude to it to show that there is no delay on my part.

"I cannot think that its tenour is what I had a right to expect at your hands. Surely a *Christian Witness* should desire, before all other things, not to be found, even unintentionally, a *false witness*. My complaint was, that you (i. e., the *Christian Witness*) had represented the present rate of payment of curates in a manner quite at variance with *the fact as it really is*:—That you had represented the system of pluralities in the church in a manner quite at variance with *the fact as it really is*:—and, that you had represented the aggregate property of the church also in a manner quite at variance with *the fact as it really is*.

"On these points, I appealed to authentic facts and documents. My letter was not irrelevant as to matter, nor violent as to language, nor extended to an unreasonable length. It could hardly have exceeded two or three pages of your work.

"I found you stating to Mr. Vevers, that his letter, had it reached you on the 8th, would have been inserted at once. I, therefore, while I carefully confined myself within narrow limits, took care that my letter should be delivered by the 8th. On the 14th, you write to me, though your letter is only delivered on the 24th, that my letter 'cannot be admitted in full,' but that you will insert, if I please, 'the main passages,' in the number which appears on the *first of July*! I cannot recognise in this way of dealing, that promptitude in doing justice, which I thought I saw in the case of Mr. Vevers.

"I must now answer, that to the *postponement* I must submit, if you continue to insist upon it. But if inserted in *June*, (i. e., July 1,) I must beg you to place my own date, 'April 6,' at the head of the letter, so as to let it be seen that the delay has been your own, not mine.

"The other part of your answer, however, is fatal, if you persevere in it. You say that it 'cannot be admitted in full, but you have no objection to insert the main passages, &c.' Now, the letter was not long, nor violent, nor irrelevant. To say that it 'cannot be admitted,' but that you will merely give 'passages from it,' does seem to me to be a plain denial of justice. If you persevere in it, which I can hardly imagine, I must trouble you to return my manuscript by the post without delay.

I remain, Rev. Sir, yours faithfully,  
 "R. B. SEELEY."

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 "Tabernacle House, April 27, 1847.

"Sir,—I think you are unnecessarily warm, and not very reasonable; I certainly meant to be somewhat more than civil towards you, and treated you as no *Church* editor, in London, would have treated me. Where the press, in relation to Church matters, is concerned, it is *unwise* and *unsafe* for a Churchman to talk of 'justice.' The *Witness*, for June, will be so burdened with the May Meetings, that room could not be found for your paper with a comment; I, therefore, adopted the only course that was open to me without shutting you altogether out. But on reflection, after receiving your note, I

am led to conclude, that the best way is, to return your MS., while I must add, that every position of your paper may easily be overthrown; and every position of the article in question made good. In this argument, I do not, cannot know your *Pastoral-Aid Society*. I have to do with the *Church of England by law established*, as she is, and as, for centuries, she has been, and *not as she may be plastered, painted, and palliated*, by the application of the Voluntary Principle.

"I remain, Sir, yours respectfully,

"R. B. Seeley, Esq.

J. CAMPBELL."

The religious scruples and prejudices of Dr. Campbell, or any other dissenter, ought to be treated with tenderness, forbearance, and respect. Mr. Seeley could not be more anxious to do so than we are. But it is impossible to read these shuffling and evasive letters, from a person in Dr. Campbell's position in his own denomination, without real pain and humiliation. How any one could write them, who did not feel that he had been detected in making misrepresentations which he has not the courage or honesty to retract, it is difficult to understand. But what must be the spiritual condition of the denomination of which this is the "official organ?"

Since the above was sent to the printer, we have received the following letter from an Irish clergyman, who has every opportunity of knowing the circumstances of the Church in that country, and the groundlessness of the statements which the Romanists there, and the Dissenters here, combine to circulate to her injury.

Sir,—In the British Magazine for March and April, 1846, you were so good as to insert two letters of mine, correcting the gross mis-statements respecting the property of the Irish Church, which were published by Dr. Massie, and were repeated in the Christian Witness. The latter periodical, in its April number for the present year, at the conclusion of a very abusive attack upon the English Church, has again put forward some falsehoods relative to the Church in Ireland, which I am anxious briefly to expose.

"Ireland," says the Christian Witness, "is the very Goshen of ecclesiastical establishments, presenting the paradisaic sight of a close conjunction between golden mines and ecclesiastical sinecures. From authentic sources we gather, that some 3195 offices are shared among 850 individuals, whose aggregate ecclesiastical revenue, in 1830, amounted to about 1,426,587*l.*, averaging 1678*l.* to each person! The history of human affairs presents no parallel."

There are, fortunately for the Irish Church, "authentic sources" of information as to the amount of its property—namely, the Reports of the Commissioners, appointed by royal authority in the year 1832, to inquire into "Ecclesiastical Revenue and Patronage in Ireland." These reports are full and accurate; they have been printed and laid before Parliament; they are easily procured; and to them I shall



refer. It appears from them, that the gross annual value of all the Church property belonging to ecclesiastical persons in Ireland, *before* the deduction of 25 per cent. from the tithes, was 827,886*l.*, and that the net value was 701,412*l.*; that is to say, *not one half of the sum stated in the Christian Witness.* And this property, which has, since the time at which these reports were made, been reduced by taking off *one-fourth* from the amount of the tithes, is divided, not among 850 individuals, but among 2240; averaging, not 1678*l.*, but 253*l.* to each person. Under the arrangements which have been made by the Church Temporalities Act, as the Lord Primate explained in his Charge for the year 1845, (a source of information which will be allowed to be somewhat more authentic than the anonymous statement in the Christian Witness,) the average net income of the prelates "will but little exceed that of the judges of the courts of law;" and "the whole property of the parochial clergy, were it divided in equal shares amongst them all, would not produce for each of them 200*l.* a-year." As to "sinecures," the Act of Parliament just referred to has provided effectually for the entire extinction of the few which are as yet unabolished. So much for the first paragraph, which describes Ireland as "the very Goshen of ecclesiastical establishments, presenting the paradisaic sight of a close conjunction between *golden mines* and ecclesiastical *sinecures.*"

The next statement in the Christian Witness is equally unfounded. "Even the boundless domain of Popery shows no case of 850 men possessing in bishops' lands and glebes one *eighteenth part of the soil*, and claiming, in addition, one-tenth of the produce of the remainder, which supports between *eight and nine millions of people!*" Now, so far from the tithe-rent-charge being in amount "one-tenth of the produce," it is not *one hundredth*. The value of the gross annual produce of the soil of Ireland is estimated to be 41,216,901*l.* The total amount of tithe-rent-charge payable to ecclesiastical persons is 401,114*l.*; that is, less than a tenth of the "tenth of the produce." This statement, therefore, is a *tenfold* exaggeration of the fact! As to the value of the landed property belonging to the Irish Church, its amount, according to the Reports of the Commissioners before referred to, is 226,140*l.* Whereas, the annual rental of Ireland, as estimated by the valuers under the Poor Law, is 13,738,967*l.* Instead, then, of holding "an eighteenth part of the soil," yielding them, as the readers of the Christian Witness are of course led to infer, a rental equal to an eighteenth part of the rental of all Ireland, the Church's landed property does not yield to its ecclesiastical owners more than a *sixtieth* of the rental of the whole country.

The third statement put forward in the Christian Witness has reference to an individual prelate. "Let us take an instance; a Bishop of Clogher, who, having been tutor to Lord Westmoreland, went over to Ireland without a shilling, and continued in his bishopric only some eight years, at the end of which he died, worth between 300,000*l.* and 400,000*l.*" A reference to the First Report of the aforesaid Commissioners, will show that the gross revenues of the see of Clogher were, before the late reduction of tithe property,

10,371*l.*, and their net value was 8,668*l.* So that, supposing this penniless adventurer from England to have entered on the possession of the see without being put to any expense, (which is impossible,) and supposing him to have subsisted without paying a penny for the support of himself and his family, (which is impossible,) and supposing him to have laid by the whole of the net income of the see, 8,668*l.*, for eight years, at compound interest, even with the assistance of all these incredible suppositions, can the readers of the *Christian Witness* believe that the bishopric produced to his legatees a sum of between 300,000*l.* and 400,000*l.*? If Bishop Porter died worth so large a sum, it evidently was not the sole growth of the See of Clogher.

I have now, I trust, made sufficiently apparent the falseness and exaggeration of the statements again put forward concerning the Irish Church by the organ of the Congregational Union.

I am, your obedient servant,

AN M.A. OF TRIN. COL., DUBLIN.

Another very remarkable expression of the present temper of the Independent dissenters has lately been called forth by the appointment of the General Fast. In Ireland, as far as we have been able to ascertain, the day was observed with great solemnity by all other denominations. Of the Independent dissenters there, we cannot speak with the same confidence, though we have heard nothing to the contrary. But they are a very small and uninfluential body in that country, and do not appear to be increasing either in numbers or importance.\*

In this country, the organ of the Independents, the *Christian Witness*, has made the Fast a Church and State question, and the following notices to correspondents from the cover of the number for March, will probably surprise even those who are familiar with the style and temper of that production:—

“*T. R.—*Words are the safeguards of things. Loose language has oftentimes been worked up into cruel fetters. Those who hold so strongly by ‘national sins,’ would do well to bottom their own doctrine, and to inquire whither it leads them. There are few subjects on which there is so much unreflecting babble. We will be grateful to *T. R.—* if he will help us to separate the idea of national sin from that of a national mind, a national will, a national rule derived from Heaven, and a national conscience; and how we are to escape from being carried into the conclusion of a national religion—a national church.

“*F. Richards.—*Yes; the National Fasts of Europe have been, to a

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\* From the “*Congregational Year Book*” for 1847, it appears that in Ireland there are but thirty-seven Independent ministers, of whom eighteen are employed by the Irish Evangelical Society, and four appear to have no pastoral charge. How inexplicable is the enmity which the Independents in this country feel towards the Protestant Church in Ireland. What they can expect to gain by its destruction, it is impossible to conjecture.

fearful extent, impious mockeries. They are founded on the Church and State principle, and one of its most hideous manifestations.

"*R. S. K.*—We would, had not time and space prevented. Privy Councils are the very last bodies we should call upon to expound the dark pages of the Book of Providence, and we resent their dictation of our devotions. We cannot reconcile perfect liberty of conscience with royal 'commands' to nations to 'fast and humble' themselves for 'manifold sins and provocations' which are not specified. Granting the right of governments to ordain fasts, the want of such specification is a serious omission; for Gentile reason and Jewish Scripture alike teach that *special punishment* is the consequence of *special sin*. For the 'sore punishment,' the 'heavy judgment,' we are referred to the potato blight; but not a word is said about the character of the sins. Looking carefully at our country and its people's history for the last year or two, we are able to discover no new national crime, and no special aggravation of those evils with which, as a people, we have been always chargeable. Whether we look at home or abroad, never did England, as a nation, stand so well as at this moment. Again, it is somewhat strange, that if the cry of guilt has ascended from Great Britain, the bolt of vengeance should have fallen upon the poorest parts of poor Ireland. This accords not with our readings of Revelation. It would, we think, have been only reasonable that the Privy Council, before issuing its 'charges' and 'commands,' had given the public a little more light upon this matter. It is a grave act to call on a great nation to engage in a religious service, 'as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and would avoid his wrath and indignation; and upon pain of such punishment as may be justly inflicted on all such as contemn and neglect the performance of so religious and necessary a duty.' Strange jumble! Lamentable outrage on both reason and religion! The prophet of the Privy Council, of course, is not known; but we set very lightly by his inspiration. 'Wrath and indignation!' Who commissioned him to expound the counsels of Heaven? We had hoped the day of these arrogant impieties had passed away. But in addition to the wrath of Heaven, recusants are menaced with the wrath of the British Crown. 'Pain of such punishment as may be justly inflicted!' '*Justly inflicted!*' This, we think, will not amount to much. But we deprecate the holding of such language to the British people in the year 1847. It would be in harmony with a pure despotism, where the tyrant is the head of the Church, and where that Church is co-extensive with the nation; but in Great Britain, where Dissent constitutes so vast a portion of the entire community, it is intolerable, and ought forthwith to become the subject of remonstrance, to prevent its future recurrence."

People who can write in such a spirit, and so grossly misrepresent the meaning of such a document, at such a moment, do not seem very well qualified to discuss religious questions.

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